"The Social Structure of the KiNgindo-speaking Peoples".

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A Thesis presented to the University of Cape Town
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

Mr. A.R.W. Crosse-Upcott, B.A., Dip.Soc.Anthrop (Oxon).

1956.

"Then the five men departed and came to Laish and saw the people that were therein, how they dwelt careless after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure; and there was no magistrate in the land, that might put them to shame in any thing; and they were far from the Zidonians, and had no business with any man."

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Summary of the Thesis

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The main body of the Thesis treats the nuclear Ngindo of the Liwale area (southern Tanganyika), here designated 'home-Ngindo'. It comprises a general survey of the group under the headings Economy, Local Organization, Kinship, Marriage, Pagan Ritual and Belief, Islam, and Over-all Characteristics. The home-Ngindo analysis is preceded by a relatively short section defining the Ngindo culture-area as a whole, and followed by a longer one narrating the detailed history of the region, examining the relationships between the home-Ngindo and other Ngindo-speaking groups, and stating the theoretical conclusions.

The home-Ngindo, though mainly agnatic in their system of social organization, attach considerable importance to other lines of descent, a point illustrated in the Thesis by an intensive study of

classificatory kinship-terms, especially where such terms, derived from different lines of descent, compete with one another. Ngindo of all types favour marriage-by-service, at first uxorilocal but ultimately virilocal, associated with infant-girl betrothal. Certain of the Ngindo 'outlier' groups have become influenced by their matrilineal neighbours to the extent of adopting matrilineal institutions, thereby invalidating the theoretical proposition that change from patrilineal to matrilineal descent is impossible.

The home-Ngindo live in miniature communities, here described as 'cells'. The main reason for their chronic fragmentation, long a headache for the government authorities, appears to be a set of attitudes derived from the former institution of domestic slavery. Such a diagnosis accounts for several otherwise puzzling features in the Ngindo culture, and also throws new light on the topic of status in general and on the understanding of this 'problem tribe' in particular. The investigation of government evacuation-measures, which were aimed at eliminating the obstacle to development posed by

political and territorial atomization, has relevance to current colonial policy and illuminates the allied phenomenon of migrant-labour.

The home-Ngindo observe little ritual in their everyday life, but celebrate the 'initiation' of girls and boys with an extraordinarily elaborate cycle of rites which, in addition, marks the entry of infant-girl brides to full married estate. The Thesis gives an account of these rites, along with a commentary on their symbolism.

The home-Ngindo, some of whom are known to have been hunters-and-gatherers almost within living memory, have a profound knowledge of their forested habitat. Special attention is paid to this aspect, including a systematic survey of forest-utilization, based on the index of privately-owned beehives.

The home-Ngindo were the ringleaders in the Majimaji Revolt of 1905. Researches into this outbreak, as set out in the Thesis, besides producing fresh historical evidence, lead to a novel interpretation of its origins. They also lead to an appraisal of the

Islamic factor in the Revolt and of its subsequent evolution as the universal cult of the home-Ngindo. The unorthodox form taken by Islam in this environment provides data for comparison with other Islamic peoples.

The Ngindo constitute a lingua-cultural entity. It is their speech which provides the best means of positive identification. To this end, the Thesis examines in detail the principal Ngindo dialects, on which the published material to date is negligible.

Written sources on the Ngindo amount to passing references in a few explorers' journals, together with some superficial unpublished notes compiled by government officials. The Thesis, therefore, represents an original contribution to the ethnography of the area which, thanks to Ngindo diffusion, is extensive.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

In every District I visited, besides the welcome they extended, Government officials, missionaries, and private persons gave valuable services and information. In particular am I indebted to Miss Archer, of Cape Town, for typing the final text, to Dr. Gulliver, Government Sociologist, for details about the Ndendeuli; to Mr. Hunter, Curator, Dar es Salaam Museum, for many good offices; to Mr. Ionides, Senior Game Ranger, for help and advice in Ngindoland itself; to Mr. Jackson, Administrative Officer, for details about the Morogoro Mbunga; to Mr. Percy, Administrative Officer, for details about the coast-Ndonde; to Mr. Reine, Settlement Officer, for details about the Ndwewe; to Mr. Sinclair of Newala for facilitating my access to the southern-Ndonde; and to Dr. Stirling, Roman Catholic Mission, Mnero, for details about the southerly outliers. I owe much to my Supervisor at the University of Cape Town, Professor Mrs.Wilson; and to Dr. Middleton, who acted in the same capacity. Professor Anderson, of the University of London, briefed me about local Islam, greatly enhancing my investigation of that subject.[x] I wish to thank the late Dr. Davie and Mrs. Davie, of the University of Cape Town, for their kindness in providing me with a place in which to work on return from the field; and above all my own parents for their support throughout. Finally, it was the Council of Education, Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, that kept me in the field for over half the time I spent there; but for this, the study would never have come to fruition. Perhaps my chief debt is towards a multitude of Ngindo and other African helpers, who had better remain anonymous; some were truly outstanding.

x And Professor Lestrade, of the University of Cape Town, gave me the benefit of his advice as to the presentation of my linguistic material.

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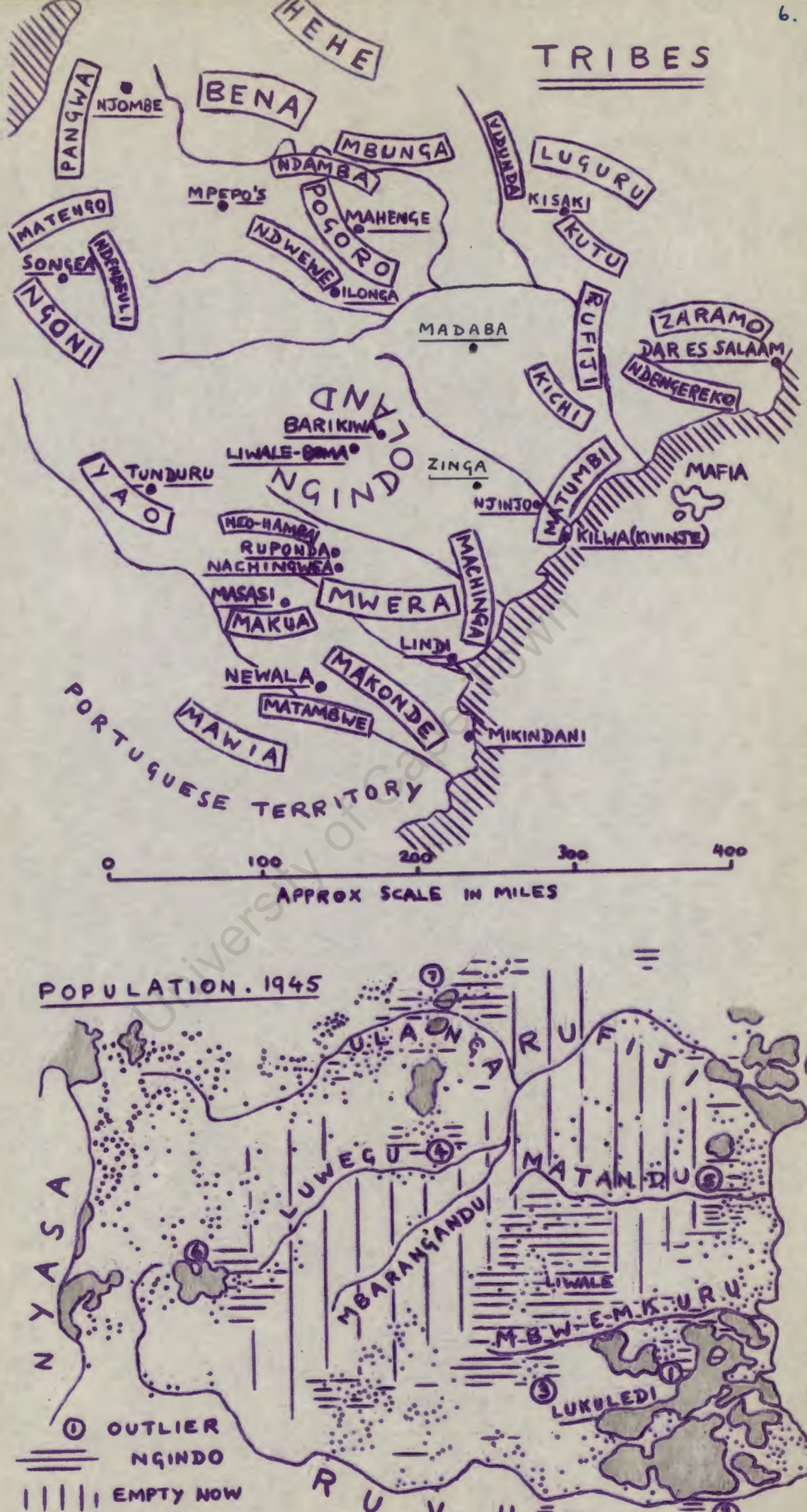
PART I. BACKGROUND.

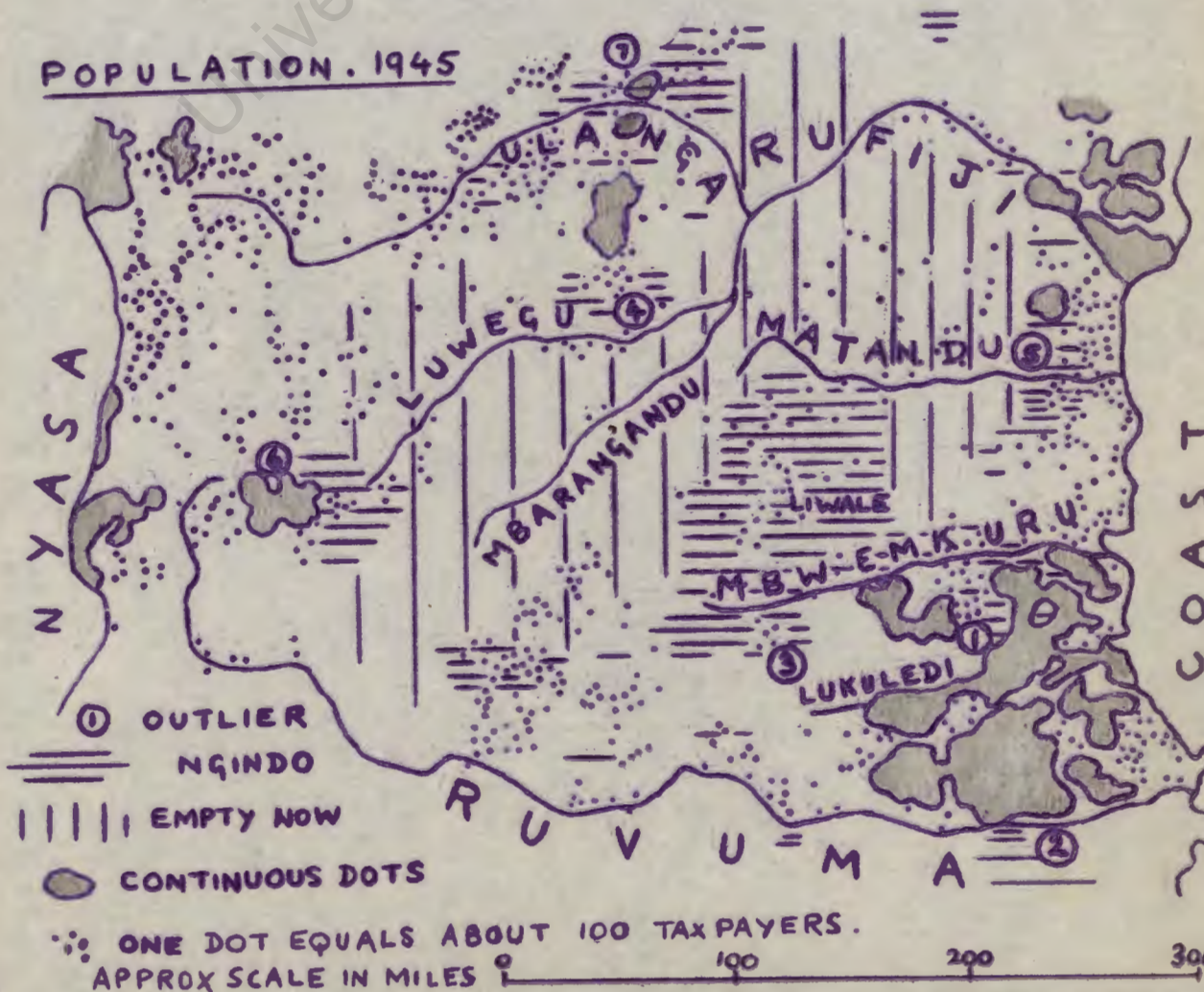
Chapter I. Definition of Ngindo.

People.

Ngindo are a people of mixed 'Bantu' stock. Southern Tanganyika is their home. Communities of them, seldom continuous in the ethnic sense, lie dispersed all the way from the Rufiji in the north to the Ruvuma in the south, from the coast in the east to Nyasa in the west; and yet further beyond these limits. Even where the country is solidly Ngindo, the settlements, themselves seldom more than 100 people strong, by no means link up. Ten miles is a not uncommon interval between them. Excepting under artificial conditions, Ngindo population-density does not exceed three persons to the square mile. 'Ngindo' has a primarily linguistic connotation, and this is how I construe it. But from group to group it also has a variable emotive, religious, cultural, political, or territorial content, the detail of which would here merely confuse. It will be elaborated later. 'Ngindo', of which the inherent meaning remains obscure, has been in currency for at least a century, and embraces a number of vague but distinctively named sub-elements. These, seemingly lingua-territorial by origin, lead to a superposition of categories, cutting across the existing Ngindo concentrations. The best known are Magingo, Ndonde, Chobo, Ikemba, Ndwewe, and Hamba. Their detail must likewise await discussion. In addition, historical and linguistic reasons prompt the inclusion of at least two major groups not ordinarily classed as Ngindo. These are the Ndendeuli of Songea and Mbunga of Mahenge.

Note. Here and elsewhere when I use the present tense I mean the years 1952 and 1953.





Country.

The country, inevitably over so vast a region, varies widely; but in its interior the predominant terrain is flat or undulating, with fairly abrupt valleys harbouring seasonal streams; the predominant vegetation dry open woodland, with considerable islands of dense thicket on higher ground. The whole belongs to the Indian Ocean drainage basin, this part of which possesses generally meagre water resources. The Ruvuma and Rufiji, with its southerly Luwegu and Ulanga confluents, are virtually the sole permanent rivers of any size. Big stretches tend to be arid//, for instance the northerly hinterland. Mean rainfall varies from 30-40 ins. in the east to 50-60 in the west, precipitated almost exclusively during the months December to May; mean temperature from 65-70 degrees F. to 60-65 (minimum) and 85-plus to 70-85 (maximum) over the same area// (Ref.53: For this and subsequent references see Bibliography in Appendix). Although it is the dry-season which brings the heat, near-frost conditions by night may mark the opening weeks, even no great distance from the coast ... the average height above sea-level must be about 2,000 feet. Geologically, Mesozoic formations predominate towards the coast, of Jurassic type in the north, Cretaceous in the south; giving place in turn to Archaeozoic Basement (lower complex) inland and Palaeozoic Karroo in the centre. Towards Nyasa there is recurrence of Basement, with some Karroo and Granite. Accompanying soils are 'Plateau' in the west, non-laterised Red Earths towards the coast (Ref.53). Fertility on the whole appears low; perhaps, though not comparable with the Scheme's handicaps elsewhere, a contributory factor to the Groundnut fiasco. The Scheme operated major installations in a typical environment around south-easterly Nachingwea. Nevertheless a wide

range of crops can be raised. Sorghum provides the commonest staple, but rice (north-west), ~~finger~~ bullrush-millet (west), and cassava (south-east) may take its place. Other millets, maize, beans, pigeon-peas, pumpkins, cucumbers, sweet-potatoes, and groundnuts are largely grown. Everywhere one finds such produce as sesame, castor, and beeswax. Here and there, favourable conditions permit the growth of sizeable industries such as tobacco (Songea), cashew (Newala), sisal (Lindi), timber (Rondo), cotton (Mahenge), mangrove, and copra (coast). Before the first World War, rubber headed the exports, but now no longer fetches an economic price. Gum-copal however continues to find a limited market. Apart from giraffe most of the big-game animals, and especially elephant, occur throughout the area, much of which has actually been set aside for them in the form of sanctuaries or reserves. Tsetse-fly, with which a great deal of it is infested, have in parts produced outbreaks of sleeping-sickness, and almost everywhere banish livestock.

Ngindo communities.

Into this setting, roughly at its centre, fits 'Ngindoland', a 100-mile square tract between the upper Matandu and Mbwemkuru rivers. Ngindoland, comprising the Government 'Sultanate' of Liwale along with one or two southerly appendages ~~The latter~~, these, amounting to perhaps a couple of thousand people, I do not generally include when speaking of Ngindoland ... for instance demographically, where one cannot readily isolate the minorities in surrounding administrative areas, if at all, can be regarded as the core of the Ngindo, of whom it must contain a homogeneous population of at least 30,000. These I call the 'home-Ngindo', and to them I devote the main body of this thesis. The remainder of the Ngindo 'tribe', put at 85,000 total by the 1948 Census but probably well over 100,000 in my

× FOOTNOTE.

definition, can be assigned to seven principal units/ (See Population Map earlier in this section/). Of these I shall for the present specify nothing beyond the ethnic type, locality, strength, and dialect. They do not of course exhaust the outlier Ngindo pockets, many of them in miniature and tribally isolated, which are to be found almost throughout. Five of the seven consciously adhere to the Ngindo complex or are so close in speech and space as to form a continuum with Ngindoland. Together with the home-Ngindo I call them the 'Ngindo-proper', as opposed to the 'peripheral-Ngindo'; namely the other two whose inclusion is less automatic. The home-Ngindo are easily the biggest of the Ngindo-proper groups. Why their numbers cannot be expressed except in round figures is because the 1948 Census coincided with a Government evacuation scheme which completely upset all estimates and calculations made at that time.[x] Immediately prior to the scheme a survey

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Footnote:

[x] Liwale, or Ngindoland, used to fall within the jurisdiction of Kilwa District. Main census figures therefore referred to Kilwa as a whole. However the Liwale Divisional authorities kept their own totals in their District Book. Correlated, the two give a fair idea of home-Ngindo numbers ...

Date.	Liwale.	Kilwa.
1918	-	27,993 (Ref.64)
1920	20,598	-
1921	-	35,957
1928	16,305	-
1931	21,817	29,190

(Note that Liwale has in the meanwhile gained a slice of territory from northerly Kibata, which used to be subordinate to Kilwa as well, stepping up its taxpayers from 4,913 in 1928 to 7,868 in 1935).

1941	37,500 (an unofficial boma estimate)	-
1948	16,177 (residue of evacuation)	47,197

Whilst these figures permit no firm conclusion, it seems reasonable to suppose that this sector of the 'tribe' has increased over the period, and that some two thirds of its present 50,000 members live in Ngindoland, many having returned thither after the evacuation.

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found the number of families for evacuation, ie. those of greater Ngindoland which besides native Ngindo contained only a handful of Pogoro and other aliens, to be 9,100; whilst by the end of 1952 the number of taxpayers on the reconstituted Sultanate's books (including those exempted) had settled down at just under 6,000 as compared with about 9,000 in the early 1940s. The course of these adjustments, and especially that of the 'Closer Settlement (evacuation) Scheme' will be plotted later. As a result, Ngindoland has an unusually clear spatial definition nowadays, being bordered by game-reserve or uninhabited country east, north, and west. Its southerly political boundary is also an ethnic one, excepting for a sizeable lobe in the direction of Tunduru in the south-west and a thinner one towards Kilwa and Lindi in the south-east. As for its composition, it is highly mixed, comprising about three quarters Magingo (central Liwale), an eighth Ndonde (south), and a trace of Chobo (north), Hamba (south-west), Ndendeuli (west), and Ikemba (extreme north)[x]. Apart from a kiMagingo overlay,

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[x] Footnote:

Census figures do not as a rule reflect the internal Ngindo subdivisions. However certain estimates of these have been made from time to time by administrators.

Date.	Magingo.	Ndonde.	Chobo.	Ikemba.	Ndendeuli.
1920	-	-	-	-	750("Ngoni")
1928	12,570	2,165	911	222	437
1931	16,334	2,047	1,497	1,685	254

Difficulties of identification alone reduce any such computation to guesswork. The natives themselves, most of whom are third or fourth-generation immigrants, are none too sure, hence liable to give conflicting answers, especially to official interrogators. To take an instance, the District Book (Ref. to be explained on page 34) after a thorough survey in 1928 concluded that "only about 70" Ikemba were left in their ancestral homeland, "the Muhinje triangle". Three years later these same Ikemba are credited with twenty times that number! This shows how different can be the findings based on more stringent requirements. Again the names themselves are treacherous. The 1948 Census, which wisely refrained from assessing the sub-groups, lists a "Cho'o" (same as Chobo phonetically) under the Matumbi tribe as well. Ikemba it spells "Ikembe". Hamba it altogether omits.

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its speech varies accordingly; in which respect the southerly Ndonde zone is closer to the Ndonde outlier next to be delineated than to the remaining home-Ngindo (see table later in this section).

Ngindo outliers.

1. What I call the 'coast-Ndonde' extend over about 100 miles from the south-east corner of Ngindoland to Mikindani on the coast. Nowhere excepting around Milola, and to a lesser extent Ruangwa and Mchinga[x], do they amount to more than a trace amid the Mwera and Makonde inhabitants. In the aggregate however they must approach 10,000. In Lindi District the 1948 Census records 7,176 Ndonde and 2,718 "Ngindo" (probably Magingo, etc., or Ndonde who do not bother to specify the fact. This is a good example of the widespread confusion over these names); to which must be added another 297 "Ngindo" in Mikindani (now Mtwara) District. These are almost certainly Ndonde. Demographically the area has been stable during the past generation ... note that the 1931 Census put the "Magingo-Ndonde" at 13,347 (More than a decade before, the Naval Intelligence 'Handbook of German East Africa' had found them 11,000 strong). Neither this nor the later figure is likely to have been materially affected by the number of Ngindo coming from other

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Footnote:

[x] Detail of principal areas of Ndonde distribution in Lindi District (Ref.54).

Place.	Ndonde.	"Ngindo".
Milola	1,126	1,183
Mchinga	1,965	325
Ruangwa	1,373	-
Ruponda	937	-
Mingoyo	439	376
Nyengedi	425	-
Ng'apa	374	

2. 'Southern Ndonde'. These are a smaller, but in Tanganyika more compact, group of Ndonde with Ndendeuli (peripheral-Ngindo) leanings. They live in the extreme south of the Territory, and indeed spill across into Portuguese East Africa, where upwards of a thousand are thought to be domiciled. The Tanganyika ones are put at only 619# (Ref.54). This seems on the low side ... vide the 1931 estimate of 2,575 'Ngoni', as these southern-Ndonde like to be called. Their speech closely resembles that of the coast- and other Ndonde, with sufficient Ndendeuli and Makonde-Matambwe features to make it unique (see table later in this section.) An enclave amid big Makonde and associated populations, their nearest Ngindo neighbours are the coast-Ndonde, who shade off to zero about fifty miles away. Some 200 miles separate them from Ngindo-land.

3. The neo-Hamba, despite the name, are Ndonde speakers. I call them 'neo-Hamba' to differentiate them from the Hamba ('proto-Hamba') of Ngindoland. As a rule they themselves say simply 'Hamba'. Their home, which adjoins south-west Ngindoland, comprises the neighbourhood of Kilimarondo to a radius of about 30 miles. Notwithstanding linguistic and other ties with the home-Ngindo they stand strictly apart. Indeed there is ground for putting them in the 'peripheral-Ngindo' category. Their nucleus numbers 1,911 (Ref.54), whilst their satellite communities cannot exceed a few hundreds. Curiously enough one of these,

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Footnote Continued:

Kwama. (i.e. 'the people who drawl'). Nothing known.

Makale. They are mentioned by Weule (Ref.97,1906). Nothing known.

Ngende. Nothing known.

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though situated within another Ndonde outlier (coast-Ndonde), preserves its Hamba identity. Considering its evolution in other directions the main body speaks a remarkably pure brand of kiNdonde (see table later in this section). Incidentally the adjacent 'lobe' of Ngindoland south of the Mbwemkuru, southern border of the Liwale Sultanate, amounted to 1,093 in 1948. Together with a few hundreds in north-east Tunduru District, these are the furthest-flung home-Ngindo in that quarter. Before the second World War Kilimarondo was administered by Masasi boma. Whether the 1,272 "Magingo-Ndonde" listed in that District in 1931 were one and the same as the neo-Hamba is not clear.

4. About 100 miles north-west of Ngindoland, from which it is entirely insulated by game-reserve, lies another big Ndonde concentration which I call the 'western-Ndonde'. This is at Ilonga in southern Mahenge District, where some 5,000 Ndonde and associates are assembled. The 1948 Census quotes the figure of 4,982 for the relevant area of "Ungindoni"; to which should be added another Ngindo-speaking group, the Ndwewe, incorrectly listed by the Census as a Pogoro sub-tribe and of unspecified strength. Ndwewe probably run to a thousand at Ilonga alone, allowing for confusion with true Ndonde. These Ndonde-Ndwewe speak a kind of kiNdonde very little removed from that of the Ndonde outliers already introduced (see table later in this section).

5. Ilonga, which is the product of a Government evacuation scheme launched in 1941, has its counterpart 200 miles east at Njinjo on the lower Matandu river, whither Ngindo were moved in and by force between 1946-8. They might therefore be called the 'exile-Ngindo'. It seems

probable that at least 10,000 Ngindo of various descriptions still live within a 20-mile radius of Njinjo. As natives of what used to be outlying parts of Ngindoland, most of them therefore qualify for the designation home-Ngindo; though in pre-evacuation days certain of them shaded off into the Pogoro, Kichi-Matumbi, western-Ndonde, and even Ndendeuli, who will be the next for treatment. Their tribal composition within the Ngindo framework must be very mixed, mostly Ndonde and Ikemba.

6. Turning to the peripheral-Ngindo, the Ngindo-speaking Ndendeuli inhabit the eastern marches of Songea District. Likewise in part the subject of evacuation, some of them formerly linked up with the far-westerly Ndonde elements of Ngindoland, from which Ndendeuli country is now separated by a good 100 miles of game-reserve. The 1948 Census, which classified Ndendeuli as synonymous with Ndonde, but in fact included most of them with the Ngoni, is of little help in determining their size. Only 3,539 Ndendeuli appear in the Songea columns, whereas it has been estimated that they can muster that number in taxpayers alone. A confusing factor is the prevalence of the kiNdendeuli language throughout the eastern-Ngoni chiefdom, a unit of some 7,000 taxpayers if the now autonomous 'Native Authority' area of Undendeuli be included. Therefore the 1931 estimate of 14,174 seems nearer the mark. Compare also the first World War one of 11,900 "Wadendauli" (Ref.64). KiNdendeuli is definitely an Ngindo dialect. Considering the gulf between the two groups in other spheres, one marvels at its similarity towards the kiMagingo spoken in Ngindoland (see table later in this section.)

7. An allied group, Mbunga, occupies the extreme north of Mahenge District, where it enjoys the status of an independent tribe. Its affinities lie with the Ndendeuli some 200 miles south, scarcely at all with the less remote Ngindo-proper (the western-Ndonde are twice as close). Nevertheless kiMbunga has much in common with the Ngindo dialects spoken elsewhere, and its users warrant the designation 'Ngindo' on that score alone (see table below). The explorer Thomson's journey across Mbungaland in 1878 brought firm evidence of the permanence of this liaison. "One of our porters, who had been brought up in Gindo, spoke the M'henge (Mbunga)[x] idiom quite easily, although he had never been in the country before" (Ref.92,1878). Estimates of Mbunga population have varied widely ... 20-25,000 (1918); 9,756(1921); 17,709(1931); approximately 18,000 (boma estimate in 1946); and 10,034(1948). Tribal admixture may account for this ... the three so-called Mbunga chiefdoms run to 7,200 in tax-payers alone. An Mbunga offshoot at Kisaki, 100 miles north-east of Mbungaland, stated by Morogoro boma to be 6-700 strong, finds no place in the 1948 Census. Seemingly it corresponds to or forms part of the pocket of 1,904 "Pogoro" described by the Census as being present in that very chiefdom, namely Ukutu.

Percentage analysis of Wordlists.[(a)][xx]

Dialect.	Identical.[(b)]	Similar.[(c)]	Different.
Magingo (d)	92.4	5.1	2.5
Neo-Hamba	86.8	8.7	2.8
Coast-Ndonde	95.3	4.0	nil
Southern-Ndonde	90.6	8.3	1.1
Ndwewe (e)	64.2	20.8	13.6
Ndendeuli	88.7	8.5	2.1
Mbunga	67.9	18.7	8.0

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[x] Footnote: All single brackets like this are my own. Only when double brackets..((-)) ... appear are they from the original quotation. Unless otherwise specified, inverted commas and dashes(...)used in quotations are mine.

[xx] Look overleaf for the notes here referred to by the bracketed letters.

Notes:

(a) Consisting of a basic 530-word vocabulary, including the commoner verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc./ Words coinciding with Swahili were excluded. To indicate the degree of proximity in construction and idiom, I give a short parallel text in the Appendix. Cross-checking proved to be feasible only with Magingo, and to a lesser extent southern-Ndonde, informants. A full cross-check would undoubtedly have revealed further similarities. The balance of each percentage omitted from the table represents missed or queried words.

(b) By this is meant identical with the majority of the other Ngindo dialects recorded//, or nearly so, i.e. where a word is simply aspirated, as in kiNdonde 'kuHELEHA', to descend, for kiMagingo 'kuELEYA'.[x]

(c) This includes a number of categories the details of which appear in the Appendix.

(d) KiMagingo can be taken to embrace the other dialects of Ngindoland, of which the degree of variation in vocabulary is trifling; excepting in the case of the kiNdonde spoken in the extreme south, which can be bracketed with coast-Ndonde speech.

(e) This version of kiNdwewe is archaic, volunteered by an individual (for all the other dialects at least two informants collaborated) living in western Mahenge among the supposedly unadulterated Ndwewe. The bulk of Ndwewe, even the most senior elders, speak what is virtually kiNdonde of the type evolved by the western-Ndonde, whose dialect I had not the time to record.

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[x]Footnote on Native Names:

~~KiNgindo terms, or those used by the Ngindo, are written in capitals (stem only; particles, etc., in ordinary type); excepting for place, tribal, or personal names, or universally known ones such as 'safari', 'Ramadan', etc.,~~

See footnote on page 29.

Other pockets. That these seven nuclei, along with Ngindoland itself, by no means make up the overall Ngindo tally can be gauged from the fact that those Ngindo-speakers thought to be resident within them amount to something under 100,000, on a liberal estimate; whereas, judging by the 1948 Census figure of 85,000 Ngindo-proper, the true grand-total must be at least ten percent higher. Between Nyasa and the coast not a District is without its sprinkling of Ngindo: Kilwa for a start, which must still contain about 20,000 Ngindo, abounds with them. Not all of these can belong to the Njinjo concentration. The Ngindo of the next-door Lindi and Mtwara Districts are covered by the scattered coast-Ndonde, and in Newala District by the southern-Ndonde. Masasi District is thought to have pockets close to the Ruvuma, which may be regarded as a prolongation of the very extensive ones further up-stream in Tunduru District. Here District boundaries have long remained constant, so some idea of the Ngindo minorities' size is to be had. In 1948 Ndonde amounted to 2,152 (mostly in Nanyungu and Nakapanya chiefdoms), "Ngindo" to 756 (mostly in Nanyungu and Msamala), and "Ngoni" to 4,328 (mostly in Mbesa, Ligoma, Nanyungu, and Mlingoti, in that order). The latter, who occupy the north-western part of the District and were rated somewhat lower in 1931(3,789), must be almost wholly Ndendeuli. Thus, though separated by long stretches of forest, they form part of the Ndendeuli of Songea. The "Ngindo" and Ndonde elements intermingle with them, straggling over in the direction of Ngindoland and southwards to the Ruvuma as well. Songea itself, besides its native Ndendeuli, ~~abounds in~~ has many people of Ngindo stock, mostly through capture during the tribal-

war period. Few therefore retain their Ngindo character or admit to Ngindo origin. About them the 1948 Census is silent. The 'Handbook of German East Africa' mentioned 1,635 Ngindo in Songea. Mahenge District, apart from the western-Ndonde and Mbunga, appears to harbour some 4,000 Ngindo of one kind or another (by Chiefdoms: 2,752 in Umbunga; 1,336 in Upogoro; 392 in Ubena; and 312 in Ungoni ... Ref.54); and Rufiji District considerably more, over 6,000 (1,518 in Tawi; 1,400 in Mohoro; 621 in Ndundu; 305 in Msomeni; 277 in Kibambo; 256 in Mchukwi; 228 in Utete; etc ... Ref.54). Of these a high proportion may have been migrant-labourers, Rufiji, as opposed to all the other Districts mentioned with the partial exception of Lindi, being a major centre of employment; but the widespread distribution of its Ngindo shows them to have counted a great many settlers too. A thousand of them were thought to be present at the time of the first World War (Ref.64). In the case of the more northerly Districts such as Uzaramo (6,815 Ngindo in 1948), Kilosa (2,018), Morogoro (1,137), and Tanga (522), migrant-labour, which rose to a peak around 1948, accounts for all but a handful. A problem entry in the 1948 Census is 972 Ngindo in the Upangwa area of Njombe District. Seeing that the local authorities there have been totally unable to locate any Ngindo whatever thereabouts, let alone a thousand of them, this must be presumed an error.

Neighbours.

At least ten tribes impinge on the Ngindo groupings, in view of whose multiplicity it is easier to discuss each neighbour in turn than to define the tribal milieu of each Ngindo outlier separately. Looking from Ngindoland the nearest southerly neighbours are the

Mwera, a large and far more compact tribe (99,415 not including the people of the same name on the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa ... all statistics taken from the 1948 Census). The inter Mbwemkuru-Lukuledi contains almost the entirety of the Mwera, though they encroach north into the Kilwa coastal belt. Thus they not only give to Ngindoland its sole line of ethnic contact, but also embrace the coast-Ndonde in their midst and touch the neo-Hamba with their western flank. Only in the broadest outlines do Ngindo and Mwera resemble one another. Both are shifting cultivators with fragmentary social systems. But the Mwera, as opposed to the home-Ngindo and in a lesser degree to the coast-Ndonde, are matrilineal ... as it happens the neo-Hamba have now come to be largely matrilineal. Likewise in speech Ngindo and Mwera, though they belong to the same linguistic group (the 'Yao' group; comprising Yao, Ngindo and variants, Mwera, Makua, Makonde, Matambwe, Mawia), are mutually unintelligible.

South again from the Mwera lie the Makonde (281,320: presumably this includes the allied Matambwe), who invest the Tanganyika southern-Ndonde and stand in a similar relationship to the Ngindo to that of the Mwera. They likewise follow matriliny. The Makonde monopolise the area between the Ruvuma and Lukuledi rivers from the coast to as far west as the rim of the Makonde plateau. They are confined to the Tanganyika side of the border, though Matambwe straddle the mid-lower Ruvuma, south of which is Mawia country; but towards the Lukuledi mouth they extend some distance north of that river. Thus I was never able to discover whether the coast 'Machinga' (They are located around the Mbwemkuru estuary on the border between Kilwa and Lindi Districts, but not to be confused with the Yao sub-group of the same name ... figures for Kilwa District alone amounted to 8,201. The Lindi contingent was not specified) were by inspiration Mwera or Makonde.

Immediately east of both Mwera and Makonde come the Makua (95,464 in Tanganyika), who touch the very south-western corner of Ngindoland along with the neo-Hamba. In the same way that the Makonde are thought to be closely related to the Portuguese East African Mawia, the Makua belong to a vast matrilineal tribal entity south of the Ruvuma, the Meto, Lomwe, and others. Ngindo find kiMakua harder than any of the other 'Yao' languages. Linguistically, however, the next easterly neighbours, the Yao of Tunduru District (126,744: plus 3,271 'Machinga' Yao. Other Yao of course live across the border, and even as far away as Nyasaland), are very close indeed to the Mwera. Though presenting only a fragment of frontier in the Ngindoland quarter, and contrasting with the Ngindo in such particulars as matrilineal organization, centralized chieftainship, etc., these Yao have had a considerable contact with them, thanks firstly to the northward movement of Yao immigrants and secondly to the reverse flow of Ngindo customers to tobacco-growing Tunduru. Going west again from there one enters the Ndendeuli country of Songea District, still loosely referred to as 'Ngoni'. The Ngoni are reckoned to be 102,994 strong; that is, with the Ndendeuli but without the westerly Matengo (57,637). Another tribe who overlap largely with the Ngoni are the Pangwa (26,790) of the Livingstone mountains. Owing to the currency of kiNdendeuli, which apparently bears strong resemblances to kiNjelu (the western Ngoni patois), kiMatengo, and the other vernaculars spoken thereabouts, the affinities of Ngindoland are probably stronger in this direction than in any other. But though the Ngoni are patrilineal into the bargain, their system of rank and their culture as a whole makes them a totally different proposition; especially the western ones. Songea District has a largish body of Yao in its south-eastern section; but these are merely part of the

Tunduru Yao, just as the 'Ngoni' of Tunduru District can be regarded as a feeler thrown out by the Ndendeuli of Songea District. A like group is to be found in southern Mahenge District around Kilosa ('Kilosa kwa Mpepo', i.e. nothing to do with Kilosa boma on the central railway line). Most of the 5,193 Ngoni recorded in Mahenge must be members of this group.

Leaving aside the big ~~BENA~~ Bena and ~~HEHE~~ Hehe tribes east and north of Mahenge District who, though they border on the Mbunga, are too remote from the mass of Ngindo to warrant consideration here ... both, incidentally, are patrilineal ... the next group of any significance are the ~~POGORO~~ Pogoro (56,387: including the Rufiji District outliers) of central Mahenge. The Pogoro differ markedly from the Ngindo in both speech and custom. Yet they now interpolate between the Mbunga and western-Ndonde and even prior to the evacuation schemes mingled with the northernmost elements of Ngindoland around Madaba (now game-reserve). The Njenje, sole Ndonde subsidiary to retain any coherence, ~~seem to~~ exhibit extensive Pogoro features. It seems that the Pogoro, until a generation ago, were matrilineal. To their north, along the Ulanga valley and in amongst the Mbunga, lie the ~~NDAMBA~~ Ndamba (19,032), about whom little is known. Little more can be said of the ~~VIDUNDA~~ Vidunda, ~~KUTU~~ Kutu, and ~~LUGURU~~ Luguru who in the north-east complete the circle of Mbunga neighbours. At least one of these is matrilineal. Descending to and crossing the ~~RUFIJI~~ Rufiji, south of the tribe of that name with its associated ~~NDENGEREKO~~ Ndengereko (70,969 together), come the final Ngindo neighbours, the ~~MATUMBI~~ Matumbi and ~~KICHI~~ Kichi (35,695 together) of south Rufiji and north Kilwa Districts. All four of these peoples appear patrilineal, though to their north again the ~~ZARAMO~~ Zaramo (173,518) have, at any rate in the past, been matrilineal. Nowadays game-reserve forms a buffer between Ngindoland and

the northern neighbours, into whom they formerly shaded off. Only around the Njinjo centre of Kilwa District do they still overlap. Linguistic and cultural variation between them appears abrupt. Hence the main Ngindo ties can be seen to be westerly and southerly; scarcely at all with the north, brought into focus by adventitious factors such as the northward irruption of the Mbunga less than a century ago, the direction of Government evacuation-schemes, and the northward flow of migrant-labour.

Historical Outline.

From the diversity of Ngindo and neighbouring groupings it can be understood that it would be unprofitable to set out any detailed history at this stage. Therefore only its salient contours will be delineated. Before the nineteenth century scarcely any light was thrown on happenings in the interior. However the chronicles of the Kilwa empire, established in the early Middle Ages, reveal that African tribes occupied the hinterland throughout, by turns at war or trading with the Asiatic settlers. So the claim of the Ngindo to be the foundation stock thereabouts can neither be disproved nor otherwise ... their own memories are hopelessly short. Some of them were aboriginal hunters a century ago. The term 'Ngindo' had caught on at least as long ago as that. Apparently the colonists of the coast applied it to the natives of the interior as an indiscriminate label. It was about then that two decisive forces made their impact on the Nyasa region. One was the intensified slave-trade following upon the transfer of the Omani Arab realm's centre of gravity to Zanzibar, turning Kilwa into the largest slave emporium on the whole coast. The other

was the onset of Ngoni invaders from the south. Bursting in on the ill-knit 'tribes' between Nyasa and the coast, they vied with the slave-trade (which they finally threw out of gear by their excesses) in spreading ruin.

It was the Ngoni upheaval that threw up most of the far-flung Ngindo outliers. The initial explosion was almost spontaneous, for only a mild detonation sufficed to disperse the Ngindo-speakers, then mostly resident in eastern Songea, to the four quarters. The Ndendeuli alone remained relatively stable as subjects of the conquerors, who settled down in central Songea, whence they ravaged the entire region. Yet a massive Ndendeuli segment did become detached and moving northwards founded the Mbunga. Other splinter groups went east to Tunduru. Next-door to the Ndendeuli and to their east had lived the Ndonde, of whom only a fragment ... this was later to become the western-Ndonde (the kindred Ndwewe always lived in south Mahenge). remained stationary The remainder fled east, to be spread all the way from Rufiji to Ruvuma, with relatively dense zones of settlement near the Kilwa coast (now accentuated by the Njinjo evacuation), in south Ngindoland, inland from Lindi ('coast-Ndonde'), at the headwaters of the Lumesule and Mbwemkuru rivers ('neo-Hamba'), and on the lower Ruvuma ('southern-Ndonde'). Of the other Ngindo it seems likely that the proto-Hamba, Chobo, and Ikemba were in occupation of south, central, and north Ngindoland from an early date; certainly before the Ngoni shock. On the other hand the Magingo probably moved thither from an intermediate westerly hearth between Ngindoland and old Ndondeland.

During this period many of the present neighbour-

ing tribes were on the move. Makonde, Mwera, and Makua came from south of the Ruvuma early in the nineteenth century, if not before. The Yao followed suit later. A tribe thought to have preceded them, perhaps by many centuries, as inhabitants of the mid Ruvuma were the now lost Mang'anja, possibly connected with the Nyasaland 'Nyanja' peoples. By contrast none of the northern neighbours has any accepted history of migration. Pogoro and Matumbi for instance are reckoned autochthonous ... little credit can be attached to the theory of the latter's Hehe derivation. For several decades all these, with the exception of the tougher Yao, were the victims of Ngoni depredations, which reached a climax shortly before the German occupation in 1888. The Mbunga took a leading part in the Afro-Arab 'Bushiri' rising of that year, but suffered a crushing reverse. It was some while later before the Ngoni of Songea were brought to heel. Thereafter the Ngindo settled down wherever the tribal wars had left them, excepting those that shifted hither and thither in the Majimaji troubles of 1905 and those transplanted by recent evacuation-schemes.

Home-Ngindo Outline.

Since the home-Ngindo alone can be described with any thoroughness, certain facts about them should be stated beforehand as a guide to the understanding of their specialised aspects. The home-Ngindo (hereafter called 'Ngindo') are subsistence farmers living in widely scattered settlements, which are themselves internally dispersed. No longer hunters, they nevertheless have a great intimacy with the woodland and thicket expanses which everywhere dwarf their homesteads.[x] They are generally poor, with nondescript huts and other belongings. Reasonably clean and groomed, though seldom adorned or tattooed, they wear unsewn lengths of trade material, mostly ugly black stuff. Physically there is no common denominator. Many Ngindo are stocky, dark-complexioned, Mongoloid; but one sees features that are pure Caucasian; and pure Negro.

x It is rare to see Ngindo on the march without their bows and arrows, tipped with (officially banned) poison.

According preference to the agnatic principle, their typical politico-residential unit or 'cell' is a loose cluster of up to a dozen agnates along with their families and other dependants; but the overall balance of importance attached to uterine kin is in fact fairly even. Apart from Government-appointed headmen they neither have nor had other authorities beyond the heads of the territorial and kinship clusters just mentioned, or very limited agglomerations of them. Their kinship system is shallow in depth but extensive laterally, thanks to the utilization of putative and fictitious links and to the recognition of all lines of descent. They favour a type of marriage-by-service associated with the betrothal of infant girls. Only after the latters' initiation does marriage become virilocal. Bridewealth-payments in cash must be made. Divorce, though easily obtainable, is infrequent. In that event the children follow the father or his agnatic kin, as also when a widow refuses to be inherited. Widows stand under no legal constraint to follow this course. Though women occupy a subordinate position in public matters and undergo a close surveillance, adultery, adjusted by cash compensation (and a smaller amount in fines if a Government court adjudicates), occurs very frequently. Polygyny is common. Almost to a man the Ngindo profess the Islamic faith, but nevertheless retain the bulk of their pagan practices and beliefs. Islam promotes the use of ki-Swahili, in which nearly all adult males and some women are bilingual along with kiNgindo, spoken for choice in the home. In addition the vernacular contains or has absorbed many Swahili features; but these are scarcely recognisable owing to the Ngindo practice of accentuating the first syllable of the stem, as opposed to the penultimate. Incidentally the Ngindo dialects

follow Swahili in the hard pronunciation of the prefix 'ki-'. This differentiates Ngindo-speakers from other members of the 'Yao' linguistic group, who say 'ci-(chi-)'. Apart from the seasonal pageantry of initiation-cum-marriage and occasional Islamic or pagan ceremonies to mark other events, their lives are singularly devoid of ritual. Despite the fragmentation and backwardness of Ngindoland, its people are highly mobile, both in their internal visits and migrations, and in their outside sorties. Very few indeed are without experience of migrant-labour./ All know the use of cash. By nature insular in the extreme, they nevertheless place an extraordinarily high premium on hospitality and polite behaviour//, amounting to a ruling status-complex, which has the paradoxical effect of inducing further fragmentation. Violence is almost unknown. To most offences, with the notable exception of theft, Ngindo show themselves exceptionally tolerant. Disputes, unless referred to the Government-sponsored court (formerly courts), may be settled by discussion between representatives of the miniature social units. These Ngindo hang together by virtue of common speech and residence, emphasised by physical isolation; and by virtue of the fact that the bulk of them have long belonged to the same administrative unit of Liwale 'Bezirk' (German), 'Division' (British between the wars), and 'Sultanate' (post-war). In relation to Mwera, Matumbi, and other neighbours, Ngindo have an entirely distinctive culture. Finally their own conception of Islam, created in circumstances of great stress during the Majimaji/ Revolt, clearly sets them apart both from groups with heterogeneous religious practices (i.e. mixed Christian and Islamic, Christian and pagan, or plain pagan) and even from fellow Muslims such as the Tunduru Yao, who are far more orthodox.

Method.

Little being known, or even suspected, of the true complexity of the Ngindo situation, the initial field period of ten months went to the investigation of the home-Ngindo. This was during 1952. The greater part of that investigation was carried on at a selected settlement in north-central Ngindoland, Barikiwa. The available mode of travel was by foot with costly porterage, so only temporary reconnaissances could be made elsewhere. By this means, together with similar journeys during the second field period, virtually the entire home-Ngindo area was covered. At the beginning of 1953 came a break of three months at the University of Cape Town. On return to the field, the intensive study of Barikiwa went forward. Meanwhile village surveys were executed at five other selected points in the Sultanate, thus broadening the scope of the inquiry to embrace Ngindoland as a whole. Together with the time necessary for their selection, about a week was spent at each of these points. During this eleven-month period expeditions were made to the outlier Ngindo as well, including the coast-Ndonde, southern-Ndonde, neo-Hamba, western-Ndonde, Mbunga, and Ndendeuli, again averaging a week with each ... remember that identification of the dialect in each case demanded three full days. The Tunduru, Kilwa, and Rufiji groups could be visited only in transit. Work on documentary material was done at old-Liwale, Ruponda, Nachingwea, Lindi, Newala, Masasi, Tunduru, Songea, Mahenge, and Kilwa bomas. Other such material was forthcoming from Morogoro and Njombe bomas. Missionary authorities were consulted wherever possible, and good use was made of the Dar es Salaam Museum facilities. A short migrant-labour report was also compiled for Government. From this it will be obvious that nowhere excepting at Barikiwa could thorough

observations be made. Even there I do not claim to have achieved one hundred percent accuracy or to have understood perfectly the workings of social relationships within it.

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x Footnote relating to Native Words (see context overleaf).

To accord with the linguistic analysis in Appendix C, and to facilitate translation, the stem of every kiNgindo word quoted is written thus in capital-letters, with the remaining elements in small-type. But where a particle, prefix, or other non-stem element stands at the beginning of a sentence, its initial letter will then be a capital-letter; unless such an element should consist of one letter only, in which case it will remain in small-type. Terms in vernacular languages other than kiNgindo are, however, written in small-type and placed in inverted-commas. Place- and personal-names too, whether Ngindo or not, are written in small-type; as also are universally known foreign terms, such as 'Ramadan' (of course, if the context warrants it, the initial letter of such a term will be a capital-letter). I use underlining only occasionally for special emphasis; for instance, the device occurs in Chapter I, to make tribal names stand out clearly; and in Chapter VI to make the songs do likewise.

PART II. THE HOME-NGINDO.

Chapter II. Economy.

Physical Environment.

The topography of Ngindoland as it now stands varies widely. In the centre it is mainly flat, with abrupt valley-troughs (sing. luKEMBA)[x] at intervals; in the east and south less indented, with broad, shallow stream-beds; in the north and west more undulating, with deeper and more grandiose valleys; in the south-west distinctly hilly (kiTUMBI, hill). Here and there in the extreme south stands the odd massive koppie (maGANGA, i.e. boulders). Geology, soil, drainage, and vegetation vary accordingly. "Most of the area is composed of gneisses ... but their surface is very rotted so that no solid rocks appear at the surface in the central part. Where the country is a little more undulating Murram laterite or quartz rubble may appear at surface indicating the proximity of solid rock. Towards the south, rock is seen on and around the hills. The west and north-west ... is composed of soft sedimentary rocks, chiefly soft mauve or reddish sandstone, lying on a bed of pebbles and boulders of quartz, sandstone, and flint. This in turn lies on rotted gneiss, which is just exposed in the Liwale valley" (Ref.22). Of the soil cover (liNDUPI) the same source states: "The soils on the gneiss range from sandy on the rises to semi-Mbuga in the wide valleys, with all intermediate types. A widespread type is very sandy, but is bound together by clay ... Where the undulations of the country are more pronounced better sandy soils, sometimes reddish, occur on the tops and semi-Mbuga soils occur in the valleys. The sedimentary rocks give excellent sandy soils, usually of a mauve-red colour; around Liwale, however, there is a sheet of white sand".

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[x] See footnote on previous page.

NGINDOLAND.

⊙ Former Court-centres cleared by Govt. Evacuation-Schemes.

Regarding water (MACHI), "The only near-permanent rivers of the area are the Mbemkuru (sic) and the Liwale, which flow most of the year and have pools for the rest. Streams in the sedimentaries flow or have water in their beds throughout the year. There are numerous ponds near other streams up till now, August, but these will mostly dry up in a month or so" (Ref.22). Massive forest (li-PUNGUTI) clothes the centre, thinning away to relatively open terrain (MWERA) in the south and south-east, with the latter's distinctive bamboo and baobab. In the north, upland thicket (mHWITU) alternates with woodland slopes (NJENGANI) and almost treeless valley-floors (ku-LUCHI) ... "From the air it may be seen that the margin of the thickets is usually polygonal and of shapes resembling native cultivation; in the thickets are frequently cleared areas; on somewhat higher sedimentary hills to the north, thicket has every appearance of being primary" (same ref). In the west and south-west, though uniformly spread, a sparser forest prevails. Tsetse-fly (naPANGA), particularly severe in south-centre and extreme north, though nowhere in present Liwale has epidemic sleeping-sickness (maLALE) broken out, are ubiquitous; as are the majority of big game (NYAMA). Of these it is elephant (NDEMBO) which most concern the people. Ngindoland's ivory returns show that since the war an average of over 250 of these animals have been ~~are~~ shot every year in routine 'elephant-control' duties, in which as a rule only a dozen African scouts are engaged. In addition a further 1,000 lbs of found-ivory comes in annually. By all accounts elephant have not always been part of the Ngindoland scene. Elders speak of a time when people made special trips to the west in order to verify that an elephant was indeed as big as a hut! The influx of the creatures appears to have come not long after the

n/p

Ngindoland during the rains: Mbwemkuru (above), and Mihumo (below), crossings.

European occupation. Early in the present century Sutherland was in quest of them up and down the area. As favoured hunting-grounds he specifically mentions the Mbwemkuru (southern border of Liwale) and Mbarang'andu (old western border) rivers. (Ref.89). The District Book[x] (1928 material) repeatedly emphasised the past absence of game. Even in westerly Ndondeland "Game was rare and there was no hunting". In what is now Ngindoland "Game was scarce and elephant unknown". This may have been somewhat exaggerated ... another contributor queries the latter observation. At any rate with the Mandate Ngindoland found itself beset. By 1932 the chiefdoms of Ngarambi (north) and Nyera (east) were clamouring for Game Scouts.

Communications are generally poor. In fact, for the best part of six months in the year thanks to swollen rivers, Ngindoland gets wholly marooned to motor traffic. Since walking is the universal mode of locomotion, and the head-load (NCHIGO, MHWIGO) the universal mode of transport, this makes little difference to the Ngindo themselves for whom even bicycles are a great rarity. Some 200 miles of dry-season motor road are however cleared year by year, whilst excellent paths (NDILA) connect most settlements. Government runners maintain a regular weekly all-weather service across the Mbwemkuru. Amenities are very few: Liwale-boma boasts court-house and offices, school, market, dispensary ...: all African-run. It alone provides a trading centre of any pretensions; all but one of its dozen or so petty retailers and exporters are Africans. Outside, a couple of bush-schools and a market have opened recently, and one encounters the odd sub-trader or hawker. That is all. There is no Christian mission or mission-inspired

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Footnote x By this is meant the old Liwale District Book (Ref.55).

activity. With the exception of the patrolling Senior Game Ranger, many Ngindo do not see a European (NJUNGWA) from one year's end to the next.

The Fields.

The Ngindo are conventional shifting-cultivators (NEMI, plur. akaLEMI) growing a wide range of crops. Of these sorghum (plur. maPEMBA) is easily the most prevalent. In bulk, though not in value, it heads the list of exports. It also provides the staple food. Very often the subsidiary crops, including those not normally destined for home consumption, may be found planted together (kuIYULALILA). So the technique of tilling a sorghum-field (NG'UNDA) automatically applies to all other crops excepting rice and such oddments as sweet-potatoes. Fresh fields are hacked out of standing woodland (kuHENURIRA high, kuPETURIRA intermediate) ... the plateau thickets no longer offer the same inducements as they did in the past, owing to their present remoteness from riverine homesteads and to the threat of animal pests (sing. kiKOKO), especially elephant throughout the dry-season (NGUNGU); that is, from June to November inclusive. Most trees, felled by axe, have their branches loped (kuTEYATEYA) off with axe or bill-hook and piled on top of the stump with its fallen bole. Larger trees may be simply pollarded (kuPANGULILA), each erect trunk serving as support for a bonfire of its own limbs. Meanwhile, or later on, any grass or undergrowth is scraped off (kuKAKARA, kuHAGALA, kuKWALA) with hoes and made into smaller heaps (liTEMA or liTUI brushwood). Finally, when everything is dried out, the farmer burns it down (kuPAMBA) to ash, leaving the soil bare but undisturbed. Sweet-potatoes alone have ridged beds (kuKEMULILA liTUI or liMBANGA). Fallows (plur. maHUNDO), seldom maintained more than two seasons, require clearance with axe and bill-hook, weeding

by hoe, and firing. Farmers try to leave this till as late as possible so as to avoid doing the job a second time, should the vegetation sprout before planting (kuPANDA, kuBANGILA early, kuKOBERA late) can proceed. The pollarded skeletons of trees left over from previous seasons may be eliminated in the process (kuKUNGABILA meaning to refire). Ngindo think ash (liYU) beneficial to the soil but pay no attention to fertilization as such; nor in the absence of livestock does manure enter the cycle. Primarily, burning serves to remove the débris in the same way that grass-burning clears the way for honey-hunters and the like to move freely about the forest. The sole example of soil enrichment I noticed was a type of cucumber (liTANGA) with an abundant yield which, instead of being gathered, was left to rot on the ground. Only the dry seeds were utilized to make a relish. However I reckon this to be not so much deliberate conservation as a famine reserve ... should famine conditions arise, they generally reach a peak shortly after this cucumber crop. Erosion threatens to grow serious owing to the retention of traditional plateau techniques on the abrupt slopes of valleys.

Since the meaning of this riverine type of settlement may not be clear, it should be explained that it is the result of a fifty-year process. During the Ngoni raids if not before, that is to say through several decades prior to the European occupation, the people took to the thickets for security. Possibly the reason for the utter mutilation of the Ndonde was the scarcity of such refuges in old Ndondeland. At all events, life in the thickets had become the norm when the Europeans arrived. Besides shelter there were other advantages in that life, remembering that to some extent the extreme diffusion it implied

continued to afford protection ... against German discipline. Fifty years ago wild-rubber had already filled the pockets of the existing inhabitants and led to an on-rush of new ones. The rubber creepers (MHWANGA) flourishing only in thicket, it was advantageous to live on the spot, and so peg a claim, as it were; not that any monopoly rights were held. In those days, no one knows why, elephant had yet to penetrate Ngindo-land in force; so it was perfectly feasible to leave fields unattended. Again, thicket soils were found to be kinder to such crops as eleusine, grown partly as an answer to the raiders who could not be bothered to appropriate very small grains; partly as a supply of food and surplus for brewing ... no one dreamt of selling food for export as is done nowadays. Sorghum, then grown 'only for the spirits', i.e. to provide flour for offerings, by no means carried its present import-ance. Since then, economic and bureaucratic forces have driven the Ngindo from their thickets. Not only did rubber (MPIRA) crash ... never since the first World War has it com-pared with other produce for return on the work involved, or even paid at all ;// but the thicket crops, now a source of income as well as subsistence, fetched meagre prices by com-parison with riverine crops, especially rice. At the same time officials, first German and then British, urged the adoption of a more compact pattern of settlement. The culmina-tion of the policy was of course wholesale evacuation under the significantly named 'Closer Settlement Scheme' (called "Mdimu" by the District Book). Though the population almost without exception now occupies the valleys, in some of which the homesteads form intermittent chains of up to 50 miles in length, fragmentation remains the chief administrative prob-lem posed by the Ngindo.

To resume the cultivation-cycle (kuLIMA), planting of sorghum comes first//, preferably in advance of the first showers (HULA). Most of the other crops follow suit

rapidly. These are maize (plur. maLOMBE), groundnuts (plur. maLAVI), several varieties of beans (plur. NGUYA, MBWEO, etc.) and peas (plur. MBELEMENDE), pumpkins (sing. liPONDO, liTAGALA) (plur. maWELE) cucumbers [illegible], water melons (sing. liTINDILI), bullrush- and finger-millet (ULEYI); also sesame (UHONO) and castor-oil (MBARIKA). Seed (MBEJU) is not broadcast but buried in shallow holes scooped out (kuTEMANGA) for the purpose. Cassava (MUHOGO), planted from suckers, is placed ready in the ground so as to strike at once; otherwise it may not mature till the following season and be useless in emergency. It is cassava which generally closes the field-rotation. The pumpkins ripen first, followed by cucumbers, maize, finger-millet, and some of the beans; then groundnuts, which have to be sun-dried for some while; sesame likewise; finally pigeon-peas, sorghum, and bullrush-millet. Sweet potatoes (NGAMBA) depending on the moisture, may ~~germinate~~ shoot at any time; as may any of the quick-maturing crops ..., one or two favoured spots in the Sultanate such as Mikongota and Nailala permit dry-season gardens (sing. liTIMBE). The castor-oil plant grows into a durable bush and behaves like planted trees. The latter include bananas (sing. liTOCHI), mangoes (mWEMBE tree), pawpaws (PAPAI), cashew (KOROCHO), kapok (mSUFI tree) and coconuts (NAZI); but their output is negligible. Any tree left unguarded soon falls a prey to elephant. The n/p threat of these animals leads to virtual transhumance. The individual Ngindo generally builds his hut (NYUMBA) in or close to his staple-field. But where, as often happens, he chooses to live within call of several agnatic kinsmen, or has no suitable ground on his own doorstep and hesitates to move in pursuit of his fields, he must erect field-lookouts (kiLINDO) and maintain constant watch. Where the fields cover a large area, say ten acres, several lookouts may be necessary. In them owners keep vigil whilst the crops are maturing and raise a din if the herds, which are generally nocturnal, can be heard approaching. The sorghum harvest

(invariable plur. maHUNO) is 'the harvest'. Being last of all the major crops to mature, it closes the season. Before it reaches shoulder-height it will have been weeded (kuKURUGA, kuCHEPA) twice as a rule; and after this nursed (kuLINDIRA) by day against bird and baboon, by night against pig, buck, and elephant. But once its tall stalks have been felled (kuPETA) the fields lie neglected. Crafts, dancing, drinking, and above all the initiation-cum-marriage ceremonies, absorb the energies of the people.

Rice (MPUNGA) on the other hand comes in a good deal earlier. Planted as soon as the valley-floors become saturated, it ripens fast. The typical low-lying vegetation being matted grass and reeds, seldom combustible, its removal entails extra labour. Thanks to favourable prices, rice brings more money to the Ngindo than any other crop. Therefore they themselves scarcely touch it, excepting as the prescribed dish at Muslim feasts. Incidentally they find it lacking in body and object to having to live on it as a ration. Thus, although exports of rice and sorghum weigh the same, total production of the latter must be vastly greater. There are to be found one or two lesser-known crops such as tomatoes (plur.NJWICHWI) and red pepper (NDAHA). I was unable to discover the Western names of most of them, i.e. maNJANU, maNGUNGA, liLELE, etc. To meet the keen demand for tobacco, used mainly in the form of snuff (kuHIPA ...sniff ... liMBAKU), a certain amount is grown locally. But most of the supply has to be imported. Scarcely any cotton (liTONJI) occurs. Tsetse-fly, it has been said, banishes stock from Ngindoland. There are no sheep, no cattle, and probably under fifty head of goats (MBUI) in the whole country. Very occasionally one sees a pitiful cur-dog or domestic cat. Otherwise the

people content themselves with doves (NGUNDA) and fowls (NGUKU). Even these, used mainly as gifts, festive-dishes, and offerings, suffer continual losses from carnivora.

Not unexpectedly, tenure of fields appears extra-ordinarily loose. The population-density is low, political cohesion lacking, the country tolerably well watered, and the level of fertility fairly uniform. Positively no obligation exists compelling a farmer to consult anyone when clearing either virgin forest or old fallows; though it would be etiquette to approach the nearest neighbour, or alternatively any person regarded as the senior local resident. The Ngindoland Council maintained in 1930 that "By our ancient law if a man enters our country, wishing to trade or settle, he must produce (an offering for) blessing to give to the holder of the land (Swahili "Mwenyewe nchi") so that he may sacrifice to the spirits". The discussion centred about a plot used by an Indian shop-keeper, however, and cannot be considered typical. To forestall possible repercussions, nowadays some inform the local Government-headman, who nevertheless has no disposal whatever of vacant land. The contingency of a stranger walking into a first-year staple-field fallow without asking the cultivator's permission seems highly improbable to the Ngindo. I have never found a case of it, so can only quote the balance of opinion on the subject#, which is that a claim for the retention of anything older than a first-year fallow would be neither admissible nor worthwhile testing in court.

#. The same cannot be said of paddy-fields (kiCHATI), where some pressure on the available land-resources has begun to be felt. Out of over a thousand 'Native-Court' cases examined, only one had to do with land at all, and that was a paddy-field near the native administrative centre of

Liwale-boma. In it the issue appears to have revolved around a family tiff rather than serious competition for land, and both evidence and judgment are highly confused (AP 2/47)[x]. Certainly it justifies no broad conclusion. My study in depth treated an essentially upland settlement where no dispute had ever arisen over rice-plots; though certain owners had plainly been obliged to go some distance up- or down-stream in order to find room. Hearsay has it that claims and counter-claims fly about in the broader valley-troughs, and that a newcomer can only with difficulty get a footing there. I have no proper verification of this and would regard it as exaggerated. It may be that the volume of such conflicts is higher than the official records indicate, their adjustment having been effected through local arbitration instead. Possibly in pre-European days settlers had to be more circumspect; though even this is open to serious doubt. A European official, reporting in the early 1930s when it was no longer so essential to dance the Indirect Rule jig as it had been at the policy's local inception some years before, ventured to suggest that the alleged indigenous authorities and social units

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x Footnote:

i.e. 'Magingo-Ndonde' (Ngindoland) Native Appeal Court case No.2. of 1947. Unless obviously otherwise from the context or indicated by the abbreviation "ev" (evidence only), forthcoming quotations can be assumed to be extracts from judgments recorded in Swahili by an African clerk, signed by the native court holder, and checked by a European official. The original proceedings were of course almost exclusively carried on in the vernacular. The cases in question are those heard by certain of Ngindoland's courts, namely ...

LIW	Liwale (subordinate court).
KIP	Kipule, a few miles south-west.
BAR	Barikiwa, 25 miles north.
MCH	Muhinje Chini in the extreme north-east.
NJ	Njenje Juu, in the extreme west.
AP	As above, sitting at Liwale-boma. In 1948 under the 'Sultan', formerly in charge at Kipule, it became the sole recognized court. The court system is discussed elsewhere (See Chapter IV, Agnatic Kinship.)

had no say in land matters. He concluded that whilst "the family on the spot exercises the right of control over the immediate neighbourhood", "there is no such thing as clan lands", and that "knowledge of names of spirits leads nowhere in determining clan lands ... many uninhabited areas possess no ancestral guardian spirits at all" (Ref.55).

Cultivators do however hold definite rights over ready-cleared or planted fields. Every mature woman expects to have a field to herself. Polygynists make separate arrangements for each wife, and the small sprinkling of unattached women, if still able-bodied, get plots from the male kinsmen on whom they happen to depend. Likewise separate granaries (sing. kiKOKWE) are built, or compartments made within a granary. The only active cultivators who possess no field are suitor bride-grooms (sing. MKOSANO) who must as a rule work in the field of whichever female in-law is selected, usually the betrothed girl's own mother. Rights over a given field are shared by husband and wife, but the latter gets a free hand in the allocation of the food (kiLYO) it yields. Several husbands told me: "I never know how much there is left in the granary until my wife comes and tells me it is empty". If she turns out to be foolishly wasteful, the solution is for a polyginist to enlarge, at her expense, the acreage for another steadier wife. In principle husband and wife have exactly equal rights over their joint field, as measured in terms of produce. If they quarrel or separate, each must get half. Their rights concern the crop rather than the land itself; but trespassers can be excluded on the ground that a loiterer may be practising sorcery. Elders, called in to adjudicate on this point, ruled that no one was entitled to cross another man's field, excepting in the

dry-season when it lay fallow (MCH 50/43). Some such borderline cases will emerge from the forthcoming discussion of beekeeping. A woman may have more than one field. Three are not at all uncommon; that is, a new staple-field, a nearly exhausted field under cassava near the main household, and a rice-plot somewhere in the stream-bed.

Living-huts tend to play follow-my-leader with the fields. First the two coincide. Then, the owner reaching out for more suitable ground, his choice dictated by many factors including kinship ties, the staple-field parts company with the hut, whilst a dense growth of cassava around the latter makes for inertia. Meanwhile the field-lookouts will have been lived in and the living-hut will have deteriorated. So, a season or two later, residence will switch to the now established outlier-field, which may already have been relegated to cassava. This delayed-action movement has much to do with the interdependence of cassava, a plant that can profitably be left in the ground two or even three seasons, and the living-hut, the occupants of which both rely on the stable cassava supply in lean times and give protection to it throughout the year ... flourishing cassava holds great temptation for animal and other pests in the months when ~~little other~~ scant green stuff offers either in field or forest. The process appears erratic in detail, but a group such as a corporate lineage-cell can be seen to move in a definite, often circular, orbit within a familiar tract of woodland, say five miles square. Examples of this are the dominant lineages in Forest-charts A and C (see under the next section: Forest). Otherwise they may jump further afield, to come straight back to the old fallows close on a generation later. I estimate that the regeneration of forest takes

at least ten years. The reasons for such a jump are manifold. Very often it serves to save face. Thus a man who has by intrigue alienated the affections of a neighbour's wife, then married her himself, will feel bound to shift a token distance of two or three miles. Even though the breach has healed and the men seem on the best of terms, the culprit will 'feel ashamed' living cheek-by-jowl. As will be shown, concrete spatial considerations dominate Ngindo society.

Since field-rotations are so short, and fallows so unimportant, inheritance of land scarcely amounts to an issue; excepting of course in the case of lowland paddy-fields. Yet, an ordinary woodland field recently cleared is an asset, and someone will assuredly want to 'pick it up' (kuLOKOTA). In theory the deceased's wives, ~~physical~~ full- brothers, and sons should get the biggest shares in the distribution of his effects. In practice the goods go in all directions. Any relative who lives nearby, whether on the agnatic side or not, and who cares to press for it, will get at least something, if only a single pot or an arrow. If informants try to work out a general scheme of inheritance they arrive at a fairly complete cross-section of the available relatives. Here is a specimen. First heir is the son, second brother, third father, fourth paternal uncle, fifth paternal aunt, sixth maternal uncle [redacted]. Belongings of a woman, who is unlikely to own much unless she be a skilled potter or other specialist, will go primarily to her husband and children, only secondarily to her blood kin. Since marriage is virilocal the latter will usually live some distance off; so here again territorial proximity holds the balance. Sometimes the parties will get equal shares. "They (the brother and

husband of the deceased) will share the food and utensils so that the plaintiff (brother) may get his sister's inheritance" (BAR 5/37). An individual's wealth, especially if he should live to a ripe old age and hence should take a back seat in all matters save formal precedence, is pitifully small; a field or two, probably cast-off cassava patches of younger men; a hut, probably in disrepair; a few ageing hives, vicariously kept; perhaps some food; a modest collection of fowls, cloths, or shillings; odd pots, implements and weapons; that is all. In the case of a fixture like a field, residence is decisive. Though it means nothing to them to cover 50 miles a day on foot, Ngindo consider it abnormal to have to go more than a few hundred years to draw water or cultivate. So whoever among the eligible kin lives nearest, hence takes an interest, will step in. This is when the ground is cultivable but lying idle. If crops stand on it at the time of the owner's death, these will go to the joint owner, namely husband, wife, or guardian. It seldom happens that a person of either sex dies unattached ... Ngindo say that a woman must necessarily be 'in someone's hands'. Spinsters are very uncommon; able-bodied ones almost unknown; adult bachelors extremely rare.

Statements of the ideal in all aspects of inheritance betray hesitation. The old idea, and still the prevailing one, holds that the senior agnatic survivor, sometimes only a putative paternal uncle or cousin, should inherit. Against this the eldest son has a claim supported by supposed Islamic law; though any sensible son appreciates that he must remain 'in the hands' of any senior agnate living within the same territorial cluster, and would therefore defer even if appointed heir by the deceased or some

outside agency. Conversely, if the senior agnatic survivor gets custody in the normal way, he must likewise defer, acting as trustee rather than personal beneficiary. Some of the goods he will distribute to mourners right away. The remainder will go into what amounts to a 'lineage pool', of which he is the controller. Were he to abuse the wealth so inherited he would risk disrupting the very unit of which he is the head, hence undermine his own position. It is in his own interest to share. Irregular bequests on the lines of Islamic Waqf, though rumoured to have been tried at the coast without success, never occur here and would, think the Ngindo, be set aside if made.

Planted trees (sing. mKONGO all species) belong to the planter, but only if he remains in occupation of the plot on which they stand or in very close proximity. As a rule, thanks to elephant, the question of absentee ownership never arises ... a common index of the frequency of abandoned homesteads is the sight of mutilated mango-trees at deserted spots in the forest. I neither witnessed, nor heard of, a dispute over such trees, which in any case nowhere amount to plantations of any value. I did find an isolated case dealing partly with trees, but an inconclusive one since the accused was found guilty of the joint offence of taking, without the occupant's permission, mangoes originally planted by himself; and of damaging crops, presumably in getting to the tree or dislodging the fruit (KIP 1/36). He was fined Shs. 3/-. The inference clearly was, however, that an absentee planter forfeits his right over a tree. Being for the most part an alien innovation of the present century, fruit-trees tend to be regulated by alien rulings ... an old man told me that his introduction of mangoes to his home settlement caused a furore, and many who at first predicted that he would succumb to occult

forces thought him lucky to escape with his life .//
~~fruit-trees tend to be regulated by alien rulings.~~
Seasonal hire of a mango-tree has been known. The odd cantankerous owner prohibits picking and even chases children away from the windfalls; but this is regarded as pure ~~"coast"~~ coast-behaviour and highly un-Ngindo. Note that perishable fruit, which has no appreciable cash value, is scarcely susceptible of theft. This may be because Ngindo view even planted trees as adjuncts of the free forest. The disappearance of an equally trifling household article on the other hand would lead to serious consequences. Ownership and transfer of fields, field-products, and by-products, necessitates some general discussion of property (ULOI); which is why on this, the first encounter with the topic, I digress. Its further aspects will be elaborated gradually as each outstanding item of property comes into focus.

Total output from the fields cannot readily be assessed. Virtually the entirety of produce such as beeswax (SHERA), sesame, and castor-oil is exported, hence measurable by means of market returns. Of such staple fare as sorghum on the other hand only a fraction leaves Ngindoland. The indications are that each family sells an average of 40 lbs of sorghum per season. A family is lucky if it can muster sufficient sorghum to last throughout the calendar. However it seems fair to assume that in a reasonable year a family can count on having at its disposal 1,000 lbs of sorghum ... taking the average acreage under the crop to be only one per family, this would mean a yield of between five and six bags, or something over 1,000 lbs (from an estimate for African producers in Southern Province, supplied by the Tanganyika Agricultural Department//). Even such conservative estimates as these

show the export of this particular commodity to be not more than five percent of output. Nevertheless a daily ration of only 3 lbs for something over two adults and two children, not allowing for grain used in brewing beer, cannot be termed excessive. Cassava (luNDIMBALE flour) and other subsidiaries do of course fill the interstices. It would be quite useless to work out the value of produce consumed at home ... honey (BUCHI) for a start, insufficiently durable for export though of the utmost value in point of diet, has a paltry cash price. Remember that the Ngindo are to all intents and purposes vegetarians. Perhaps once a month a family will share a relish of poultry. The only plentiful source of meat, elephant shot by Game Scouts as a crop-protection measure, they will not touch on religious grounds. Likewise, they shun bush-pig (liGULUBE), officially classed as vermin and therefore the sole authorised source of game meat in the area. Odd semi-permanent ponds (sing. liBWABWA, liLABA) yield but few fish (OMBA). Probably in direct consequence the health of the tribe, as opposed to its power of survival, appears extremely poor. Of 1,146 men medically examined during the war, only II.5 % were judged fit for sisal work and 8.4 % for military service. Whilst endemic bilharzia (kiCHONONO) may have been responsible for many rejects, the figure of 80 % points to serious deficiencies. Ailments caused by mosquitoes (NJENJEMA) and other parasites are equally prevalent.

If the home consumption remains a matter of guesswork, exports can quite accurately be determined. Here are mean figures based on Government statistics for the 1952 and 1953 harvests[x] ...

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x Footnote:
They relate to all produce brought to Liwale-boma and Kibutuka markets, and to half that brought to the Chilalo and Kihato ones. There can have been no appreciable leakage to destinations other than these markets. Allowance was made for freak climatic conditions, etc.

Rice	100 tons p.a.	Shs.	100,000
Sorghum	100 " "	"	30,000
Sesame	70 " "	"	49,000
Beans & Peas	15 " "	"	4,500
Cassava	15 " "	"	4,500
Castor	10 " "	"	5,000
Groundnuts ('Karanga')	10 " "	"	7,000
Sun-flower	3 " "	"	900
Beeswax	3 " "	"	18,000
Maize	2 " "	"	600
Groundnuts ('Njugumawe')	1 " "	"	250
Bullrush-millet	1 " "	"	250
Finger- "	1 " "	"	300
	Total value	...	220,300

Some of these products have a higher volume of output than is shown here. Considerable quantities of the sorghum staple, of the principal bean relish (liKOLO vegetable as opposed to kiLILO meat, etc), and of cassava, must have been diverted to home consumption; lesser amounts of rice, groundnuts (of both types), and the millets. Like honey, pumpkins and minor crops have no place among the exports.

The Forest.

The immense forest, dwarfing the fields, is the real background of Ngindo life. It is the home of deceased, and was till the present century that of some living, Ngindo. Even nowadays if one were to assess the ratio of time spent by them in the forest, it would amount to a not inconsiderable share. Beekeepers go out for days on end. Fuel, rope, pole, medicine, grass, clay, and relish gatherers spend hours of every day away from the homesteads. Travellers shuttling between the remote settlements constantly traverse the

Forest Lore : (above) adult beekeeper, trailing a bark lowering-rope, uses a propped branch to commence the climb to his hive: (below) boy archer plays at hunting ~~for~~ birds.

forest. Lovers and sorcerers hold their trysts there. In it year by year initiates of both sexes, along with their attendants, live for weeks at a stretch. Children with their toy bows and arrows delight to wander alone on its fringes. In time of want the population simply takes to the forest en masse. For the forest is more friendly than hostile, supplying almost every physical need of the Ngindo, who are essentially forest-minded. Although the art of hunting has been in abeyance since Islam and the Game Laws came to be observed, their bush-lore remains unimpaired. Besides, even in the old days they were thicket trappers rather than coursing huntsmen. They are beautiful climbers and very handy with bark and wood. Their botanical knowledge is remarkable. Plainly they feel more at home in the forest than afraid of it.

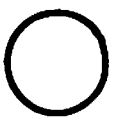
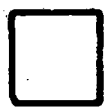
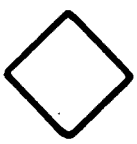
In the sphere of forest-utilization, more than any other, I found it practicable to examine in detail only the one specimen-area, Barikiwa. Prima facie Ngindoland has uniform bee-keeping technology, which is not only readily measurable but also the most important single factor in forest use. Yet conclusions based on Barikiwa material have only limited relevance to such areas as the Mbwemkuru where beekeepers must perforce use wooden instead of bark hives, so markedly does the vegetation differ ... the inferior durability of the bark-type hive and its ease of manufacture lead to its relatively high quantity and quick turnover. Again from output figures one must deduce great divergence from place to place. Under optimum conditions the seasonal yield of the Barikiwa environs alone might easily reach 300 kilogrammes of wax; that is, taking 20 % of 3,000 hives to be harvested. I know of a single operator producing over 50 kg in an indifferent year. Now, total exports from the Sultanate are not more than ten times this Barikiwa potential; whereas its population must be fifty-fold.

LEGEND FOR ALL FOREST-CHARTS.

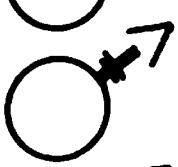
Internal Segmentation of Symbol.
(using round 'new-hive' symbol as an example)

Hive-symbol.	Owner's Lineage-Cell.
	I
	II
	III
	IV
	V
	VI
	VII
	VIII
	IX
	X to XIV (numbered in symbol):

Shape of Symbol.
(using blank 'Cell I' symbol as an example)

Hive-symbol.	Meaning.
	New Hive.
	2 year-old Hive.
	3 year-old Hive.
	3-plus year-old Hive.
	Undated Hive.

Other Markings on Symbol.
(using round, blank symbol as an example)

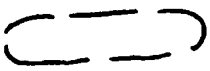
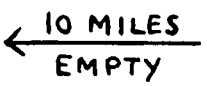
Hive-symbol.	Meaning.
	Replacement-hive (vertical stroke sometimes displaced sideways by other markings)
	Transfer-hive (horizontal stroke sometimes displaced up or down by other markings)
	Hive occupied by bees.
	Hive vacated by bees.

Specimen Individual Owners of Beehives (three from each Forest-Chart (using the circular symbol as an example)

Forest-Chart.	1st Owner.	2nd Owner.	3rd Owner.*
"A".....			
"B".....			
"C".....			

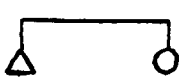
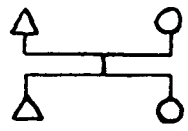
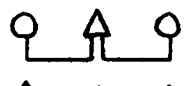
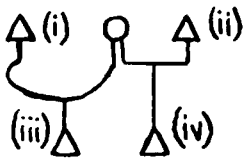
* Each of these Owners is the sole representative of his Lineage-Cell, so no identifying-letter is needed.

Physical Features of the Forest-Chart Areas, other than Beehives.

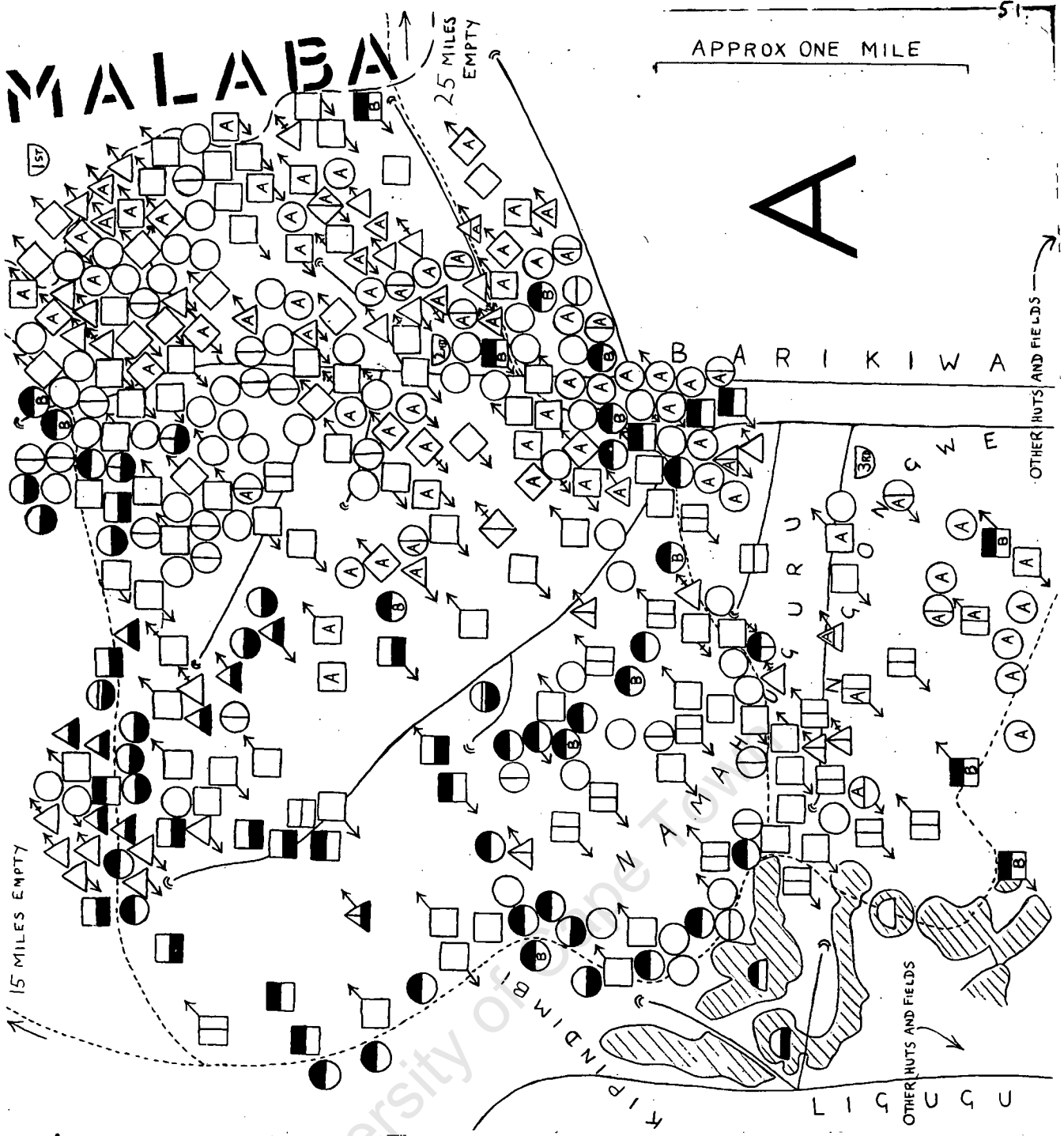
Symbol.	Meaning.
	Present fields.
	Thicket.
	Valley.
	Path.
	Uninhabited country for 10 miles in this direction.

Symbol.	Meaning.
	Present site of a Lineage-Cell's cluster of huts (example: Cell I).
	Former hut-sites of Lineage-Cell I (only those of this nuclear Cell are indicated on each Chart, numbered 1st, 2nd, 3rd in the chronological order of moves made)

Legend for all Forest-Chart Genealogies.

Symbol.	Meaning.
△ ○	Living man(left) and woman(right).
▲ ●	Dead " " " " " .
	Brother(left) and sister(right), i.e. full siblings.
	Husband(left) and wife(right). They are usually plotted closer together for convenience in plotting, and sometimes reversed for the same reason.
	Parents and their two children, namely an elder son and younger daughter.
	Polygynist(centre) and two co-wives.
	Widow(centre) with deceased husband(left) and new husband(right).
	Illegitimate son(iii), his genitor(i), his pater(ii), and his legitimate half-brother(iv).
	Individual hive-owner and his code-letter. These letters are always positioned below the owner's symbol and slightly to the left. If a Lineage-Cell has only one owner represented, I mark him "a" in the genealogy.
	Relationships not shown diagrammatically, especially cross-links between members of different Cells, are traced by means of code-numerals. These numerals always appear above the person's symbol and slightly to the left. As an example, if the man and woman, chosen at random here, were full-siblings, they would be recorded thus in the commentary ... "21-48. Brother and sister". In each generation, the numerals ascend from left to right, starting at the senior generation.

NB. I record only such kinsfolk as are relevant to the topic under discussion.



Forest-Chart "A" (above). For Genealogy "A" turn overleaf.

Notes on the Forest-Charts and Genealogies.

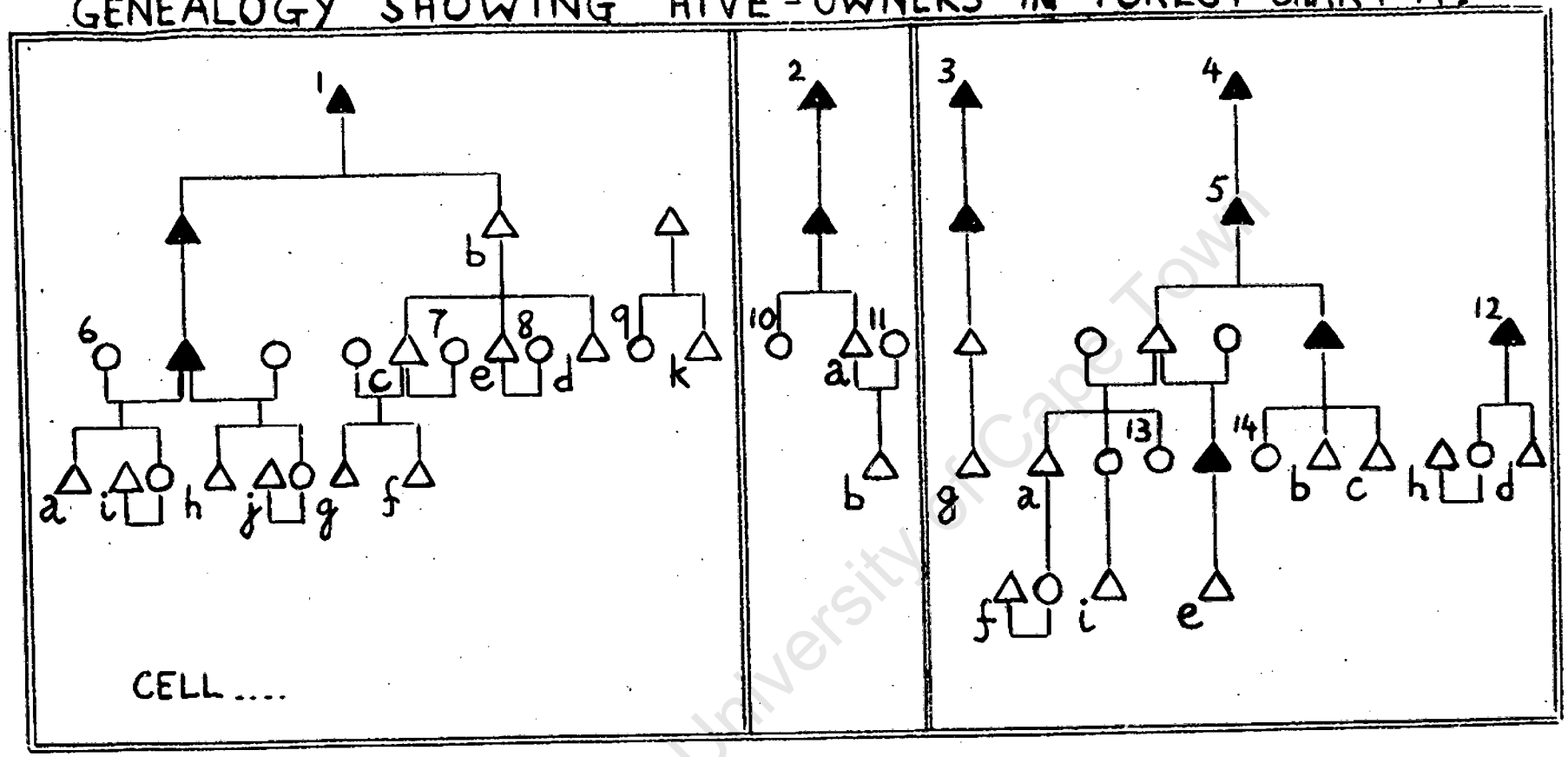
The three Forest-Chart areas are homogeneous samples taken from the hive-covered environs of a large settlement, Barikiwa. How these areas lie in relation to one another can be seen from the Thicket-Plan on page 115. With the exception of the odd ones denoting huts, past or present, all Forest-Chart symbols represent the same object, namely beehives. However the symbols vary in accordance with the variable ownership, history, and type of particular hives.

By 'homogeneous ~~area~~ sample' I mean an area embracing the sum total of hives placed out by members of a single nuclear Lineage-Cell (Cell I in each case) in a particular locality ... it is not unknown for members of such a Lineage-Cell to operate as beekeepers in two or more widely separated areas. In each area, so defined, every serviceable hive has been enumerated, thus including a proportion of hives placed out by members of other interpolating Lineage-Cells.

Lineage-Cells in different Forest-Charts, but bearing like code-numbers, are not one and the same units. Each series of numbered Lineage-Cells is altogether distinct. Also the number of Lineage-Cells represented in each Forest-Chart varies considerably. Forest-Chart "A" has three; "B", fourteen; and "C", nine.

NB. Hives without arrows had not to date been occupied by bees.

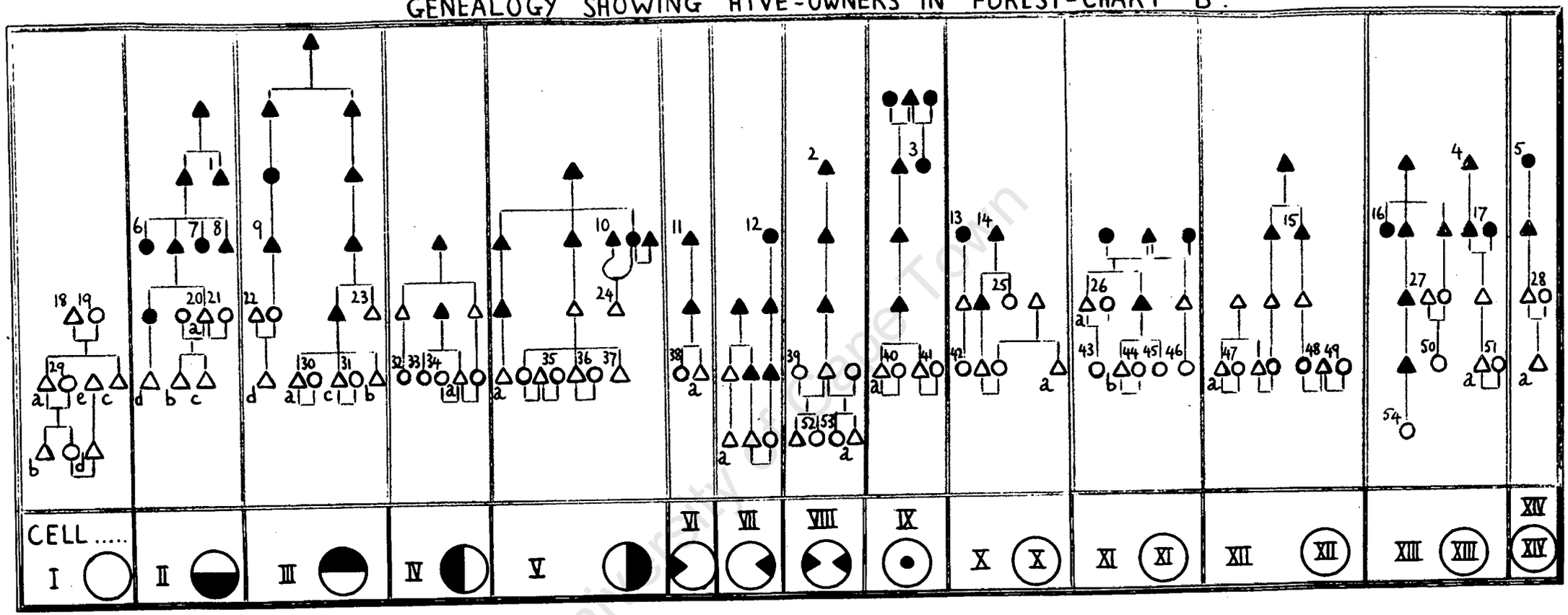
GENEALOGY SHOWING HIVE-OWNERS IN FOREST-CHART "A".



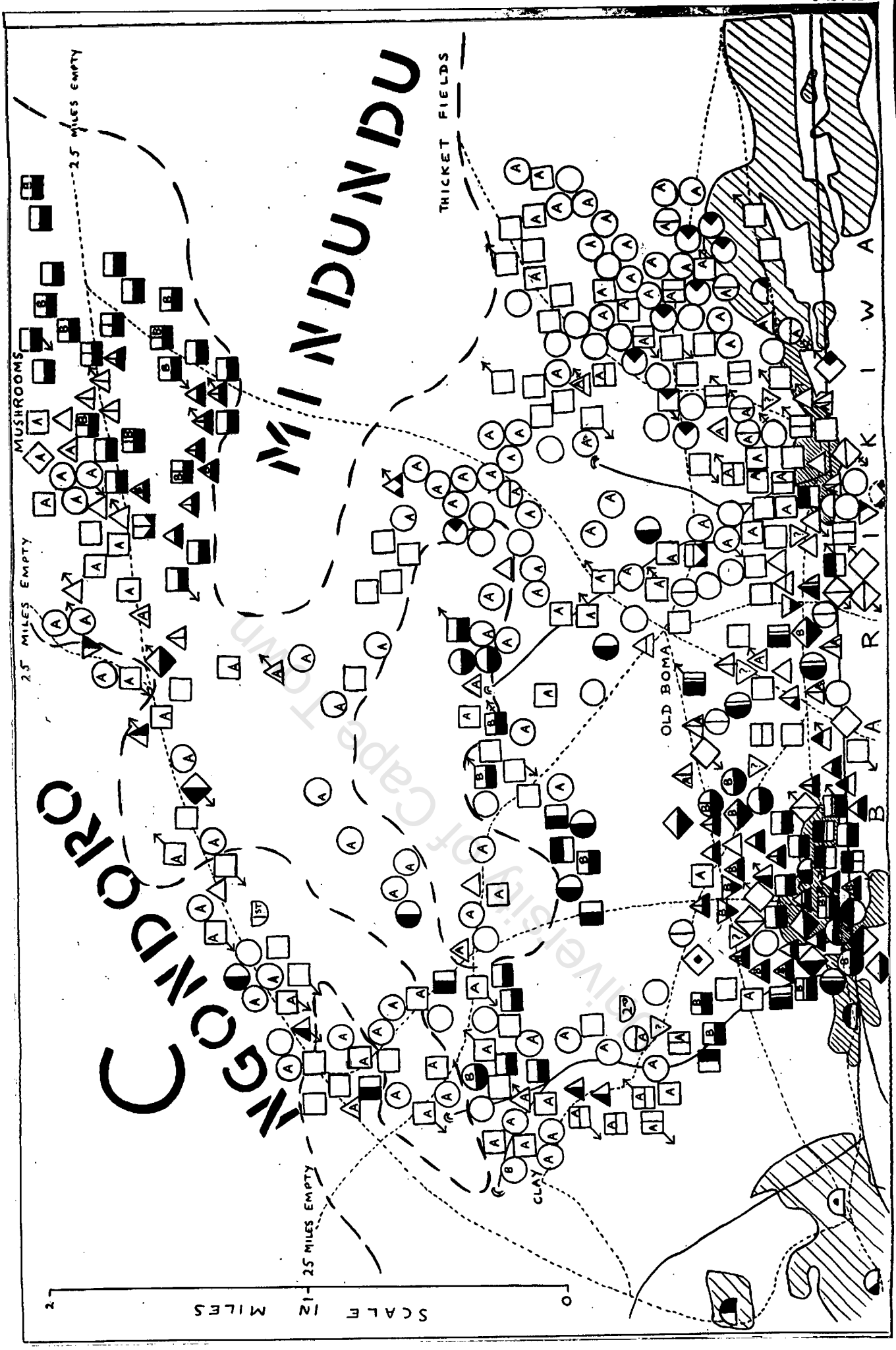
I-2. Same 'clan' (intermarrying).
3-4. Same 'clan'(no intermarriage).
5-I2. Master and slave.
6-I3. Same person.
7-I0. " "
8-9. " "
II-I4. " "

FOREST-CHART "B"
For Genealogy " B", turn overleaf.

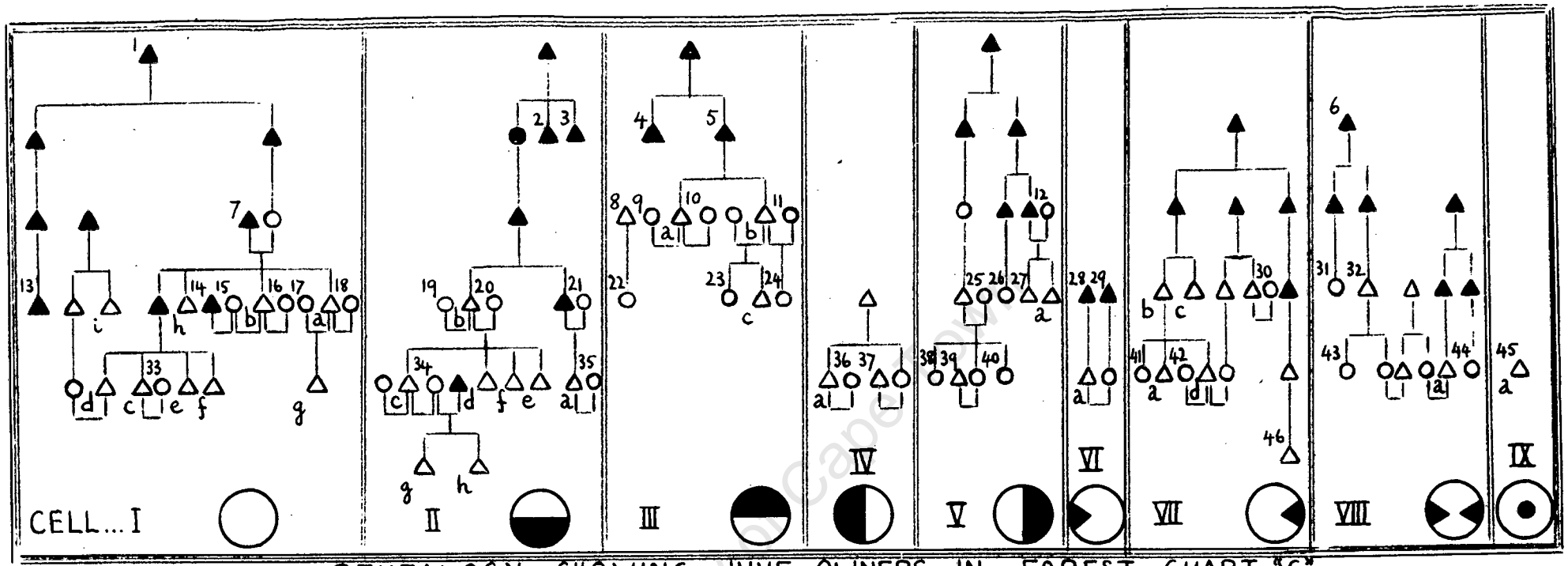
GENEALOGY SHOWING HIVE-OWNERS IN FOREST-CHART "B".



I-2. Same person.
2-4. Same 'clan' (intermarrying).
3-5. Same person.
6-I2. " "
7-I3. " "
8-I4. " "
9-II. " "
I0-I5. Same 'clan'(no intermarriage).
I6-I7. Same person.
I8-24. Same person.
I9-25. " "
20-27. Same 'clan'(no intermarriage).
2I-30. Sisters.
22-23. Same person.
26-28. Sisters.
26-34. Same 'clan'(no intermarriage).
29-46. Same person.
3I-45. " "
32-4I. Same person.
33-39. " "
35-38. " "
36-50. " "
37-48. " "
40-43. " "
42-49. " "
44-53. " "
47-52. " "
5I-54. " "



FOREST-CHART "C"
For Genealogy "C", turn overleaf.



GENEALOGY SHOWING HIVE-OWNERS IN FOREST-CHART "C".

I-6. Same 'clan' (intermarrying).
2-4. Same person.
3-5. " "
4-8. Master and slave.
7. Immigrant who married into the established stock.
9-I3. Same 'clan'(no intermarriage.
I0-25. Sisters.

II-2I. Same person (inherited widow).
I2-3I. Same person.
I3-I4. " "
I5-44. " "
I6-4I. " "
I6-42. Sisters.
I7-22. Same person.
I8-46. " "
I9-43. " "
20-26. " "
23-33. " "

24-30. Same person(inherited widow).
27-29. Same person.
28-32. Same 'clan' (intermarrying).
34-38. Same person.
35-39. Sister and brother
36-40. Same person.
37-45. " "
N.B. Cells I and II are 'allied'.

List of Individual Hive-owners' Cells, relationships, and hives.

Lineage-Cell.	Hive-Owner.	His Designation. [xx]	Each man's hives. [x]	Each Cell's hives.	Each Chart's hives.
(Forest-Chart "A").					
I.	a.	Operator	84		
	b.	a's father's father's jr-brother.	6		
	c.	b's first son.	63		
	d.	" third " .	47		
	e.	" second " .	16		
	f.	e's " " .	22		
	g.	" first " .	34		
	h.	a's junior-brother (same father, different mothers).	2		
	i.	a's first sister's husband.	1		
	j.	" second " " .	1		
	k.	e's wife's brother.	1		
	l.	" daughter's suitor.	2		
			279	279	
II.	a.	Operator.	26		
	b.	a's son.	4		
			30	30	
III.	a.	Operator.	16		
	b.	a's father's sr-brother's 1st son.	5		
	c.	" " " " 2nd " .	10		
	d.	" " ~~xxxxxx~~ father's slave's son.	6		
	e.	" brother's (not certain whether half or full brother) son.	4		
	f.	a's daughter's husband.	1		
	g.	" senior classificatory sibling (same exogamous 'clan').	2		
	h.	d's sister's husband.	1		
	i.	a's sister's son.	1		
			46	46	
		Total for Forest-Chart "A"	355	355	355
(Forest-Chart "B").					
I.	a.	Operator.	71		
	b.	a's son (juvenile).	9		
	c.	" junior-brother (leprous).	13		
	d.	" daughter's suitor.	8		
	e.	d's father.	1		
			102	102	
II.	a.	Operator.	18		
	b.	a's first son.	2		
	c.	" second " .	1		
	d.	" sister's son.	2		
			23	23	
III.	a.	Operator.	19		
	b.	a's third brother.	10		
	c.	" second " .	20		
	d.	" father's brother's son.	1		
			50	50	
Cell and Chart running-totals to be carried forward ...				175	355

Footnote: [x] only those of their hives that lay within the areas surveyed.

[xx] I use this term merely to indicate the Lineage-Cell's most active beekeeper, or at least the one by reference to whom the remaining beekeepers in the Cell may be stated. Such an 'operator' should not be assumed to be the head, or even a leading member, of his Cell.

Lineage-Cell.	Hive-Owner.	(Forest-Chart "B", continued) His Designation.	Each man's hives.	Each Cell's hives.	Each Chart's hives.
		b/f		175	355
IV.	(a).[x]	Operator.	34	34	
V.	(a).	" .	13	13	
VI.	(a).	" .	4	4	
VII.	(a).	" .	2	2	
VIII.	(a).	" .	22	22	
IX.	(a).	" .	1	1	
X.	(a).	" .	1	1	
XI.	a.	" .	1		
	b.	a's junior-brother's son.	1		
			2	2	
XII.	(a).	Operator.	1	1	
XIII.	(a).	" .	1	1	
XIV.	(a).	" .	3	3	
		Total for Forest-Chart "B"		259	259
		(Forest-Chart "C").			
I	a.	Operator.	159		
	b.	a's second sr-brother.	68		
	c.	" deceased sr-brother's 2nd son.	12		
	d.	" " " " Ist " .	13		
	e.	" " " " 3rd " .	7		
	f.	" " " " 4th " .	1		
	g.	" son(juvenile).	7		
	h.	" first sr-brother.	2		
	i.	d's wife's father's brother.	1		
			270	270	
II.	a.	Operator.	32		
	b.	a's decd father's sr-brother.	12		
	c.	b's Ist son(just deceased).	12		
	d.	" 2nd " .	19		
	e.	" 4th " .	1		
	f.	" 3rd " .	4		
	g.	c's wife's Ist son(by ex-husband).	2		
	h.	" " 2nd " " " " .	1		
			83	83	
III.	a.	Operator.	2		
	b.	a's junior-brother.	3		
	c.	b's son.	5		
			10	10	
IV.	(a).	Operator.	24	24	
V.	(a).	" .	3	3	
VI.	(a).	" .	1	1	
VII.	a.	" .	9		
	b.	a's father.	1		
	c.	" " 's brother.	1		
	d.	" sister's husband.	1		
			12	12	
VIII.	(a).	Operator.	3	3	
IX.	(a).	" .	1	1	
		Total for Forest-Chart "C"		407	407
		Grand total			1,021

Footnote: [x] when a Lineage-Cell is represented by only one operator, his hive-symbols carry no distinguishing letter. However, in the genealogies I found it necessary to mark him "a" in order to single him out from other males in that same section of the genealogy. This is why I place the "a" in brackets here.

Turning to the honey industry with strict reference to Barikiwa, one notes a specialised feature, the prevalence of thicket (see Plan towards the end of Chapter III). It is to thickets that human spheres of influence relate. But the boundaries between them, many merging into one another, are imprecise. Also, though much of the thicket is primary, old overgrown cultivation fallows tend to blur the outlines. By thicket is meant an almost continuous stretch of tangled scandents and shrubs, with only occasional trees of any height or girth, and only occasional glades of short, tufted grass. It is proof against the seasonal man-made grass fires that rage through woodland. Though not impenetrable, and relatively free from thorn, men find it laborious and deceptive to traverse. Where no easier route offers, tunnel-like paths, the work of axe and billhook, link the settlements. Thicket is confined to the plateau. The valley bottoms on the other hand are fairly clear. In between come the characteristic flora of the area, a dry open forest with moderate to tall timber and a carpet of longish grass.

The natives profess a theory of recognized forest zones, each the monopoly of the lineage best qualified by long residence to conduct the spirit agency in the manner to be described later (see middle of Chapter VI, Subsistence). This is how the District Book can speak of the titular head of the nuclear descent-name group at Barikiwa as "Mkora Kirambo", priest of the land. But, like the Ngindo theory of neat 'cl∅anship', systematic zoning proves fallacious. The true position is confused, and unlikely to have been any more coherent during the past three generations. In the first place the social units allegedly controlling areas are themselves chronically

unstable. These are the typical miniature patrilineage-cells which, even if left to their own devices, undergo periodic fission or re-orientation. Hence the discrepancy between the tidy clan ideal and untidy lineage practice of kinship bears directly on forest tenure. Yet that ideal has at the lineage level a certain validity, as can be seen from the sample areas chosen for survey. In each, to show the pattern of utilization, I use the index of beehives (sing. liKUNGWA) which alone amongst forest products in situ are items of individual property. Even though, for the reason that no such thing exists, it proved impossible to show entirely separate preserves belonging to single groups and containing all the hives placed out by their members, nevertheless certain lineages obviously dominate certain areas.

In the old days lineage members kept to themselves, and seldom strayed into neighbouring zones. They might grow up scarcely knowing the lie of the land beyond their immediate home thicket. Therefore it was no good trespassing. A lone wanderer would not only lack the requisite knowledge to exploit the unfamiliar forest but also run the risk of getting lost; literally lost, or kidnapped as a slave. Worse, he would be outside the protective radius of his own guardian spirits. So runs the story, which adds that the use of dangerous medecines to immunise private beehives from theft rendered partition imperative. This contains the interesting implication that the forest originally lay open to all comers, a state of affairs consistent with the nomadic Ikemba and Hamba aborigines whose homes, in north and south Ngindoland respectively, straddle the country. The aborigines, whose mysterious emergence will be discussed later (see beginning of Chapter VIII) are one pointer to the forest situation. The tribal-

war refuges I have mentioned are another. They make up the overwhelming majority of the present Ngindo population and, whatever may have been the case before then, the chaotic manner of their arrival ensured fragmentation. Their particles, like those of self-styled autochthones, grew to or always did resemble the trees of their own forests; thrusting, competing, achieving maturity; never, before piercing the uniform treetop level, to escape atrophy; and, once the cycle was complete, anonymous as a fallen log.

Without some prior indication of Ngindo attitudes the forest set-up cannot be understood. I must therefore, without advancing the full argument, anticipate some of my later conclusions. Essentially the Ngindo live within narrow confines of space, time, and rank. They have little interest in what happens a couple of settlements or a couple of generations away. Directly a kinsman gets out of range in space exogamy begins to crumble. Directly he gets out of range in time he will suffer oblivion. I have found a man making his honey-offering to his own physical brother not long deceased. It was explained that the spirit in question had been a good beekeeper and would appreciate present problems much better than some distant ancestor. Another, whom I taunted with being an immigrant or perhaps even a slave, seeing that he could trace his line only a short way back, exclaimed impatiently: "It is only nondescript folk who have to reckon back to such and such a migration. The parent stock does not need to bother with ancestors!" Themselves abject, Ngindo still resent rank. A man holding important office declared: "People used to rise to their feet when I entered my court-house, but I told them

not to. We Ngindo do not do things that way. The Mbunga (peripheral Ngindo with an Ngoni authoritarian stamp) will follow a chief around like sheep. Why, even when he goes aside to urinate he has a crowd in attendance!" It follows that spatial, temporal, and structural links binding people and forest should be tenuous. Such-and-such a thicket belongs to so-and-so; he has a lot of hives there. Who did it belong to before he founded a lineage ? Oh, there was someone else; he had nothing but daughters. But how did it belong to him ? He knew the spirits and how to address them. Could anyone else besides him officiate ? Yes, anyone could if he knew the names and procedure. How did the present owner gain access ? He was a suitor in marriage there, and stayed on. Does he control the surrounding woodland too ? Well, not the lower slopes. Here a third man's slave descendants, who adopted his descent-name and totem and now live further upstream, could sacrifice; but there are no keen operators amongst them, etc.// ... such is the typical sequence of interrogation leading from positive fiction to negative fact. The only remedy is to look at the situation on the ground.

First a word on the beekeeping (kuBANGA) methods of the Ngindo. The detail of their knowledge and techniques has too little relevance to social structure to be included here. The hive~~s are~~ is simply a roll~~s~~ of bark, pegged together to form a cylinder, fitted with a door-flap (kiKUPA), and wedged (kuGWIKIYA) in the branches of a tree~~s~~. Taboos (sing. MHWILU) are such that only one may rest in a single tree. Half a dozen barks are suited for hive-making. Over ten times that number of trees will do as platforms (kuTULIKA). Nearly as many are thought to provide honey blossom (plur. maLOBA). Every hive is the property of an individual tribesman, and unauthorised tampering

an offence varying in gravity with the degree of spatial and kinship propinquity between owner and offender. The life of a hive seldom exceeds five years. It is the honey-bee (NJUCHI) which builds in man-made ~~human~~ hives. If it builds elsewhere the nest belongs to the finder. The same applies to other honey-producing insects, some of which live underground. Rights over trees, like hives, are heritable; but depending on continuous presence of hives. A harvester will climb (kuUMBIRA, kuHUBAKILA) to the hive, mostly at night, using a grass (kiMBUNDI) or bark (kiMBERE-smoker ~~MBERE~~) to repel the bees. Withdrawing the combs (sing. liHEGA) within reach, the hive being a double arm's ~~that~~ length, he lowers them to an assistant on the ground. Beekeeping is a male occupation. Women have little part in it. Wax is in demand for its cash return, honey for its food and prestige value.

The beekeeping system of the Ngindo cannot be discussed at length here. Certain of the symbols on the Forest-charts may therefore be disregarded, i.e. 'coeval' hives, those occupied by bees, etc.// Note that each symbol is more than 100 yards in diameter, leading to some distortion in the plotting of closely-grouped hives. As prelude to its social implications, only the system's salient features, which should appear prima facie from the charts, need be stated. Operators try to cover the whole of likely areas within a five-mile radius of their homesteads (plur. maJUMBA i.e. huts). The network of beehives so cast can best be described as a 'barrage'. To maintain it new hives are placed out as and when required to fill gaps//, not in any territorial rotation. The accent lies on quantity and diffusion. Howbeit individuals and groups clearly concentrate on given areas, producing considerable clusters of associated hives. This

can be attributed in part to mere accessibility and physical convenience. But to some extent it also vindicates the forest-zone concept. Convenience likewise dictates the preference for hive-sites close to the homesteads, provided conditions be right for beekeeping thereabouts. As for the 'lag' of hives ... their tendency to be massed thickly along the path traced by successive hut-sites in the past ... familiarity of operators with the areas in which they grew up would seem to account for it. Other factors to remember when interpreting the charts are the enhanced honey-potential of thicket, the availability of trees suitable for hive-making and hive-placing, of water supplies, and of forest trails leading to the honey-fields. The proportion of 'transfer' hives (or strictly, of the platform-trees in which they are placed), namely those passing from one owner to another, are only a fraction (5%) of the total, and their distribution inconclusive. An exception to the general expendability of hives is the 'granary' (same word kiKOKWE), a strong and capacious hive securely housed in a smooth-barked tree, hence inaccessible to the honey-badger (MKULI), harvested without undue damage to swarm or combs, and kept as a reserve.

Who are the people owning and harvesting the hives ? The answer is most able-bodied men. Youths without hives are the exception, and even the high rate of absence caused by the recent wave of migrant-labour has done little to diminish the popularity of beekeeping. If anything, thanks to rises in the price of wax, the number of participants is growing. They start young. I have seen lads with 'toy' hives as big as themselves. One or two become proficient operators (sing. MKUNDI or MPULI) well before they are judged fit to pay tax. By that age most of them

can do everything short of actual harvesting. There is no fixed apprenticeship. Very commonly it is when the youngster is doing his suitor-contract (kuTEMBA) for his infant bride that he learns the craft; if his future relatives-in-law are beekeepers, that is. Theoretically a suitor, who should do part-time work for several years, stands to get no fruit from his labour except board and lodging. On the contrary he has to keep his betrothed and himself clothed. But when it comes to beekeeping he frequently gets large concessions. I have found cases of the suitor being allotted for his own use fifty percent of his output of hives. Since the institution of suitor-labour suffers increasing stress these days, the conciliatory father-in-law is in reality very astute. Suitors complain chiefly of their inability to earn money. Many simply default by absconding to the labour-centres. Knowing that cash is such an incentive, the wise father-in-law not only anchors daughter's suitor but enables him to raise money on the spot; whence the necessary clothing, and later bridewealth, will be forthcoming. Again honey work, unlike cultivation, is difficult to supervise. A strict man would get cheated by ~~his~~ the ward's suitor, loitering in the forest. Finally honey, being a prime delicacy, opens many doors to a young man. With it he can attract favours, particularly from lovers.

Fifty years ago beekeeping had yet to become a community habit. It was then the business of a small coterie of specialists, who could expect nothing from it in cash terms. Although wax was a saleable commodity on the Rufiji nearly a century ago, it does not seem to have been an article of value in Liwale before the first World War; nor to this day does honey command a regular price there. Even now competent operators of repute by no means predominate. There is a considerable passive element

composed of men who will stick up a few hives any old fashion in the hope that a bumper season will come along. Not a few, though hive-owners, have no head for heights and dare not risk attack by bees. They get kinsmen to do their harvesting. Naturally elders find the exertion of climbing too severe. Ngindo are very partial to work-parties, but not for bee jobs. The one man who set a precedent in the matter, getting hives cut by communal effort, immediately become notorious throughout Ngindo-land. Plainly he felt disconcerted at the publicity he had drawn. He was ill at the time. Also he belongs to the unconventional proto-Hamba ~~inner enclave.~~ nucleus. Incidentally, though beekeeping is primarily individualistic, it cannot be on this score that it stands apart from the work-party category; for thatching-grass is commonly gathered by those attending such parties, members going ~~in search of it~~ out to cut their bundles alone, but assembling afterwards to drink.

The incidence of operators among the able-bodied men of Barikiwa (500-plus souls, of whom about a fifth are ~~active~~ able-bodied males) appears to be at least 80%. By 'operator' I mean ~~owning~~ one who owns hives and is capable of harvesting them. From figures of hives owned by individuals one can judge the level of skill and experience of these operators ...

Under 10 hives	....	50 %
10 to 20 "	....	15 %
~~20~~ 21 to 50 "	....	20 %
Over 50 "	....	15 %

Note that these are computed figures based on the Forest-chart material. They would give a grand total of something under 2,000 hives for the whole settlement; which, since those in the sample-areas alone exceed 1,000, shows the estimates per man to be on the conservative side. The 74 owners in the samples included eleven normally resident

in other settlements; that is to say, ex-suitors and so forth. Thus it would appear that only half the active total are serious beekeepers, of whom the bulk own 30 odd hives apiece. One should not forget elders and invalids. Over a quarter of all adult males at Barikiwa belonged to this class, with a respectable number of hives to their name. Real experts owning 100 hives and more do not exceed 5% of operators. One had 159 recorded hives to his credit, probably his complete tally. Another, with only 71 in the area surveyed, I reckon to have topped the 200 mark. Big individual owners spread their hives throughout the zone utilized by their agnatic kinsmen. One does not find more than a dozen hives, owned by one man and grouped together, without interpolating ones in amongst them belonging to others.

Every hive has a definite owner without whose consent it may not be disturbed. The owner need not make it himself. He may quite well engage someone to do the task for him, a suitor perhaps. He may be given it by a living relative or inherit it from a dead one. He puts no distinctive mark on or near it, nor are many trails blazed to outlying parts of the barrage. Operators have no difficulty in identifying their hives in apparently featureless tracts of forest. They go by trees and other details not obvious to the stranger. Real beemen can tell the handiwork of their colleagues, but generally speaking the owner relies on the news getting around that a hive of his occupies a certain tree. Despite its being one of a whole galaxy, a new hive quickly becomes common knowledge. The one-hive-per-tree rule means that, as long as his apparatus remains in its branches, the owner has exclusive control over that tree. The test of occupancy being the hive itself, even a tattered remnant constitutes a pegged claim. If as sometimes happens the hive gets dislodged by elephant or other

means, a newcomer would be courting enemies to ~~step in~~ place a hive unannounced. As a rule the connection between man and tree is too well known for any trouble to arise. Occasionally, to warn people off, the owner will make irregular slash-marks on the bole of the tree. For it is not permissible to tamper seriously with an occupied tree; that is, although a man may pick (kuTUNGULA) its fruit he must not strip bark for rope; otherwise he might interfere with the swarm, if not destroy the tree. No tree can survive the loss of bark entailed by the cutting of a fresh hive.

Now, most Ngindo rights are situational. Their exercise varies with the status and circumstances of the persons concerned. Thus, because he would not in the ordinary way prosecute a close kinsman, a man's hive in a sense belongs to his lineage as well as to himself. In his absence kinsmen manage his hives. On his death they inherit them. In emergency, if a person be lost or starving, he may with safety rifle a hive. Provided that he reports the matter on regaining the settlements, no action will be taken. Deliberate theft by an outsider is quite another thing. The victim will not hesitate to brand the accused as a potential slayer ... "Why not take a knife, or an arrow, or a spear and kill me that way ?". A reason given for putting hives aloft is security against thieves. "Height is the tribesman's padlock", say the Ngindo. It is not of course the real or even a cogent reason; what is there to stop a thief from climbing ? Even children can climb, though they usually steer clear of bees. Termites (UMEA), fire (MOTO), elephant, and other pests are much more to be feared. The dogma of exclusive beekeeping areas is often construed by the natives as a safeguard against the conflicts arising out of theft; and against its antidote, lethal medecine. A man quietly placing hives ~~unawares~~

on another's doorstep is described as 'setting a trap'. Yet the fury occasioned by losses of this sort, like that of a cuckold husband, is superficial compared with the intense abhorrence of domestic theft. Like an adulterer, a honey-thief bears no great stigma. People readily bracket the offences ... 'adultery of the trees' need go no further than the lineage-heads concerned and warrants no more than a few shillings' compensation.

Since forest products lie open to all and sundry, the ~~human~~ man-made hive is regarded as being only a step away//, a solitary usurpation in a free domain. Finders can admittedly stake temporary claims by covering objects with green branches ... this governs 'wild-bee' nests, including those of honey-bees lodged in natural cavities; also ivory (liPEMBE, i.e. tusk); but not unpicked bush-fruits (plur.miKONGOTA) .// Yet, such a claim must be followed up well before the branches wither. Ordinary forest treasure-trove and honey rights sometimes overlap. If for instance a swarm establishes itself in a hive-bearing tree, though away from the hive itself, it should be left to the hive-owner. Where most ambiguities occur is around the huts and fields. It is held that a passer-by would be at liberty to dig for grqund-honey discovered in another man's field provided the planted crop were not disturbed. The same ~~goes for~~ applies to wild-honey deposited in a tree left standing in a cultivated plot//, but not of course ~~for~~ to honey in a ~~human~~ man-made hive so placed. The situation frequently comes about when farmers clear new fields. They must at first leave aside the platform-tree and later allow access to it. Trespass, it has been shown, does not in itself constitute an offence excepting in so far as it gives rise to suspicion of sorcery. But Ngindo, who guard their women jealously, have no time for loiterers. To put another purely hypo-

thetical case, ground-honey found ~~by a passer-by~~ (a passer-by could not with impunity take) in an ant-heap (liHUGURU) forming part of a planted field; ~~would scarcely admit of being removed;~~ for such earth may be prized as hut-plaster (liKANDO) and for its fertility. A farmer missing honey in his own field would have to be ~~pretty slap-dash~~ (very inobservant), and I never heard of the contingency arising in practice. It provoked heated debate (when put to informants).

Scarcely any recorded litigation deals with hives. Chronologically the first relevant case coming to my notice concerned the theft of two hives and twelve honeycombs. Convicted, the accused was fined Shs. 7/- (KIP 8/37), a heavy punishment by contemporaneous Ngindo standards. The annual poll-tax then stood at Shs. 4/-. In a case heard ten years ago the accused, found to have robbed a hive, had to pay a Shs. 5/- fine (MCH 22/43). He promptly riposted with a counter-charge, stating that he had acted in retaliation for a like offence committed by the plaintiff, who had damaged the hive into the bargain. The judge, awarding him twice the previous compensation, ordered the hive to be replaced! The normal procedure, sanctioned by usage, is to throw down an improperly placed hive. A more recent case coming before the 'Sultan' appears to support the theory of beekeeping zones. It seems that the plaintiff, protesting that a hive of his placed outside his home-area had been pilfered, not only lost the suit but was obliged to pay a fine. I have not read this case but merely heard verbal accounts. Certainly the concept of zoning, though largely erroneous, has wide currency and may have influenced the verdict. The plaintiff was alleged to be working with a road-gang at the time, nowhere near his own place of residence.

Conditions vary from sample to sample surveyed, but

the histories of each are too tortuous to warrant full commentary here. If beekeeping zones are ~~a myth~~ non-existent, placing of hives is demonstrably not haphazard. One can discern a kinship pattern in their layout. The sample-areas were of course chosen with an eye to showing such patterns; ~~but not to the extent of making them untypical~~ though they are not exceptional in that respect. What is the intensity of kinship links between owners exploiting a common area ? The fact that in each sample they can be represented on a single composite genealogy shows the intensity to be high. Even though it stands to reason that, in a smallish settlement (MUJI, kiRAMBO) several miles from any other, a resident will be unlikely to count no relatives among his neighbours, and that outsiders will find it impracticable to operate there; excepting where their hive-network extends further than usual so as to meet up with the huts of another settlement. This happens in sample B. It should be added that the average Ngindo settlement is less than half the size of Barikiwa, which stretches ten miles from end to end. Within the complex fabric of relationships linking fellow hive-owners ... those I record are far from exhaustive ... the co-operative unit emerges as the petty agnatic lineage-cell (AKINA).

The lineage richest in hives, whilst denying that it has any power to eject intruders, regards itself by virtue of long occupation as the holder. When I say lineage in this sense I mean a core of agnatic kinsmen owning the vast bulk of hives, along with a sprinkling of uterine kin, suitors, and other affines with one or two hives apiece. In point of fact the histories of occupation are confused, not overlong, and by no means wholly agnatic, marked by succession and inheritance. Incidental factors greatly influence their course, much muddied by chance migrations, mediocre beekeepers, acquisitive personalities, and so forth. Specific claims relate to thickets, once

the abode of lineage forbears, but now so remote from existing homesteads that the 'barrage' frequently only just overlaps onto them. This is the case in areas A and C. Each dominant lineage will have a connection with the thicket in question perhaps a century old, often distorted by illegitimate or servile lines. The inhabitants see all this in zonal terms. Commenting on the paucity of hives owned by uterine kin and affines, an informant remarked: "They have their own areas". In the past, a feature of interest in the sequence of thicket transfer were token payments from immigrant to holder, implying a concession of sacrificial rights. Their medium was the old-fashioned ebony hoe (NYAYA), or occasionally a metal one (liHUKA).

So each sample, though somewhat labyrinthine, shows a kernel of agnatically related beekeepers around whom are grouped the other elements whose presence can be explained by kinship and residence relative to the nucleus. Each nucleus has a claim to the area at least three generations old, though not necessarily by agnatic descent. In the old days immigrant suitors, who naturally became uxorilocal once they came to rest, were the avenue of entry into supposed pristine preserves. Even nowadays it is suitor-contracts, or at least marriages, which provoke and ratify beekeeping 'inroads'. Nearly every operator listed lives in or near the area surveyed; those who do not are outside uterine kin and in-laws, especially ex-suitors who still maintain the odd hive during the regular visits prescribed for spouses separated from their own agnatic kin. One sees little in the way of internal subdivision into lineage areas. The dominant beekeeping lineage merely embraces the others. Where one lineage appears to monopolise a given quarter it is because the

others have relatively few operators, live somewhat far off, or for some other fortuitous reason push out their hive-network in a different direction. Localisation of the ghosts (plur. maHOKA) of former inhabitants goes no further than particular thickets. Their grave-sites, if remembered at all, have no bearing on present tenure. Offerings may indeed be made to them individually, but only as representing a significant facet of the corporate body of thicket-bound spirits. I shall not discuss any further at this stage the mystical or ritual associations of the forest or its exploitation. 'Transfer' hives throw some light on the kinship background of Ngindo beekeeping. Forty percent of known transfers were between agnates, and a like proportion between affines; the remainder between uterine kin.

Individual rights over hives are perfectly specific. But there is some ground for regarding them as lineage-property too. Just as lineage-members will talk of 'our wife', they will say 'our hive'. To follow the analogy, even though a woman's allegiance be to her husband alone, his brothers know that she will probably pass on to one of them by widow-inheritance, that her children certainly will, and that her bridewealth is a matter of joint concern. It is rather the same with hives. Robbed, a hive-owner who wants to turn a blind eye may be overridden by his kinsmen in the same way that they may insist on prosecuting an adulterer whom the injured husband is personally prepared to forgive. I have already pointed out that unauthorised harvesting by a close kinsman would only amount to theft if the owner cared to make an issue of it, and that in practice no public action would be taken. Just so, a husband will take a lenient view if he finds his wife in adultery with his younger brother (seduction by a senior

brother happens to be tabooed). In the double hive-robbery case quoted earlier one of the parties stated in evidence: "This man is no kinsman of mine. If he was he would never have brought a charge against me". The court seemed convinced by his argument.

Apart from their cash value forest products may have a potential far in excess of the market one. This is especially true of honey. Its importance in court-ship has been hinted. Ten years ago a divorced husband actually tried to get back "a jar of honey worth 4/-"/, which proposal got scant sympathy from the court: "If you coax your wife, do not come and wail in court. This is your own folly" (AP 13/45). Ngindo strive to act the part of 'freemen', of whose behaviour they have a special-ised concept. This persistent phobia about servile status, which I shall elucidate in the proper place (see end of Chapter VIII, Special Ideology) is fundamental to the understanding of many Ngindo characteristics. One of the principal attributes of a freeman (mwuNGWANA) is that he should entertain all comers with food. So honey becomes a trump-card to the social climber. Another touching court-case relates the plight of a young wife who broke a large jar of honey. Unable to face her husband she ran away to her own people (case-number mislaid).

Since their honey-industry hinges on privately-owned beehives, the Ngindo necessarily try to parcel out the forest. Yet even here the keynote has been seen to be diffusion, a tendency all the more pronounced in all other forest activities. Not only does the forest belong to every man, but every man turns the forest to account on his own. Modest parties may go in search of honey, but a pair is the commonest team. It is likewise with women when

Famine Subsistence: (above) man quenching thirst from the succulent kiPOMBO creeper: (below) cracking hard mKANGANANGU nuts with an axe.

digging up edible roots (luKIGA). They go out together for moral support and because their bushcraft is faulty, whereas the expert, knowing the forest's wealth to be dispersed, goes alone. The extent of this collecting science can be gauged by the fact that I recorded over a hundred distinct varieties of edible plants, and checked by obtaining specimens of most of them. The greater the urgency the greater the diffusion. Thus in time of famine (NJALA), ... living Ngindo have experienced it in an acute form thrice in their life-times (so-called 'famines that kill' accompanied the Majimaji, World War I, and the Closer Settlement Scheme), and in a mild form almost yearly .// society literally goes to pieces. All non-utilitarian activities cease. No visiting; no work-parties; no dances; no sacrifices, beyond prayers to the sky-god Chapanganya for rain, should drought be responsible; no initiations; abbreviated burials in animal-burrows. Unless directed towards the alleviation of hunger, all intercourse falls into abeyance, sexual included ... husband and wife avoid intimacy not only because desire is absent but also for fear of conception. A child born under such conditions would be a disaster, certain to perish for lack of mother's milk. After distribution of the day's haul, each member of a domestic family, in sharp contrast to normal practice, eats apart. Until midday or late afternoon, depending on the rate of locating bush-food, all except small children are away searching, leaving the homesteads empty. Some sleep out for days at a time in order to search further afield and more thoroughly. In poorly-integrated families tacit divorce occurs, the husband merely fending for himself if not actually driving out his wife. Such a separation may be permanent. In the event of a lucky strike the finder keeps the intelligence secret, even from close kin. Disclosure might precipitate a sort of 'gold-rush'. The magnaminous man will

produce the food discreetly, in small instalments; likewise the wealthy man who has trekked to another area to buy food. He slips back unannounced at dead of night, buries the hoard, and sweeps the soil level obliterating his tracks. Otherwise money has no power. In the event of theft (kuJIBA), ordinarily the gravest offence known to Ngindoland, no remedy exists beyond vituperation ... assault might easily result in the death of a weakened culprit. In the absence of assemblies no case can get a hearing; whence elaborate precautions taken by the holders of the only remaining form of wealth, food, to guard their treasure. Great self-control, and vigilance, must be exercised in the matter of seed. Famished neighbours might even dig up freshly-planted groundnuts or beans. Farmers plant as early as possible to counter the threat, and confine themselves to fallows rather than attempting to clear standing forest.

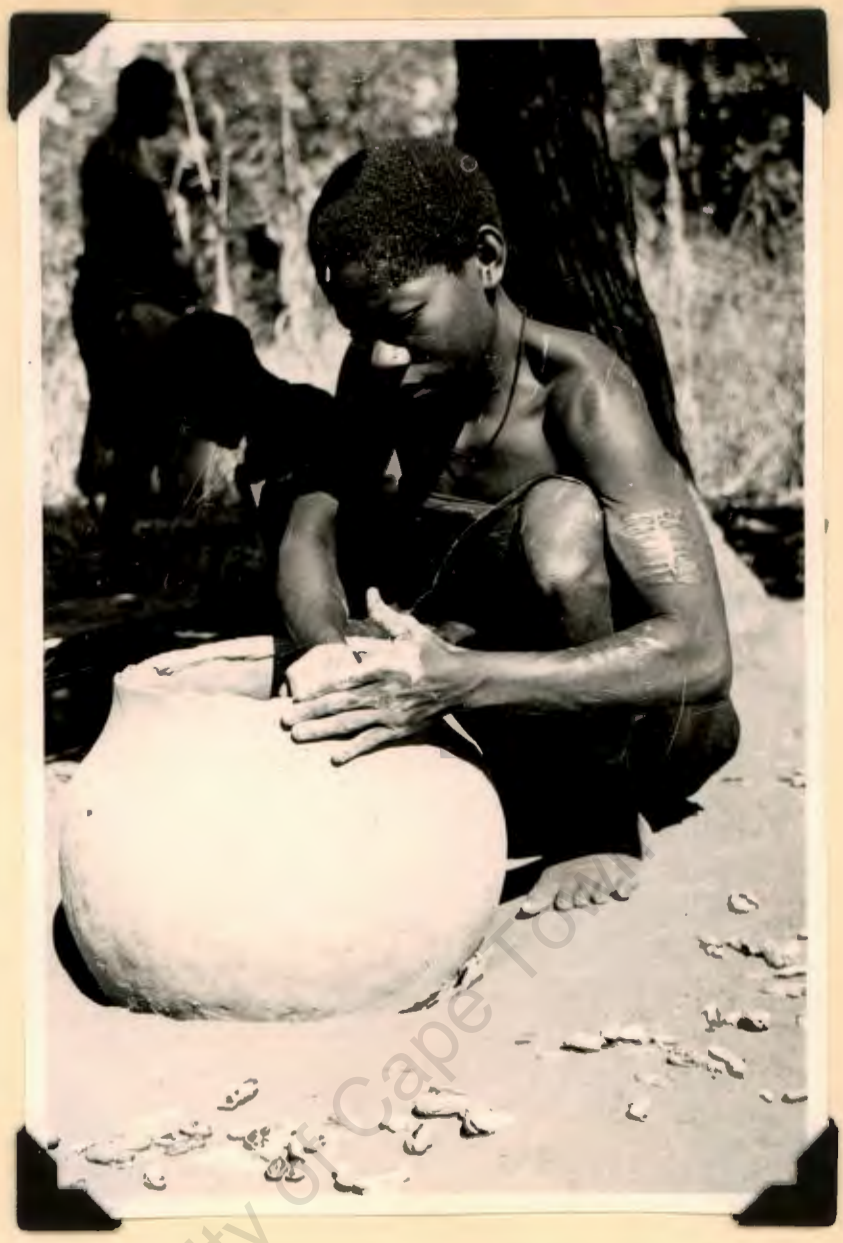
Dispersal tactics such as these correspond exactly with the former Ngindo reaction to tribal-wars. In hunting (kuWIMA) it was somewhat different. I use the past tense because hunting no longer flourishes. Very nearly all the bigger game are now protected, and not one in a thousand Ngindo has the means, the will, or the authorisation to purchase firearms and licences. Islamic food taboos further limit the quarry open. Ngindo, who are seldom without their bows (UPINDE), have long tipped their arrows (nCHALE) with poison (UCHUNGU) ; but, as at the present day, these weapons were in the past largely defensive. Adapted to forested country where the game, itself dispersed, had unlimited cover, Ngindo hunting technique was that of trappers; which in turn implied diffusion. Even the aborigines favoured this method rather than the chase. Only in the case of man-eaters did

(both Hamba and Ikemba sub-groups reputedly have a pure-hunting past)

anything in the nature of a battue take place. Summoned by a drum-beat known as NGULA MTWE (big head, i.e. the creature presumes to attack man), the menfolk form a ragged pursuit. When at bay the animal could be winged by archers stationed round about in trees. Failing official help, this is how they still deal with the menace. The illicit arrow-poison comes from a tree found only up the Muhinje, nearly 100 miles north of Liwale-boma and now deep in game-reserve. n/p All the everyday collecting jobs in the forest are done single-handed; even though the proceeds may be pooled on return to the homesteads, for instance the communally obtained thatching-grass, each bundle of which will have been cut by a different person in a different place. Rubber-tapping (kuGEMA) was also done piecemeal, as was the mining of gum-copal (TANDARUSI) ... copal is found around Lukuliro in the north, currently game-reserve. n/p Apart from burial and the initiations, perhaps the only human aggregations in the forest are the rumoured gatherings of sorcerers (mHWABI), there believed to disinter the bodies of victims, perform obscene dances, and hold cannibalistic feasts. Sacrificial offerings (kuBIKA, kuGONGALERA) to the ghosts should be made away from the homesteads; but these are private affairs staged by petty lineages, or even individuals, and poorly attended.

Artifacts.

The material-culture of the Ngindo is severely practical. It pays scarcely any attention to appearance or ornament. Take huts. Though the substantial square Swahili-type (liKUTA) dwelling occurs as much as any other, Ngindo devote comparatively little effort to the creation of solid homes; doubtless because the site will need to be changed at least once a decade. In all Ngindoland I met only one man who was genuinely house-



Fields and Forest: female potter (above), and male beekeeper (below), at work.

proud, panelling and roofing his home with nailed bark cut to look like plywood. More often the householder remains content with the leaky, nondescript liTAKO lya MBUNDA (Zebra's rump) or humble liPATIKA (log-cabin) models. Excepting sometimes, in the collection of grass for thatching, their erection calls for no group activity outside the domestic family. The same applies to granaries; only there tends to be greater haste to get them finished ... they have to be ready by the tail-end of the rains (kiHUKU) in order to receive the harvest, but should not stand too long beforehand getting saturated. Several outside kinsmen may be called in for the job. Where the Ngindo do take trouble is in sweeping the dust of the cleared-space (luBANJA) around the homestead, giving it a tidy air. The reasons for this again appear strictly practical. In the first place the fetish of entertaining callers must be observed outside, not indoors; in the second, footprints (luWAJO) reveal any clandestine visits! : Generally versatile, the Ngindo need the services of few specialists (PUNDI). Such crafts as rope-plaiting (kuBUNDA ... strip ... NGOJI), rough carpentry (kuBACHA), basketry, wickerwork (kiPALWE sifting - tray, etc.), and matting (kuLUKA liKAI small, liHAMBI big) are very widespread; and their exponents individually self-contained. Only in pottery (kuBUMBA), smithying (kuPULA), and the manufacture of more ambitious equipment like bows and drums (NG'OMA), does the skilled craftsman emerge. And even these by no means depend wholly on plying their particular trade which, against the background of subsistence farming, amounts to a remunerative hobby. The same might be said of herbalists (amiTELA), circumcisors (aNYAGO), dancers (kuHINA), singers (kuJIMBA), Muslim preachers (mwALIMU), or other experts. Competent

n/p

smiths are far from common. One of them may serve a number of distinct settlements. Their work, bound to a rough forge (kiPALA) and therefore sedentary as opposed to the itinerant skills of most other specialists, can be done virtually without assistance. Not so with pottery, which is almost exclusively in the hands of women and, for vessels of any size, localised around Barikiwa along with one other point, Mpengere, 25 miles west. At both is to be had exceptionally high-grade clay (UTUPI). Co-operation of women, or even men, may be enlisted by the potter in mining (uKUMBA) and transporting the raw clay, at Barikiwa found in a single deposit some distance from present habitation. She commonly comes to an arrangement with prospective clients whereby the latter help throughout, getting in return a proportion of the pots (kiBIGA,etc.) fired. Principally a client must produce the clay, provide rations ... flour is essential lest the potter should plead inability to work on the grounds of household chores such as pounding grain ... and cut the wood for firing (kuJOCHA). Here, as in other crafts, no formal instruction is to be had. Mothers frequently transmit their art to daughters; or daughters-in-law, since physical daughters usually part company with their parents at adolescence owing to the practice of virilocal marriage. But hereditary sequence need not be followed. Any girl may learn; though inevitably through the medium of a close neighbour or kinswoman. A smith on the other hand stands to remain in contact with his sons, who do frequently take over. Nevertheless the number of uterine successors is appreciable.

Labour.

To be edible both sorghum, and as a rule cassava, have to be converted into flour (UGWALI). Even beer

(UJIMBI) requires processed flour as one of its ingredients. This means perpetual work (liHENGO) for the womenfolk, over and above routine cookery (kuTELEKA) and brewing. Besides, they are responsible for cleaning (kuGULULA, uKUNG'UNDA) the hut and its environs; nursing children and laundry (kuJOYA , kuPULA); collecting firewood (kuTINA HANJU) and maintaining the hearth (kiHINJA); processing all foods, including the heavy exertion of threshing (uKUBATA), pounding (kuLIBULA, etc.,) and grinding (kuHAGA); drawing water (kuTEKA) and carrying loads of all descriptions; collecting the commoner bush-fruits; low-clearing, weeding, and guarding of fields; planting and harvesting of crops; manufacture of pots; cutting of grass for thatching (plur.maNYAI gu kuHIMBA), and plastering (kuGANDIKA) hut walls with mud ... a wife who failed to perform this service had to pay a fine of Shs. 1/- (KIP 23/34). Whilst the men share in some of these activities, notably load-carrying (only males may do Government porterage); planting, crop-watching, weeding, and harvesting; grass-cutting and food-gathering; their specific tasks do not demand so much of their time. They are the beekeepers and, if need be, hunters ... Government sponsored battues for baboon (liJANI) are occasionally held, and man-eaters sometimes have to be despatched. They do the initial clearing and tree-felling; also a variety of crafts such as wicker-work, smithying, barkcloth (mBINDA) beating, rope-plaiting, and sewing (kuCHONA). They collect the raw materials for and build (kuCHENGA) the huts. Both sexes may act as dance-leaders, ritual experts, herbalists, diviners (kuLONDOLA), traders, mat-makers, and rubber-tappers; but men generally excel. Litigation, tax-raising, and all public matters tend to be wholly masculine concerns.

Most of these tasks may be aided by communal effort. Work-parties, attracted by beer, are very popular. Participants from a mile or two around bring their own implements and put in a morning's work before sitting down to the good cheer. Attendance is almost entirely territorial, and callers from beyond this distance will come only to drink. Here the sexes are segregated, but not necessarily so at work unless their tasks are such that they must keep apart. Work-parties may be held for clearing of fields, planting, weeding, and harvesting; also for grass-cutting. Certain other jobs which warrant no beer may none the less be done in unison. Especially the actual brewing (kuTIPULA, etc.) of the beverage. The process entails the pounding of as much as a whole load of grain; so at that particular stage, falling on the second day of the four needed for proper fermentation, it is not uncommon to see a dozen or more women so engaged. Apart from anything else, this serves as publicity. By then it should be common knowledge that a brew is under weigh, synchronised so as not to clash with other parties nearby. The recruitment of competent brewers helps to guarantee the success of a party; for should the beer turn out sour (kuBABA) the news is bound to get around beforehand, with a consequent drop in attendance. A female grain-pounding session, held at the party-giver's hut, may include her (to be specific one must refer to the woman in whose field the work is to take place) ~~polygynous~~ co-wives and their female dependants; her husband's agnatic relatives' wives, and his own kinswomen; her mother, daughter, or other blood relative, if living within reach; her daughter-in-law; in fact a comprehensive range of nearby kin. Unrelated neighbours may also join. This is entirely typical of attendance at no matter what Ngindo functions, even those embodying rites concerning specific kinsfolk, such as

Fields and Forest: (above) work-party, with women segregated in background cutting grass: (below) routine ivory-clearance in the courtyard of the old German fort at Liwale-boma.

offerings and burials. Territorial, not kinship, factors govern attendance. Continuous group-preparation of food and drink marks the initiations (UNYAGO, kuCHEZA, etc); especially their coming-out phase, itself a week in duration. The ceremonies are held almost annually in every sizeable settlement. In them, although flour for beer and porridge (also UGWALI) is prepared at home, the lengthy boiling of a brew goes forward at the forest-lodge (liWIGII), where each circle of relatives connected to a given initiate has separate quarters and a separate hearth standing in front.

Ngindo nowadays cannot get by without cash (plur. maPESA). With the exit of barkcloth, trade-apparel (NGUBO) must be purchased, and imported salt (MWINYO) likewise. Poll-tax (KOLI) must be paid in cash, which has become the medium of both bridewealth payments (HETO) and compensation (kuJELILA for adultery) in disputes. Many lesser goods and services besides need cash for their procural. To get cash the tribesman may sell his produce; but this, it will be shown in the forthcoming section, falls far short of satisfying basic requirements. Or again he may sell his labour. Opportunities for paid employment inside Ngindoland, it will also be shown, fail to make up the leeway. Though this may not be the sole reason for its adoption, the remaining solution is to go in search of such employment elsewhere. A trickle of Ngindo migrant-labourers had been finding its way to the centres ever since German days; but before the second World War it remained no more than that, with the exception of a temporary spate during the Depression period ... in 1929 the Ngindoland Council was explaining to the District Commissioner: "The cause of delay (in raising tax) is that the people are not here. They have gone to

seek(money) ": and two years later, "There is no money and no things (i.e. other wealth). They (the migrants) cannot go indiscriminately as they do now". At that same time European officials were remarking on this movement: "As you know, a very large number of Magingo are constantly arriving in Kilwa", wrote the District Commissioner, Kilwa, in 1929. Three years later his colleague at Liwale considered that "Tax is coming in as satisfactorily as can be expected whilst low prices for native produce prevail" (from correspondence files). Three years later again the westerly Ngindo were found to be mobile by comparison with their neighbours: "The Pogoro do not travel far from the District (Mahenge). The Ngindo however supply plantation labour to the Kilwa and Tanga Districts" (Ref.34).

After an intervening lull, the past decade has witnessed a veritable tidal-wave of migrant-labour. This appears clearly from figures relating to Barikiwa. They cover all living residents ...

Present Age-groups of Men and Youths.

	(pre-War trips)			post-War trips)		
Centre.	Under 35.	35-50.	Over 50.	Under 35.	35-50.	Over 50.
Dar es Salaam	2	26	9	83	20	I
Nachingwea	(inapplicable)			45	8	I
Kilosa		I		13(a)		
Lindi				3		
Kilwa					2	
Tanga			1			
Unknown	3(b)					
Totals	5	27	10	144	30	2
Combined Totals		42(c)			176	

No migrant-labour experience at all: (Under 35) 14(d)
(35-50) 11(e)
(Over 50) 25(f)

(a) Two of these were round-trips via Dar es Salaam as well.

(b) i.e. 'deserters' of whom trace has been lost.

(c) A few pre-War migrants have since died; perhaps a dozen.

(d) Including 5 who have not yet reached taxable age, I blind, I mad, I leprous, I at school. i.e. only 5 fit and mature.

(e) Including I ex-soldier, I ex-sisal conscript, I ex-schoolboy, I Muslim preacher, I leper, I blacksmith. i.e. over half invalided, skilled at home, or already sophisticated.

(f) Including 4 Govt headmen, 2 Muslim preachers, I cripple, I blacksmith. i.e. a quarter sophisticated, etc.,

Ist Note: I regret that on compiling this table, and before adding the number of 'migrants' as opposed to 'trips', I mislaid the questionnaires. Most migrants have done one trip only; several did two; a few, three; one or two, four. The overall average number of trips per man works out at approx 1.4.

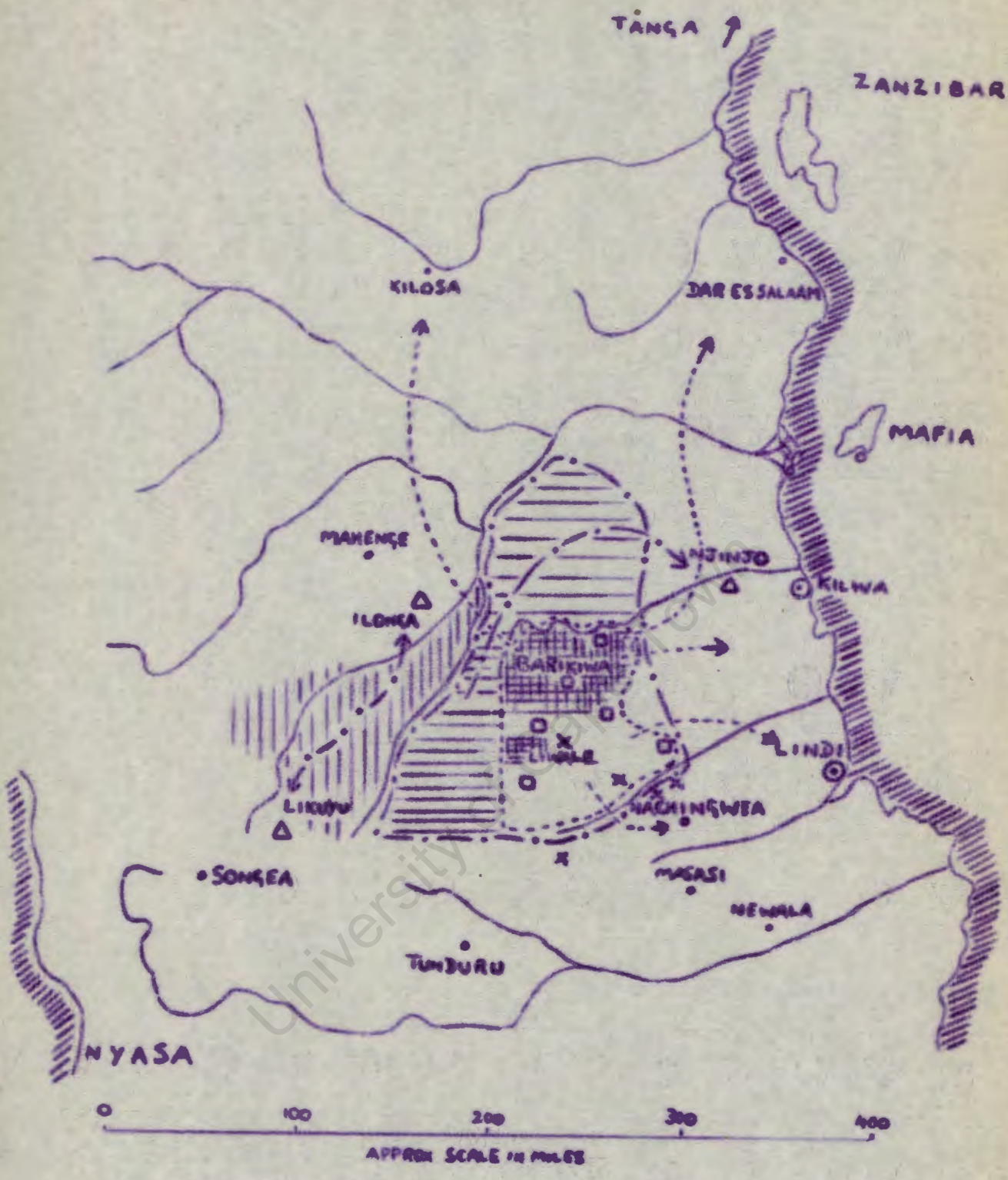
2nd Note: The size of the sample is 170 males capable of migrant-labour either now or in the past.

Scarcely any 'multiple trips' (i.e where an individual goes more than once) were done before the second World War. Also, at Barikiwa, migrants of that vintage amount to only 18% of total living migrant-labourers. Nor is there any question of a few chronic migrants accounting for the post-War rise. Even assuming, in this instance (which is exaggerated), that all pre-War migrants did one trip apiece and stayed at home post-War, the average of trips per man post-War still falls below 2. Taking the annual aspect, from an average of less than 2 trips per annum done by members of this same community before the War the average has now shot up to over 20 p.a. Again, whereas over 80% of young and mature men have done migrant-

labour at some time or another, among elders the ratio of those who have never experienced it is commensurately high, namely 80%. The increased post-War tempo shown by the Barikiwa survey is borne out by questionnaires I completed elsewhere. The number of trips done by the ~~85~~ 86 men interviewed, in the period 1947-9 which was that of the evacuation crisis, equals the sum total of the trips they did either before or since. Admittedly 69% of these questionnaire subjects are under 35 years old, and all arbitrarily chosen; but the inference is clear.

There can be no doubt that it was the 'Closer Settlement Scheme' of 1945-8 which was mainly responsible for stepping up the flow to an unprecedented level. This therefore is the place to describe the Scheme. Anti-fragmentation measures, it has been said, have long been tried by the European administrators of Ngindoland. As early as 1931 one of them was proposing the drastic solution of total evacuation. A decade later, at the time when trial schemes were going into operation along the western fringes of Ngindoland (see western-Ndonde, middle of Chapter X), a pilot experiment took place within its own borders. This was around Madaba in the north, where a genuine threat of tripanosomiasis existed ... a pretext later to be somewhat less scrupulously exploited. By the end of the second World War, plans were ready for the removal of a target 5,000 families, namely the entire estimated population of Ngindoland. Official sanction for the policy of "eliminating Liwale" (District Book, to which I am indebted for most of the details) had been granted two years earlier; and an official report of the time advocating the Scheme stated that its aim was "moving the people to more favourable areas free from the dangers

MIGRANT-LABOUR AND EVACUATION.



(of sleeping sickness) ... bringing them into closer touch with civilization ... abandonning Liwale as a station and forming the area into a Game Reserve for which it appears decidedly more suitable than it does for human habitation" (quoted by District Book). A preliminary reconnaissance found that 9,100 would be the actual number of families involved; that Njinjo, 100 miles east, would be the best reception-area; and that each family needed 21 acres on which to settle. Accordingly in August 1945, on a working basis of £15,000, the Scheme went forward. Great initial difficulties were encountered however. Little over 1,000 families could be moved in that year; and in 1946 only a token 100 families.

Considerable discussion between Ngindo and authorities had preceded the decision. Indeed the report just quoted, after predicting that "The 1946 operation will be much easier", affirmed that it had the support of certain of the Ngindo: "the Native Authorities of central Liwale are keen to move". Whatever the method in reaching this assessment of opinion ... the conciliatory overt behaviour of the Ngindo is not seldom deceptive ... officials on the spot thought otherwise. "At no time have the people of Liwale wanted to move" (Ref.55). And in fact there can be no doubt that the reaction was one of intense and universal bitterness. The mere rumour that evacuation (kiHAMO) was mooted led to wholesale 'leakages'. For instance out of the original target of 1,900 families from the north (Nangue-Madaba, Lukuliro, Ngarambi, and Matandu) only 1,200 could be accounted for. Again, at the beginning of 1947, the "number of families in the Muhinje Chini area of Liwale ... dropped from 2,000 (actually 2,100 from Muhinje, Mkondo, and Mkwihi) to about 1,500" (Ref.55). "Similar leakage" was reported else-

where. Note that when in 1942 the curtain-raiser Scheme had shifted the far-westerly Ngindo towards Mahenge, the Ngindoland Council ~~had~~ found it necessary to issue an order for the arrest of unauthorised refugees from the west. To return to the major Scheme, by now it was in trouble, having moved less than a quarter (1,920) of the families at a cost of more than two-thirds of the money allocated. Yet, in the face of mounting obstacles such as the ironic harvesting of a bumper crop in 1947, evacuation, possible only in the dry-season months, continued. A further 2,812 families from the centre and west (Liwale, Njenje Juu, Barikiwa, Muhinje, and Mkondo; also, presumably, Mkwihi), scheduled to move in that year, apparently went (elsewhere the District Book mentions the figure of 3,661 or 3,651, families of whom "2,800 arrived in the settlement areas" ... possibly the grand total to date); leaving 3,195 families in the south (Kipule, Nyera, Makata, and Mbemba) to await their turn in 1948. That programme never materialised; for the Scheme had in the meanwhile come to a halt.

The effects of the Scheme were incalculable. Not only had it banished from their homes two-thirds of the original population; but it was to have an unforeseeable, though melancholy, sequel of physical distress. This arose out of the premature disclosure (by an Ngindo leader who had been taken into the confidence of Government, on condition of secrecy) of the decision to stop evacuation. In terms of that decision, whilst the bulk of the area cleared was to remain closed as game-reserve, portions of Ngindoland adjoining the untouched south (namely Liwale and Barikiwa), were gradually to be reopened in the hope that the evacuees, by filling it, would make Ngindoland

compact. No sooner was the news out than, in the words of an official account, "a mass exodus followed" (Ref.55). Despite the provision of Government supplies for sale on a loan basis very acute famine developed in the reopened sector. No less disastrous may be the effect of the Scheme on morale, crowning the growing disillusion of an admittedly 'problem tribe'. The Ngindo had been misjudged before, notably by the Germans before the Majimaji Revolt. No one could have guessed their present tenacity. How high feelings ran can be gauged by the abortive attempt to send a deputation to the Governor. Though returned home for trial, on what charge it is not clear, those concerned received very light sentences from their own Native Court (AP 9/47). Incidentally the "Buy Liwale" fund alluded to by the District Book appears a misconception. Modest funds were indeed raised to cover travelling expenses of petitioners; but informants reject the notion that they meant to ransom Ngindoland from Government; nor is large-scale embezzlement thought to have occurred. Since the upheaval has yet to subside, its aftermath persists. So far as one can judge, the calculation that the bulk of evacuees from all quarters would opt to live in the shrunken Ngindoland has proved a fallacy. A post-script in the District Book, dated September 1948, indicates that by then 75% of the evacuees were back ... probably by this was meant those who were native to the reopened sector. If so, the figure could now safely be raised to 99%. On the other hand, of the former inhabitants of the permanently-closed areas only a negligible quantity appear to have availed themselves of the opportunity, preferring to languish at Njinjo or elsewhere until another miracle comes along. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of all has been the revelation of a specifically territorial, yet firmly Ngindo, nationalism. The shock has given those remaining in, or gravitating to, Ngindoland a heightened

awareness of their own meaning and identity.

As country, the evacuees did not find Njinjo to their liking. Although granted exemption from poll-tax for the first year, many became destitute and reverted to the wearing of barkcloth. Friction arose with the Matumbi and other inhabitants, swamped by these none too amenable newcomers. Few had the heart to cultivate seriously. Finally, Njinjo lies on the main artery of communication leading towards Dar es Salaam, traditional magnet of Ngindo migrant-labourers. The result was an enormous wave of migrant-labour. In 1948, when the wave was at its peak, over 16,000 Ngindo were reported to be in the relevant Districts on and north of the Rufiji (Rufiji 6,000 plus; Kilosa 2,000 plus; Morogoro 1,000 plus; Uzaramo 6,000 plus; Tanga 500 plus... Ref 54.) Of these at least half must have been migrant-labourers and their families, an astonishing total considering that most husbands went alone and that something under 5,000 'families' appear to have been transplanted by the Closer Settlement Scheme. Of course these were not the only Ngindo to be disturbed. Those awaiting evacuation became restless, creating the 'leakages'. Other migrant-labourers belonged to Ngindo outliers unaffected by the Scheme; that is to say, all except the western-Ndonde who had suffered a like fate early in the War. Inside Ngindoland the wave now seems to have receded; more so in the untouched south than in the reopened north. Indeed the two are scarcely comparable. Judging from ~~Going on~~ village-survey material, about 33% of adult males from the south have at one time or another done a spell of migrant-labour, whilst less than 10% are away at any one time. In the north the corresponding figures are over double.

One of the reasons for the contrast between north and south was the advent of the Groundnut Scheme (NJUGU) which operated one of its biggest enterprises at Nachingwea, only 40 miles south of the Mbwemkuru. By 1947 Nachingwea was using a labour-force of several thousand, and it was proposed to set up a sister-unit in Liwale, whither a reconnaissance party proceeded in August 1948. Though nothing ever came of this plan, it may well have been instrumental in checking the Closer Settlement Scheme ... why denude what was shortly to become an industrial centre? At its peak Nachingwea took on some 10,000 men a year, of whom approximately 5% were Ngindo (taken from a sample of approximately 10,000 men enrolled between November 1950 and August 1951. Over 40,000 African employees had appeared on the Nachingwea books up to that date, not counting those engaged by the contracting firms). Even allowing for outlier Ngindo, therefore, Ngindoland itself must have been contributing close on 500 men a year. Most of these came from its adjacent southern portion. Evidently, during the five years of major Groundnut activity, Ngindo had all the opportunities for employment they wanted, for in 1950 Nachingwea had to import several hundred Ngoni and Gogo labourers. Most of the Ngindo there were unskilled, though a few drove tractors or did lesser technical jobs.

Towards Dar es Salaam and Kilosa, first and second on the list of popularity, apart from the brief phenomenon of Nachingwea, Ngindo did next to nothing but sisal work. No figures are to be had from employers, but it is certain that one estate patronised by Ngindo employed many hundreds of them at a time. Although wartime conscripted labourers (something over a hundred went from Ngindoland) spent 18 months on the Tanga estates, scarcely any Ngindo

go there now. Likewise very few enter the Lindi sector of the industry. Kilwa, though still frequented by Ngindo, has little to offer. Less than a generation ago Kilwa (Kivinje-boma) was Ngindoland's nearest produce-market ... in 1931 the Ngindoland Council complained that "the common people find it a hardship to go to the coast (MBWANI) to sell their crops". With the opening of home-markets, the Ngindo no longer have occasion to visit Kilwa regularly. At the time of evacuation some few worked the African-owned copra (MBATA) plantations there; but this was in emergency and under poor conditions. In the ordinary way, migrant-labourers do casual work for fellow-Africans or other small enterprises only in transit to or from the centres. Incidental factors play a part in guiding the labour-flow. Thus on the route to Kilosa many Ngindo happen to have settled in Mahenge where, thanks to differences in price-levels, it is profitable to peddle salt. So migrants can take a load along to cover travelling-expenses besides breaking their journey with fellow-Ngindo. Likewise, in the old days, migrant-labourers bound for Dar es Salaam could sell produce at Kilwa first before heading for the Rufiji. Even now, they are likely to have relatives at handy points along the line of march ... excepting north of the Rufiji and Ulanga rivers virtually all travel is on foot. Out of 130 trips done by the migrants I questioned fully, 52% were to Nachingwea, 38% to Dar es Salaam (i.e. the whole Dar es Salaam region as far south as the Rufiji. Relatively few Ngindo find their way to the township itself), 4% to Kilosa, 4% to Lindi, and 2% to Kilwa.

Since migrant-labour has become so much a part of Ngindo life in recent years, it is pertinent to state what is known of its nature. Most departures from home

take place early in the rains when a man has attended all the work-parties and cleared, sown, and weeded a field, which can then be left to his wife or relatives; and when if a suitor he has done a modicum of toil for his future in-laws. This is the case when he intends to return in a few months. Otherwise he may wait until the crop is safe inside the granaries and the big ritual events come round. But there is no fixed time. Another consideration is the need for raising tax ahead of the harvest ... the authorities generally campaign for early collection, and would be embarrassed if no one paid before the mid-year. n/p The journey to the labour-centre frequently means the best part of a fortnight on the road. Over the longer routes migrants like to travel in parties, if possible all-Ngindo. They seldom go less than three together. Transit expenses do not deter them. Ngindo are phenomenal walkers, and during the mango-season will cover the entire distance without spending a cent! n/p On arrival, most of them enter the unskilled category and stay in it. It seems from my sampling that this applies to 80% of migrant-labourers. The balance included 12% drivers or mechanics and 3% domestic servants. Only 12% succeed in earning salaries of over Shs. 50/- a month. Thus the bulk of Ngindo migrants continue to do manual labour (kiBARUA). I estimate the general literacy rate among adult males to be not higher than 5%, including Arabic script (kiARABU), more widely used than Roman (kiZUNGU); and the number who have received any formal education to be much lower than this again. Ex-scholars, war veterans, Muslim preachers, and the like do tend to secure skilled posts; but by no means always. Anyway, they make up a minute percentage of the total; for instance, less than one percent of adult males joined up or were conscripted during the last War. Men who have learned

trades whilst doing migrant-labour are the exception; but artisans, and even a barman, are to be found in the depths of Liwale! Sisal (liKONGI) work is the favourite because of a number of things; because of its stability (I scarcely ever heard of a man failing to get enlisted, or being discharged against his will without cause); because it offers good terms (wages ɨNCHALA) stand markedly higher than those given by certain other employers such as Government departments, whilst estates almost invariably provide rations (liPOSHO) and quartersɨ; because of its relative isolation which permits labourers to live quietly and save; and because there is provision for female and juvenile work. The majority reckon farming at home more arduous than paid labour at the centres, where many do casual tasks after hours. Either they work for the estate staff or 'make kinship' with local inhabitants, helping them with their fields and giving small presents in cloth in return for food and various services; especially where the labourer has dependants with him who do not get rations. Scarcely any till a plot of their own at the labour-centre; in fact at Nachingwea this was prohibited. Elsewhere one or two, those accompanied by their wives, plant a crop and even make some money on it.

For short-term sorties since the war the average length of absence appears to be slightly over six months. As a rule the time spent at Dar es Salaam on a given trip exceeded that at Nachingwea. Therefore, since the latter no longer provides a substantial volume of work the future average can be expected to rise. Here are some details relating to all centres ...

Under 3 months	...	22%
3 to 6 "	...	35%
7 to 12 "	...	29%
13 to 24 "	...	8%
Over 24 "	...	6%

(the size of the sample is 130 trips, done by 86 men).

Note: the 8-month average used later includes the longer trips as well.

I have already discussed the number of trips made by individual migrant-labourers. Anything more than two is rare; more than four, unknown. Those staying away from home permanently ('deserters'), reckoning from the start of the Mandate, nowhere attain 10% of total adult males, and generally fall far below this mark. Not a great many migrant-labourers take their wives along with them. Only 18% of questionnaire-subjects did so, whereas 65% left wives or betrothed girls at home (two-thirds wives, one-third betrothed girls). The number of polygynists among them, about 15%, appears markedly lower than the overall incidence for Ngindoland, which is more than double. I suspect that polygynists, who are mostly mature men, do not migrate as much as monogamists or bachelors. On the other hand, of those accompanied by wives over a third were polygynists. I found only one case of a man taking two wives. In principle polygynous migrants prefer to leave a senior wife in charge and take the younger as companion. About a third of the escorting wives did paid labour at the place of employment ~~centre~~. Most husbands are reluctant to let their wives work, feeling happier to have them busied in camp; but there is no stigma attached to their working. Opinion has it that wives are an encumbrance at the labour-centre, even if they earn extra money. They get spoilt, frequently commit adultery, and have to be fed ... female labour does not always get free ~~carry~~ rations. Worse, the

monogamist taking his wife with him has no field or hut to come back to. Occasionally a wife will make an income on her own initiative. One baked cakes and sold them in camp. Another worked as a nurse-maid. Statistics on wives refer to the post-War situation. Before the War fewer men took their wives with them. The hardship of having to cook and do housework is sometimes relieved by taking a juvenile relative along or, if funds permit, by engaging a local lad, or acquiring a local mistress. Few can afford these luxuries. In several cases migrant-labourers wanted to take their wives, but were prohibited from doing so by senior relatives or in-laws. Elders fear that a family migrating complete may well desert altogether, and disapprove of emancipated daughters or daughters-in-law. It is common practice for a husband to go along, then summon his wife once he is established, getting a kinsman who intends to do migrant-labour to bring her.

The commonest reason given for quitting work is accomplishment of the particular economic goal in view. Frequently an ultimatum from a senior relative curtails a trip. It may be terminated by illness or death in the family, by marriage or farming concerns. A good many migrant-labourers lose sight of their objective and live from hand to mouth until the time approaches for them to return. Then, ashamed to show themselves at home out of pocket, they start to save. One or two who were

summoned

back urgently, hence arrived with neither cash nor cloth, explained the lapse in these very terms. Others in the same position break their journey home to do casual work and accumulate a token amount. In one case a man left work owing to friction with Mwera tribesmen who, he alleges, burned down his tent and tried to bewitch him. He was a qualified tractor-driver, note!

Most migrant-labourers, when asked why they leave home, reply that their object is to raise money; but can seldom specify an imperative need that had to be satisfied. Several intimated that the sale of produce (NAFAKA) suffices to cover one or two items in the family budget; but not all of them. They point out that crop-failure can happen to anyone, whilst such commodities as beeswax simply disappear in an off-season. Besides, not everyone can expect to get more than a month's local road-clearance (BARABARA) work or porterage (UPAGACHI). I shall be dealing with this balance of payments presently. Certainly if cash were available close at hand they would not go further afield in search of it//, as instance the popularity of Nachingwea. On the other hand I have heard men express dislike for jobs too near home on the score that kinship obligations would make saving difficult, and that one would constantly be tempted to go off and attend to one's own fields. Even at Nachingwea, some labourers were 'milked' month by month. Poverty then, though it underlies the migrant-labour movement, does not set it in motion. Other incidental stimuli do this.

The rôle of the Closer Settlement Scheme in promoting migrant-labour has been described. From it the simultaneous factors of War-aftermath and Groundnut-development

cannot altogether be dissociated. But neither can be held responsible for the frenzy of migration which occurred. No labour-recruiting organization operates in or near Ngindoland. Ngindo mistrust contracts and efficient arrangements. I know of a case where a migrant-labourer came back home with the intention of raising a band of companions. He failed because the latter suspected that he harboured ambitions of being made foreman over them, a typically Ngindo reaction. Some informants, pressed for specific reasons for leaving home, remarked that they wanted to see the world. Whilst no criticism attaches to the stay-at-home, he tends to be uncouth by comparison with experienced migrants. Only the very timid and conservative failed to migrate at the time of evacuation ... even those who most obstinately resisted it found themselves compelled to seek work. One man who with his entire family circle played truant and hid in the forest during the interregnum did two trips shortly afterwards; and his sons likewise. To have made many trips is not necessarily a mark of prestige. The desire for escapism applies to only a section of the already minute chronic-migrant element, some of whom are merely successful men who hesitate to throw away good jobs. The play-boy type, because his motives are largely sexual, soon grows out of it. At home, though lovers are not hard to come by, and local girls not reckoned inferior excepting in the degree of sophistication, youths can neither proceed so openly as at a labour-centre nor dress so extravagantly. Mark you, sisal-work is neither urban nor exciting. The predicament of suitors, deprived of income just when they most long to indulge in conspicuous expenditure, has been touched on. They dislike being dependant on parents for clothing and bridewealth, which the latter are frequently

not in a position to provide. Even when he gets an adequate allowance the recipient cannot himself choose the cloth. The first few poll-taxes add to his difficulties. Suitors accounted for 25% of the post-War trips investigated; whilst another 17% were done by unattached youths. Why suitors have an incentive to migrate is because it affords them a pretext to avoid an irksome commitment ... prospective in-laws seldom dare press for compliance through official channels seeing how controversial is the institution of infant-girl betrothal in the eyes of the authorities and outside critics. Some prospective in-laws make no fuss at all, and even accompany their womenfolk's suitors to the labour-centres. These are the commoner reasons for labour-migration.

Whilst the migrant-labour rate has been, and in parts still is, high it does not lead to serious denudation. Nor does it seriously impede the near-subsistence cultivation of the Ngindo. Ngindoland is so uniform in productivity and amenities that physical factors do not in themselves lead to differential rates of labour-migration from part to part. It has not been my experience that returning migrants expect to relax and enjoy a holiday; nor have I found dependants living idly on the proceeds of a migrant-labourer's work. Migrants might be thought to absorb and disseminate progressive ideas. I cannot say I have seen this happen. Sisal-workers, of course, have little contact with such influences; but even apparent sophisticates revert to type immediately. 'Deserters', I have said, constitute no problem. Since 1931 a ruling has been in force allowing automatic divorce with forfeiture of bridewealth after a three-year voluntary absence without upkeep on the part of the husband. Opinion tends to be remarkably complacent towards illegitimates,

who are attributed to the legal father without ado. I have seen only one or two divorce-suits brought on these grounds. The small patrilineage-cells which are the core of Ngindo society have far too much identity of interest to allow wives, children, or other dependants of absentee kinsmen to become destitute. Commonly a sort of anticipatory widow-inheritance comes into play, a brother or other close relative of the migrant acting in his stead. Personally the husband may object to this, as well as to other forms of infidelity, but is powerless to act. "I get cheated in any case", he complains, "so why not risk taking my wife along with me ?". But he acquiesces. Polygyny quickly takes up the slack where a marriage has foundered, and the law is definite about the custody of children, who go to the agnatic kin of the legal father or to the father himself directly they are old enough to leave their mothers. /Migrant-labourers, even the noisiest n/p of them, soon fall back into the routine of village life. I have observed no significant breach of tribal discipline which can be laid at the door of migrant-labour as distinct from other factors of change. Ngindo were always egalitarian; so the modest spread of wealth brought about by labour-migration cannot threaten the privilege of an élite. Suitor-contracts definitely suffer as a result of it; but migrant-labour is not the only force tending to impair that institution. For lack of data over a period one cannot say whether disease (UTAMWE) has gained ground. The major contact of Ngindoland with the outside is too recent for long-term effects to manifest themselves. Ngindo like to declare that scourges like leprosy (UKOMA) scarcely existed in the old days. I am inclined to believe this; but the tribe has been highly mobile throughout. Therefore infection cannot be blamed on migrant-labour alone. If it has any direct ill effect on physique, it is

in giving rise to the arduous journeys (MWANJA) to and from the centres, when travellers cut down food almost to zero. On the other hand rations provided by employers probably contain better nourishment than the home diet, which is meagre to a degree.

Budgets.

Ngindoland is sufficiently small, isolated, and backward for one to make tolerably complete estimates of local income and expenditure. On the credit side, what do the people earn and how do they earn it ? The biggest item is sale of produce, as set out earlier; its value, Shs. 220,300/- p.a. On the basis of 5,000 families [x], the average income per family per annum from produce alone is Shs. 45/-, a little over double the poll-tax of Shs. 20/-. Next in size are the Government salaries. Detail ...

Native Authority salaries and allowances.	...	Shs. 24,693/-
Game Dept. " "	...	" 77,814/-
(Not including salary of European Senior Game Ranger)		
Other Depts. " "	...	" 38,914/-
Central Govt " "	...	" 4,168/-
(including half salaries of African tax-clerks on half-yearly duty)	Total	145,589/-

x Footnote:

In 1952 the number of Ngindo (men) paying tax was 5,872. In 1953 I found the number of permanent exemptions to be approximately 500. It is reasonable to suppose therefore that Ngindoland contains at least 5,000 [xx] families, each composed as follows ... 1 Husband
1½ Wives (as per polygyny rate)
2 Children

xx Footnote: I deliberately postulate a minimum figure, lest I should under-estimate local income-levels.

Other items are roadwork, salaries from miscellaneous Government votes, porterage, wages from commerce, and gratuities for found-ivory. Detail ...

Govt roads	...	Shs.	15,904/-
N.A. "	...	"	4,160/-
N.A. votes	...	"	10,000/-
Game porterage (estimated average)	...	"	15,000/-
Ivory " "	...	"	3,600/-
Other " "	...	"	1,000/-
Found ivory	...	"	4,000/-
Commerce (employees' pay)	...	"	25,000/-
	TOTAL	"	79,200/-

There being positively no other source of cash within Ngindoland, excepting at the expense of fellow-Ngindo, the total annual income can therefore be put at Shs. 445,089/-.

After careful discussion with local people including traders, I have assessed the minimum reasonable cash amount required by a family in the course of a year at Shs. 112/-. Detail ...

Cloth (husband)	...	Shs.	24/-
(wives)	...	"	36/-
(Children)	...	"	12/-
Poll-tax	...	"	20/-
Implements, etc.,	...	"	10/-
Salt	...	"	10/-
	TOTAL.	"	112/-

If each family maintained this standard, Shs. 560,000/- would be required every year. So there would appear to be an annual deficit of at least Shs. 100,000/-.

n/p .....

What does a migrant-labourer stand to bring into the country ? Before the War, very few sent cash or cloth home in advance; about a third came back with a few shillings; a quarter with about 50/-; the rest empty handed. Over half however brought back a respectable supply of cloth;that is, over 10 PANDEs (a PANDE is about 2 yards). Cloth was of course much cheaper then than at present. Since the War somewhat more labour-migrants appear to have sent cash ahead of them, and somewhat fewer have come back penniless. Detail ...

Men sending cash ahead.	Amount (in shillings)	Men bringing cash personally.
71%	Nil	15%
7%	Less than 25	30%
8%	25 to 50	26%
9%	~~50~~ 51 to 100	16%
2%	~~100~~ 101 to 200	11%
3%	Over 200	2%

Note: some who failed to bring back cash compensated in cloth; almost all those bringing in over Shs. 200/- had no cloth.

The approximate value of these savings is Shs. 9,525/- for the 130 trips surveyed,x giving an average per trip of Shs. 73/-. Corresponding figures for cloth are ...

Cloth sent in advance	Approx.value in shillings	Cloth brought Personally
75%	Nil	10%
15%	25	45%
8%-	50	30%
2%-	100	15%

The approximate value of this cloth is Shs. 7,125/-, giving an average per trip of Shs. 55/-. Hence total average savings per trip appear to be Shs. 128/-.

x Footnote: this is the sample, embracing 86 migrant-labourers.

Migrant-labourers very commonly convert cash into cloth at an intermediate point on the return journey, especially if prices are lower than at home. Throughout they will have kept in touch by occasional letters delivered by hand, scarcely ever by post. Most of those staying away any length of time pay poll-tax whilst still at work. Others pay immediately on return.

I also worked out the gross earnings of post-War migrants interviewed. The amount is Shs. 52,899/- (about Shs. 407/- per trip), and the savings expressed as a percentage come to 31.5%; roughly a third. Migrant-labourers, then, evidently spend over half their pay at work, a drain which the answers given by informants would not lead one to suspect; many claim to be very close with their money. The usual non-essential purchases mentioned are relishes and extra food, tobacco and cigarettes, beer, fancy clothes, litigation, and prostitutes. Very few live at a consistently improved level; that is, consuming sugar, cooking-oil, and so forth. Absolutely none make major investments like bicycles. One should consider the cash-value of a man's upkeep during the time he maintains himself from outside sources. Reverting to my earlier estimate, he needs Shs. 24/- p.a. for clothing and Shs. 20/- for poll-tax. To this I would add another Shs. 16/- for odd necessities, giving Shs. 60/- p.a. Now, the average length of trip being eight months, each absentee would relieve the home resources to the extent of Shs. 40/- p.a. Hence the nett saving he effects is Shs. 168/- p.a.

If this is the case, it would require 619 trips per annum to compensate Ngindoland's apparent leeway of Shs. 100,000/- between income and expenditure. This chain

of reckoning lies open to considerable error, whilst in reality Ngindo clearly adopt the method of lowering living-standards. Nevertheless it would seem that, say, 500 trips p.a. must be done in order to provide reasonable conditions. Note that the number of annual trips made by Ngindo to Nachingwea at its zenith approached 500. Labour-migration of the order of 500 trips p.a. would mean the absence of about 10% of adult males year in year out. There is the objection that the gross-wages per trip figure used above implies a suspiciously high monthly wage, namely Shs. 50/-. But I have checked it thoroughly and find it an accurate reflection of statements made by the migrant-labourers questioned, whose answers were neither improbable nor inconsistent. The explanation may lie in two factors. First, the predominance of well-paid workers in the long-term category. Second, inclusion of wives' earnings ... about 5% of the trips in question are likely to have been affected in this way. If for the sake of argument the gross-earnings figure is inflated, the adjustments to be made are raising of the savings ratio above one third of migrant-labour income, and stepping up the number of trips required to fill the gap in Ngindoland's budget. Neither of which upsets my conclusions. The one would resolve the anomaly of an apparently excessive spending-rate by migrants at the centres. The other would seem to render large-scale migration all the more necessary.

CHAPTER III. LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Ngindoland as it now stands is a block of country about 100 miles square. Its estimated population amounts to 30,000.[x] So the density per square mile cannot exceed five. The people live in loose, elongated communities strung out along the valley troughs which occasionally fissure the otherwise uniform elephant-ridden woodland and thicket of the plateau. Internally these 'settlements' are only semi-continuous. That is, the fields, most of which contain their owners' huts, lie within reach of each other but not necessarily contiguous. Therefore I avoid the word village with its implication of a compact unit. Barikiwa, for instance, stretches over a distance of ten miles including three gaps of well over a mile. In this connection it is important to note that all central Liwale lies under tree cover. This automatically throws a blanket over human activities. Neighbours living a couple of hundred yards apart will not be able to see each other from their doorways. A man can enter or leave home and no one is the wiser. Ngindo definitely cherish this elbow room. Their forest camouflage seems to exert a profound influence, helping to make them secretive and insular. To measure the stature of the settlements against the environment, remember that at least 99% of Ngindoland is standing forest. Certain major valleys have a trickle of population throughout their length. In them one can walk 50 miles as much in the fields as out. More often the intervals between settlements are greater. Ten miles is not unusual. So the settlement, although itself straggling, generally has a perfectly clear spatial definition in relation to other settlements.

x Footnote: this is my own personal computation, in the absence of reliable Census figures.

Against the extraordinary fragmentation of Ngindo-land one must set the high mobility of the Ngindo. The people, women included, think nothing of walking 20 miles. They will commonly attend a beer-party 10 miles away, returning home the same day. Excellent paths connect most settlements and nearly all the frequented ones are hoed yearly by unpaid levies under the Jumbes. Until the late thirties the nearest produce market was Kilwa 150 miles away on the coast, a journey then done by all and sundry year by year. Even now a great many live upwards of 50 miles from the court-centre and market at Liwale-boma, to which a member of each domestic family must repair at least once a year in order to sell enough produce to meet tax, cloth, salt, and other necessities. In the outlying parts odd hawkers and petty traders only partially satisfy the local demand, especially seeing that clients must inevitably visit Liwale-boma with its dozen modest African shops. Not every settlement is self-contained with Muslim preacher, herbalist, smith, and the like. Customers generally go further afield to seek the goods or services they require. For instance, the pottery industry, localised at two points in the Sultanate, attracts many visitors. Alternatively ambulant specialists, notably circumcisors, penetrate to every corner. Major rituals such as Muslim feasts ... established mosques, as the map shows, are to be found only here and there ... bring together a big outside attendance. This is particularly true of pagan initiation, which is an annual event at almost every settlement.[x] Even minor beer parties get their quota from the next-door settlement. Again local migration constantly distorts the shape of existing settlements and creates new ones. Ngindo say "we do not stay long enough to eat our own mangoes", meaning that by the time a slow-growing tree has matured they will be bound to have moved on. This is primarily the result of shifting culti-

x Thanks to staggering of the rites at various points, people converge on each in turn.

Fields and Forest: (above) typical riverine 'cell' grouping of the more compact sort, complete excepting for one hut well behind the observer, and comprising six agnatic households (three brothers; a deceased fourth brother's two sons; and the formers' widowed mother at extreme left): (below) typical woodland scenery, with women firing pots in the foreground.

vation. The short three-season rotation impels even stable folk to follow a slow orbit of perhaps a few miles a generation. Clearly, Ngindo do not anchor themselves firmly to one site, or even area. They have such short roots that they can readily be transplanted.

High mobility is not the only means whereby the Ngindo embrace their country. Discussion of bush crafts, especially honey, has shown the stretches between settlements, although uninhabited, to be not disused. But the people only partially surmount the physical barriers which divide them. In truth, contacts between settlement residents and outsiders are superficial compared with the constant come-and-go within the settlement itself. All the ordinary pursuits in which people combine, beer-brewing, work-parties, minor rituals, concern fairly close neighbours, who alone can follow all the undercurrents, hence participate in the community's life and grasp it fully. An outsider can never be altogether up to date, and I have constantly noticed settlement members' ignorance of affairs in the next settlement.

There seems to be a certain optimum size beyond which a settlement will cease to operate as such on the quotidian level. I put this at three miles from end to end. If the occupied belt extends further, the whole tends to split assunder along any substantial gap between one lot of fields and the next around about that critical distance. If no such convenient no-man's-land or buffer offers, the whole will form a series of overlapping spheres, each a settlement for the purposes of daily contact and work. To give an example, people further up or downstream than the effective limit will come without implements to a

work-party, just to join in the drinking afterwards; whereas true settlement neighbours will co-operate as a team. Whilst this is so, the intensity of relations throughout an isolated or composite settlement, as just defined, is lower than in the cliques which go to form it. How are these circles within a circle disposed ? The answer is, around kinship groupings. The basic units are petty agnatic lineages, each the nucleus of its own spatial cluster and observing exogamy. To denote the territorial manifestation of such a lineage I use the word 'cell', of which the pictorial definition can be seen later in this section (Field and Thicket-Plans). Patrilineage-cells of this type, though perfectly evident on the ground, are not so explicit in their title. Their designation is 'AKINA so-and-so', being the name of the founder coupled with AKINA, an elastic term for groups or categories of people. It is also found in Swahili. People have difficulty in specifying what they mean by lineage without reference to the bigger unit to which it belongs. This the natives call kiRABWA (plural iRABWA), and I call 'clan'; strictly a misnomer, for the kiRABWA has little in common with the corporate clan as generally understood. It might better be described as a 'descent-name group'. But for convenience I use clan. For the present I am concerned with its distribution alone and will dwell on no other attribute beyond stating that the clan has a name, totem avoidance, and theoretical exogamy.

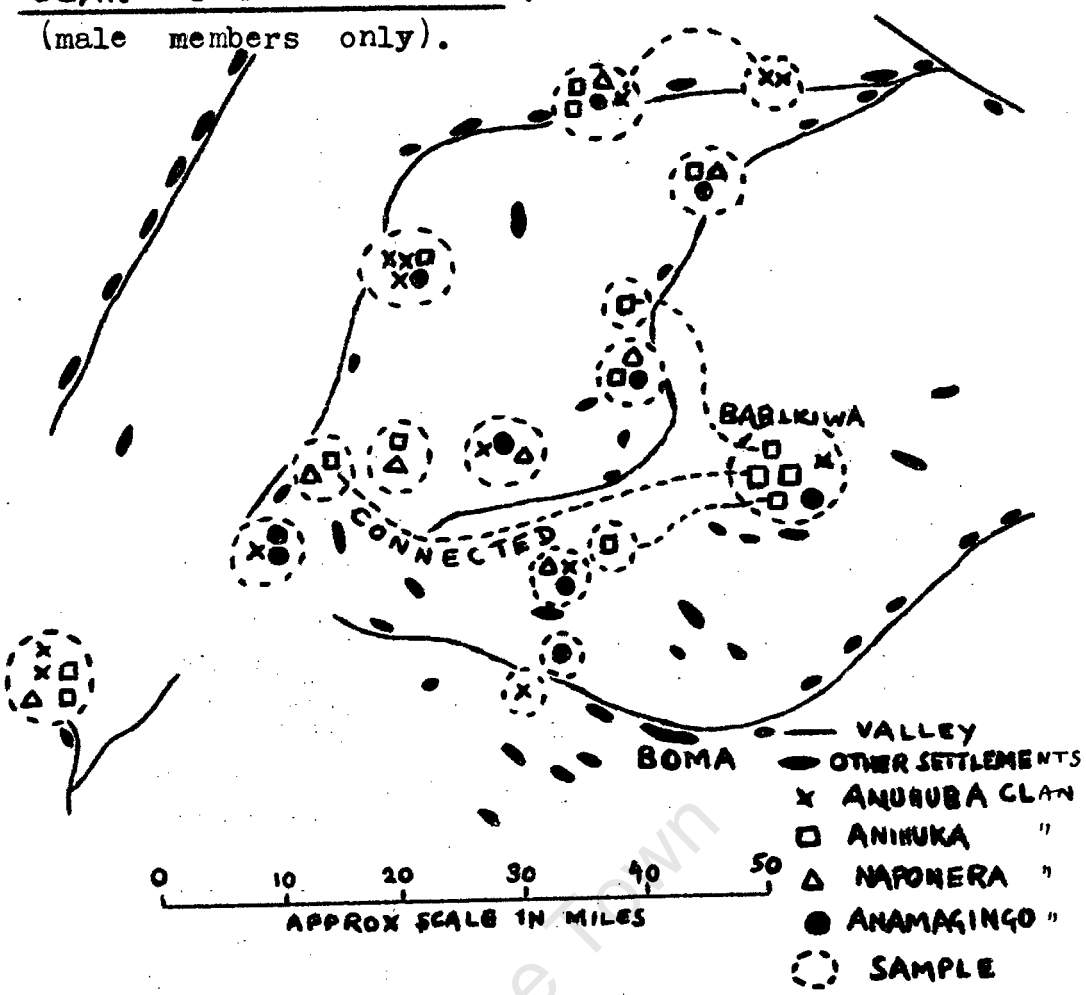
Clans have scarcely any spatial consistency and repose in fragments the length and breadth of the country. Members of any one fragment (i.e. 'lineage' - 'cell') recognize agnatic kinship with one or two others, seldom more. I would say that aniHUKA, one of the few outsize clans, probably has

a-hundred-miniature-branches at various points ... Barikiwa settlement alone has four, each of them free to intermarry ... and several hundred odd females married out besides. Slave adoptions and imperfectly known totems add to the confusion. For these reasons, and because such enquiries aroused suspicion disproportionate to their value, I found systematic plotting of clans to be impracticable. However I recorded a glimpse of the situation in one corner of Ngindoland /// (Diagram overleaf - Top). The four major clans represented may have had other branches in the settlements concerned, and odd female members were not recorded. It would have required a prolonged stay in each to pin down all the inhabitants. As can be seen, a lot of settlements between camping places were skipped. Those investigated were found to contain over twenty other clans, probably an under-statement. The number of clans alleged to be present in Ngindoland is just under a hundred which, with an estimated 30,000 population, gives an average of about 300 men, women, and children per clan.

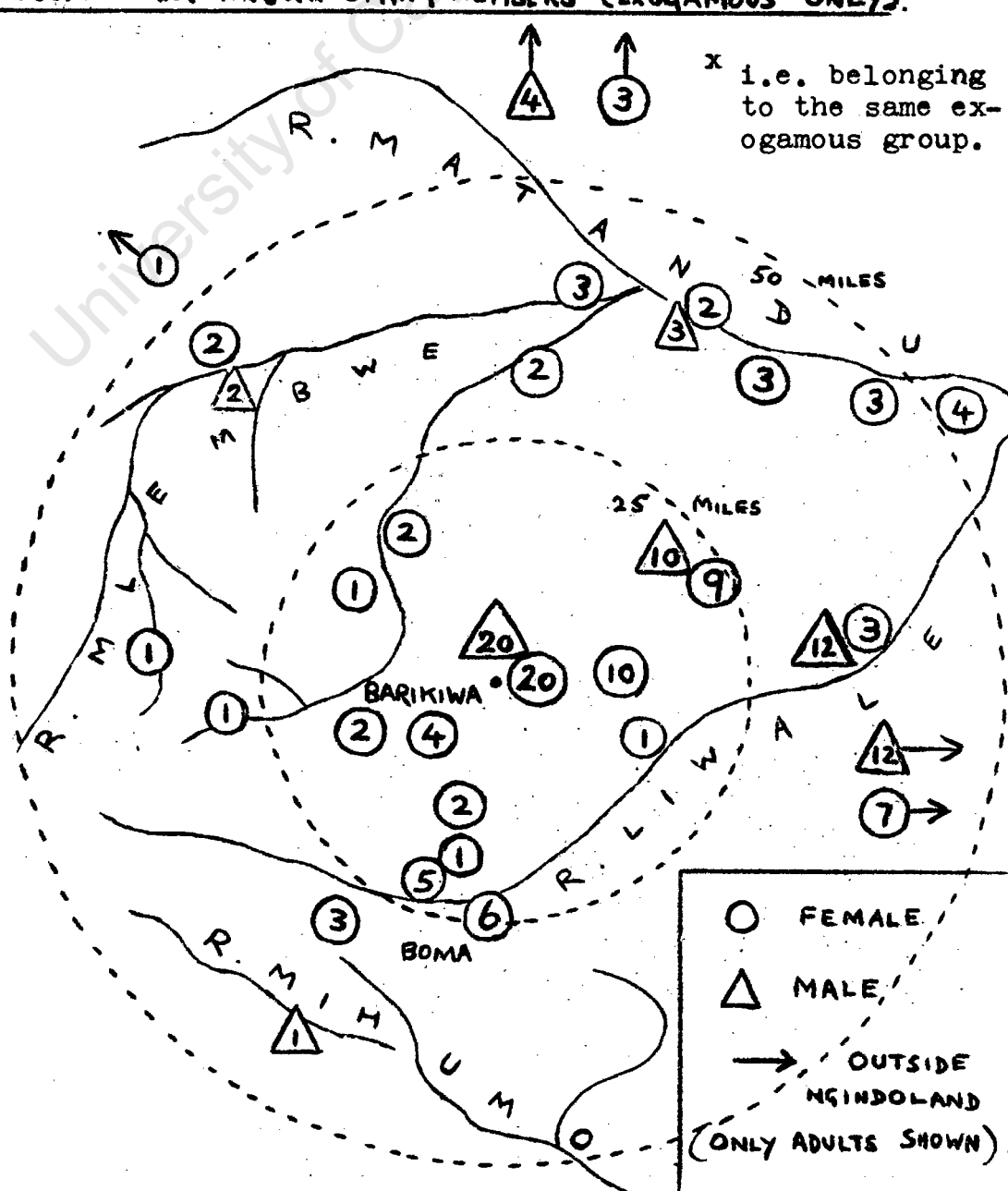
Clans appear to have been localised to a greater extent in the old days; that is, before the wholesale raiding began. But the height of dislocation occurred in the Ngoni wars the best part of a century ago. And no one can tell what happened before that. However, I located a clan seemingly unique for the multiplicity of its known branches and for its tenacious hold on a home area. This is NJOWU of Barikiwa. NJOWU is emphatically the only Ngindo clan which could be explored through a single source. Any other would have entailed separate enquiries for each of an indeterminate number of branches. Even NJOWU coverage has not, I suspect, been one hundred percent; not at any rate outside Ngindoland where the names, but nothing more, of several branches are known. I have come upon traces of the same clan name, apparently unconnected, as far away as the Portuguese East African border /// (Diagram overleaf - Bottom).

CLAN DISTRIBUTION.

(male members only).



NJOWU CLAN. KNOWN LIVING MEMBERS (EXOGAMOUS[X] ONLY).



[X] i.e. belonging to the same exogamous group.

Njowu is glaringly untypical nowadays. On the other hand it may be the one clan in the country which approximates to the pristine Ngindo clan, hence be in a sense typical. The recorded total living membership of some 350 tallies with the hypothetical average clan strength. But informants had lost track of the whereabouts of half these members, indicating that many were domiciled outside Ngindoland. Over 90% of unlocated members were female. Those adult male members of the clan whose abode is known to informants at the centre are seen to be distributed within a 50 mile radius for the most part. They include only such branches as allegedly observe exogamy, the remainder being too imperfectly known to warrant plotting. Generally the density of clan members is highest at the centre, falling off towards the periphery. A high proportion of males have emigrated locally leaving only a moderate core behind. The scatter of females is still more pronounced. About one in ten lives at the centre as compared with one in three males. The big overall preponderance of females seems fortuitous.

[redacted]

Having indicated its clan context I now return to the lineage. As a rule a particular clan is represented by only one lineage in a settlement. But the larger and more ubiquitous clans may have several branches in a big settlement, some permitting intermarriage between members of one and the other, some ~~observing exogamy~~, some not. Where lineages of the same clan in different settlements have maintained exogamy and awareness of mutual relationship, there is some ground for regarding their totality as something typologically different from the single-branch 'local-lineage', namely a 'scattered-lineage'. But the cohesion of such scattered-lineages is so weak that they remain merely nominal units, the component lineages of which carry on precisely as if they were pure and simple local-lineages. If their separation in space persists

they will probably, with the consequent lapse of exogamy, become true local-lineages. If they foregather after being apart they will tend to telescope and to resume exogamy where formerly it had fallen out of use. The local-lineage is a manifestation of clan and scattered-lineage impotence in the face of physical distance.

The local-lineage, which I henceforth call plain 'lineage', comprises a man and his sons, or a set of brothers and their sons, or a similar grouping. As a residential unit or lineage-cell, it rarely attains a dozen domestic households ... a man likes to build a separate hut when once he has taken delivery of his bride, and sometimes earlier. If it is his first marriage he will be about twenty years old by then. Polygynists usually provide each wife with her own accommodation, often with their huts facing onto the same courtyard or arena; but sometimes a couple of minutes' walk, a couple of miles, or even a couple of settlements apart. The lineage-cell is the typical residential unit; but not to the exclusion of all other types or combinations. One finds a considerable minority of cases where uterine kin or affines form appendages to agnatic nuclei, mostly in the shape of suitors who have stayed on as uxorilocal husbands, their issue, as uterine relatives of the old inhabitants, belonging there permanently. There is also a sprinkling of elderly, ailing, or needy persons who have become satellites of their more robust, but not necessarily agnatic, kinsmen. One commonly finds a man and his youthful sons building in a tight cluster, but seldom mature brothers, or men and their mature sons. A forty-year-old, though not deserting his lineage fellows, will generally build a couple of hundred yards away, or if surrounded by his own dependants a good deal further than that. Eating arrangements are on a hut by hut basis. If two or three close kinsmen live within a stone's throw

of one another they may serve food at each of their huts in turn, but more often they feed independently.

Both clan and scattered-lineage are acephalous excepting in so far as the two have been influenced by Indirect Rule's hypothetical 'clan-head', a subject to which I shall return.(See Chapter IV, Agnatic Kinship). I bracket clan and scattered-lineage here because they were in practice synonymous when it came to attempting to choose native leaders. Before the Europeans came, lineage-heads with an indeterminate following seem to have acted on a super-lineage scale, but only in the capacity of peaceful arbitrators. They were in no sense chiefs, or even petty headmen, so small was their scope and so limited their function; but they were a factor transcending the immediate lineage or settlement. One should not forget that in those days the settlements were probably even more amorphous than at present, being scattered through the sprawling thickets of the plateau instead of along the relatively tidy line of the valleys. Also the people were far less mobile. Since the advent of European rule however a hierarchy of Ngindo headmen has been brought into being. Both Germans and British obtained these leaders locally, adjusting their number to about 20. With minor fluctuations this has been the Government system throughout; that is, for something over 50 years. Each salaried headman controls about 200 tax-payers, allotted on elastic territorial terms, the average settlement having less than 50 tax-payers. Naturally, the headman has to delegate his authority to subordinates, at present unofficial, in the constituent settlements of his area. It is these alien-inspired personages who today provide the administrative nexus between settlements and between the various quarters of Ngindoland, which is currently served by a single legally constituted court. Before the war it had a dozen.

Both clan and settlement have been defined territorially. What is their inter-relationship ? Barikiwa, with 530 souls, has 20 clans represented by adult males, each averaging half a dozen men, i.e. the lineage-cell nuclei referred to earlier. Three quarters of these clans have female members married out there as well. In addition, another 15 clans are represented solely by female spouses from outside settlements. When one adds the sub-division of certain clans into several distinct exogamous units, the full diversity of lineal kinship groups in an Ngindo settlement becomes apparent. Study of the field plans (Survey "A" overleaf) of this and other sample settlements will give a better idea than pages of description.

Constant splintering within the one and only effective Ngindo social unit demonstrates the superior pull of privacy and prestige motives over considerations of physical security and kinship solidarity. For the time being I leave aside discussion of these motives. They will recur (see end of Chapter VIII, Special Ideology). At times of year other than when the crops are maturing there is much to be said for compact grouping of huts around the granaries. Also, if the huts lie close together, their cassava plots will form a continuum of which only the fringes are likely to suffer damage by animal pests, thanks to the proximity of humans. Ngindo appreciate these advantages, not to mention increased personal protection against wild beasts, but take only the feeblest steps to achieve them. They deliberately opt for precarious isolation. In one solitary instance did I find a concrete reason advanced for this. A bunch of agnates had built their granaries in one spot, only to have the whole lot destroyed by fire. Therefore they reverted to diffusion.

Notes on the Village-Surveys.

Master-Key.

For reasons of economy in money and space, certain of the Surveys have been grouped together on single plates. To correlate such Surveys one must first look at the small-scale map on page 501.a, marked MASTER-KEY (at top-left). Covering a 500-mile square, it indicates the four main blocks of country ('Blocks' designated by Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV) in which the surveyed villages ('Village') lie, with the individual Villages appearing as alphabetically-lettered triangles. Outside the Blocks, the main Ngindo-speaking concentrations are here shown by means of shaded-areas (hatched in one direction for Ngindo-proper, and cross-hatched for peripheral-Ngindo). The major place-names in southern Tanganyika are included as a guide for the correct positioning of the Ngindo-speaking groups.

Block-maps.

Next, one must consult the larger-scale maps relating to the Blocks, each covering a 100-mile square or less. On them the ethnic composition of each area is indicated (as per the legend specified for each Block-map), and the Villages put into their detailed local context. The Block-maps, and their subdivisional maps, are situated at three points in the text ...

(i) Ndonde Outliers. Block-maps I and II, along with the relevant Villages H and J, appear on page 501.a ; Block-map III, with Village G, on page 501b.

(ii) Ngindoland Variants. Block-map IV, with Villages B,C,D,E, and F, comes at page 360.

(iii) Home-Ngindo Specimen. Though included in Block-map IV, Village A appears on page 115.c, separately from the rest, as a detailed illustration of local organisation. Because Village A comes first in the page-order, it is therefore accompanied by the overall Legend for all Village-Surveys.

VILLAGE-SURVEYS.

Village A, as the main specimen studied, stands in a class apart. Its unwieldy size[x] necessitated my splitting it into four parts ('Segments'), each territorially distinct, being separated by more than a mile of forest from adjacent Segments. How the Segments lie in relation to one another can be seen from the combined plan at top-right.

At bottom-left of page 115.a I give details of the principal inter-Cell affiliations (using the circular shaped ownership-symbol as an example). By 'allied Cells' I mean those which combine on certain occasions but split assunder on others, giving rise to a variable degree of autonomy on the part of each Cell, though always with close mutual ties. The distinction between this degree of distance and that separating two 'Sub-Cells' is very slight, and might even be thought unjustified. However I could detect a difference, which amounted to a heightened intensity of contacts between Sub-Cells, as compared with those between Allied Cells. A Sub-Cell would conduct scarcely any activities independently of its fellow Sub-Cell.

By 'Same Exogamous Descent-Name' I mean that two or more Cells belong to the same exogamous unit, but that the Cell separatism of each is not thereby bridged. By 'Ditto. No Exogamy' I mean that the Cells belong to the same descent name group, but are free to intermarry. Note that 'Allied Cells' do not necessarily belong to the same exogamous unit, or even to the same descent-name group. Where the connection between two Cells can be traced only through a hanger-on spinster, a resident ex-suitor, or other immigrant member, the fact is recorded by the use of the appropriate 'widow',

Footnote x: Approximately ten miles long from end to end, and numbering over 500 souls.

Footnote[xxx]: To prevent confusion, the letter "I" is omitted from this series.

'uterine', or other marking in conjunction with the Cell-symbol. Village A is, of course, agnatically organised.

The accompanying 'Thicket-Plan' (page 115) provides a magnified portion of Block-Map IV. It also serves to orientate the foregoing Forest-Charts illustrating the forest material in Chapter II. The Forest-Chart areas, here designated 'sample areas', appear as enclosed spaces with oblique hatching and the code-letters A,B, and C. The names in rectangular boxes are those of individual thickets.

Villages B,C,D,E, and F are presented in precisely the same way as Village A. Each is entirely independent of the others. Even the two that are closest together lie more than 20 miles apart; whilst the distance between B and D is almost 100 miles. Therefore any correspondences in Cell-symbols mean nothing excepting that I use the same series of symbols for each Survey. The note at top-right refers only to Village D.

Village H, though it possesses less corporate identity is treated in the same as the Ngindoland Surveys. But whereas each of the Ngindoland Villages chosen formed an entirely separate unit several miles from any other, Village H is nothing but the edge of a somewhat densely populated belt; hence the numerous absentee field-owners, and the numerous unsurveyed hamlets nearby.

Villages G and J[xxx] are matrilineal in character.[xx] Village G, as shown in the sub-division(upper-right) of Block Map III, is simply an Ndonde enclave in a populous, mainly Makonde-Matambwe, zone. Village J, on the other hand, stands isolated from surrounding settlements; and in addition, most of its fields lie at a distance of more than two miles from the homesteads.

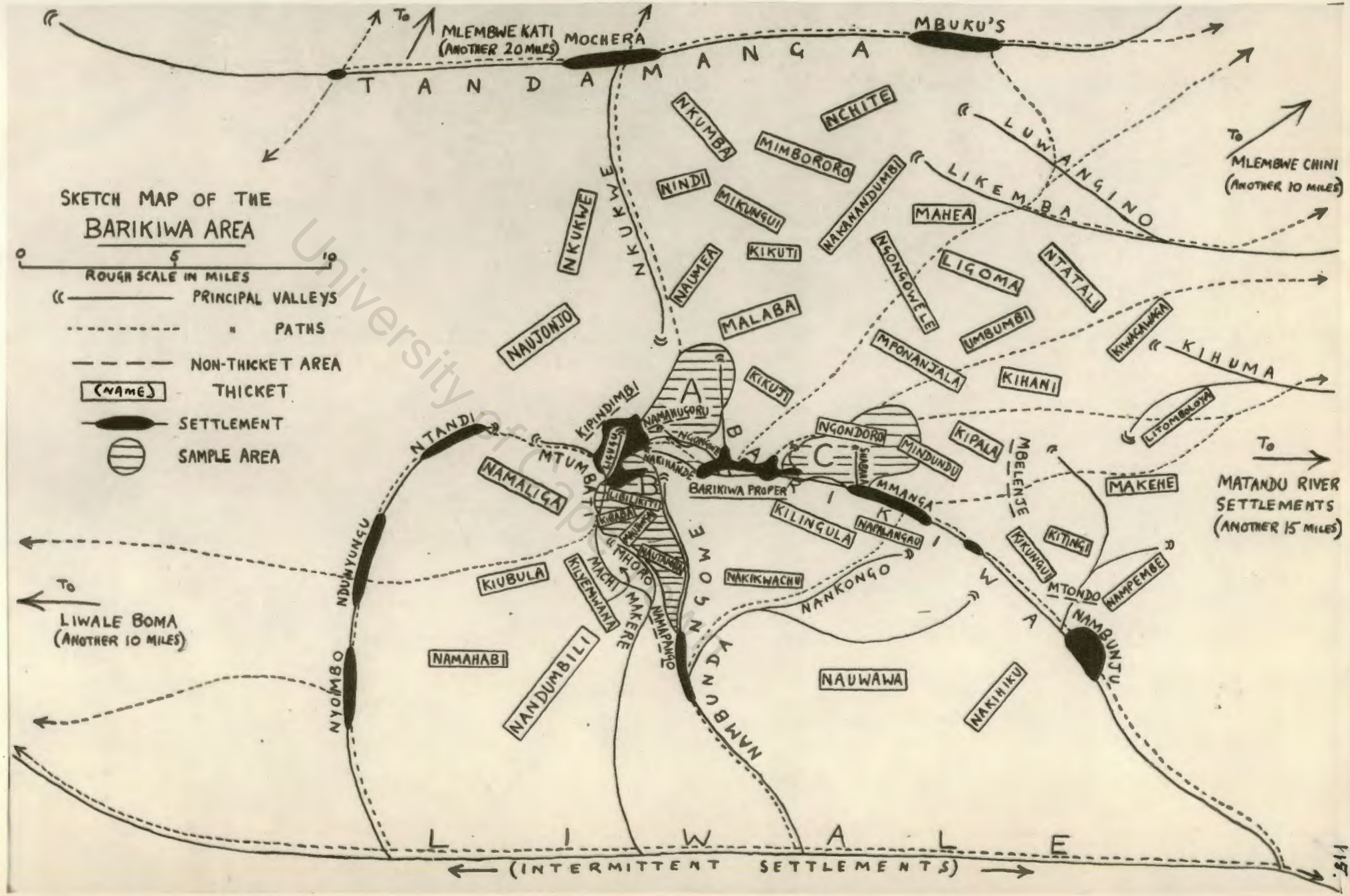
The symbols here used for the 'Relationships of Owners' require some elucidation; for they are less obvious than those employed in the agnatically-organized Villages. As explained in the notes at the foot of the 'List of Occupants' for Village G (pages 503 ~~504-5~~), the Pivotal Member is the man or woman by reference to whom I orientate the remaining members. The terms 'agnatic' and 'matrilineal' I apply arbitrarily in this context to the following categories.[x] By Matrilineal Member I mean daughter, male maternal cousin or nephew or other such male maternal relative, and female maternal cousin or niece or other such female maternal relative. Where the 'Matrilineal Member', so defined, is female, then her husband, as householder, has the label Married to Matrilineal Member. By Agnatic Member I mean son, male paternal cousin or nephew or other such male paternal relative, and female paternal cousin or niece or other such female paternal relative. Where the 'Agnatic Member' is female, then her husband, as householder, has the label Married to Agnatic Member.

Genealogies.

Where a genealogical commentary is provided (i.e. for Villages G and J), it can be assumed that the same conventions have been adopted as in the Forest-Chart Genealogies (see page 51 and following pages). Additional signs, such as those for Village Members, Divorced Spouses, etc., are listed ~~in the margin of the Genealogy for Village G.~~ on page 503.a.

Footnote: x
All cousins mentioned in this paragraph may be either cross- or parallel-cousins.

Footnote[xx]: I do not imply that these Villages are wholly 'matrilineal', but merely that their structure is so different from that of the other Nginde Villages surveyed elsewhere that the ('agnatic') categories employed for the latter could not feasibly be used. Instead, to meet this much more complicated situation, I changed the categories in order to suit the changed emphasis of the groupings, with matrilineal relatives preponderant in almost every Cell, often centred around a pivotal woman ... this is true of Cells II, III, V, IX, X, and XII in Village G, and of all Village J (in Cell III, the Head's sister could equally well be pivot).



Thicket-Plan showing the Settlement of Barikiwa (comprising Ligugu, Barikiwa proper, Mmanga, and the smaller pocket downstream). The shaded portions (A, B, and C) represent the Forest-Chart areas.

LEGENDS FOR ALL VILLAGE-SURVEYS.

I. Owners of Huts and Fields.

Internal Segmentation of Symbol.
(round symbol used as an example)

Symbol.	Owning Cell.	Symbol.	Owning Cell.
	I		XIV
	II		XV
	III		XVI
	IV		XVII
	V		XVIII
	VI		XIX
	VII		XX
	VIII		XXI
	IX		XXII
	X		XXIII
	XI		XXIV
	XII		XXV
	XIII		XXVI

Shape of Symbol.
(Cell I used as an example)

Symbol.	Meaning.
	Owner of both Hut and Field.
	Owner of Hut only.
	" " Field " .

Other Markings.
(again using circular, Cell I symbol as an example)

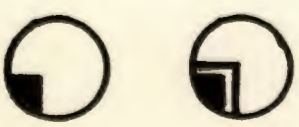
	Individual Owner.
	Co-wives living apart.
	
	Co-wives living together.

Note 1. The sequence of small alphabetical letters in this section has been chosen as an imaginary example.

Note 2. Excepting in the case of unattached widows, or co-wives, the person represented by such a letter is the senior male occupant (or owner). Juveniles are not shown.

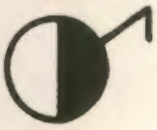
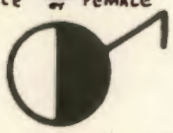
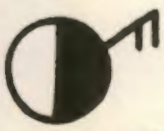
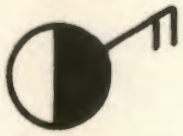
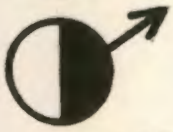
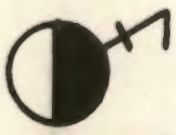
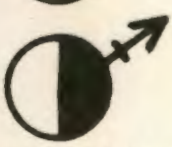
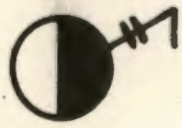
Sub-Cells. (Cell XI, circular-shaped symbol used as an example)

Main-Cell. Sub-Cell.



Where two Cells are distinct, and yet fused as a territorial, occupational, or kinship unit, the one (main-Cell) is indicated by the appropriate cell-marking; the other (sub-Cell), by the same marking, but with a double outline. An additional sub-Cell will have an extra outline.

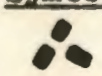
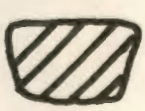
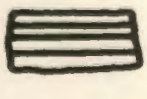
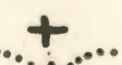
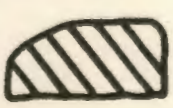
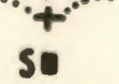
2. Relationships of Owners (Cell I, round symbol used as an example).

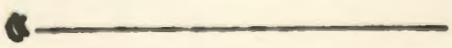
Under Agnatic Conditions.		Under Matrilineal Conditions.	
Symbol.	Meaning.	Symbol.	Meaning.
	Agnatic member.		Pivotal member.
	Uterine " .		Married to a matrilineal member.
	Affinal " .		Agnatic member.
	Unrelated widow.		Married to an agnatic member.
	Agnatic " .		Matrilineal member.

Note I. The type of organization prevailing in each Survey is indicated thus:- AGNATIC or MATRILINEAL, written immediately below the main code-letter at the head of the Survey.

Note 2. As a rule, these relationship-markings appear only on the hut-owner symbol ... that is, if an owner has outlying fields as well, the ownership-symbol for such fields will not bear the relationship-marking.

3. Inanimate Objects.

Symbol.	Meaning.	Symbol.	Meaning.
	Staple-field.		Huts(3 shown here).
	Cassava-field.		Lookouts(2 " ").
	Rice-paddy.		Granaries. " (2 or more owners) Suitor's Hut.
	Cashew-orchard.		Water-hole. Marsh. Fallow. Owner living outside the Village surveyed

Symbol.	Meaning.
= = = = = = = = = = =	Motor-road.
- - - - - - - - - - -	Foot-path.
	Valley.

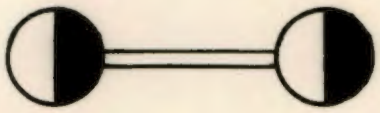
Village-Survey showing the Settlement of Barikiwa. The Key-Plan (top-right, reading the maps upright) orientates the four Segments. In the diagram ~~at bottom-left~~ overleaf are the principal inter-Cell links. (NB. The type of organization is AGNATIC)

Note: the four magnified Segment-maps do not lie in their correct orientation, but have been swivelled round to save space. The four main symbols (circle, square, triangle, cross) on both Key and Segment-maps, indicating the Segments' true relative position, are outlined in red for greater clarity.

Principal lineage-Cell and Descent-name affiliations of Barikiwa

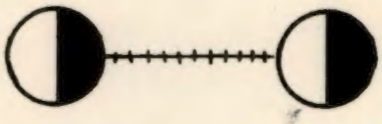
(using the round-shaped symbol throughout, and Cell I markings in the Legend).

LEGEND.

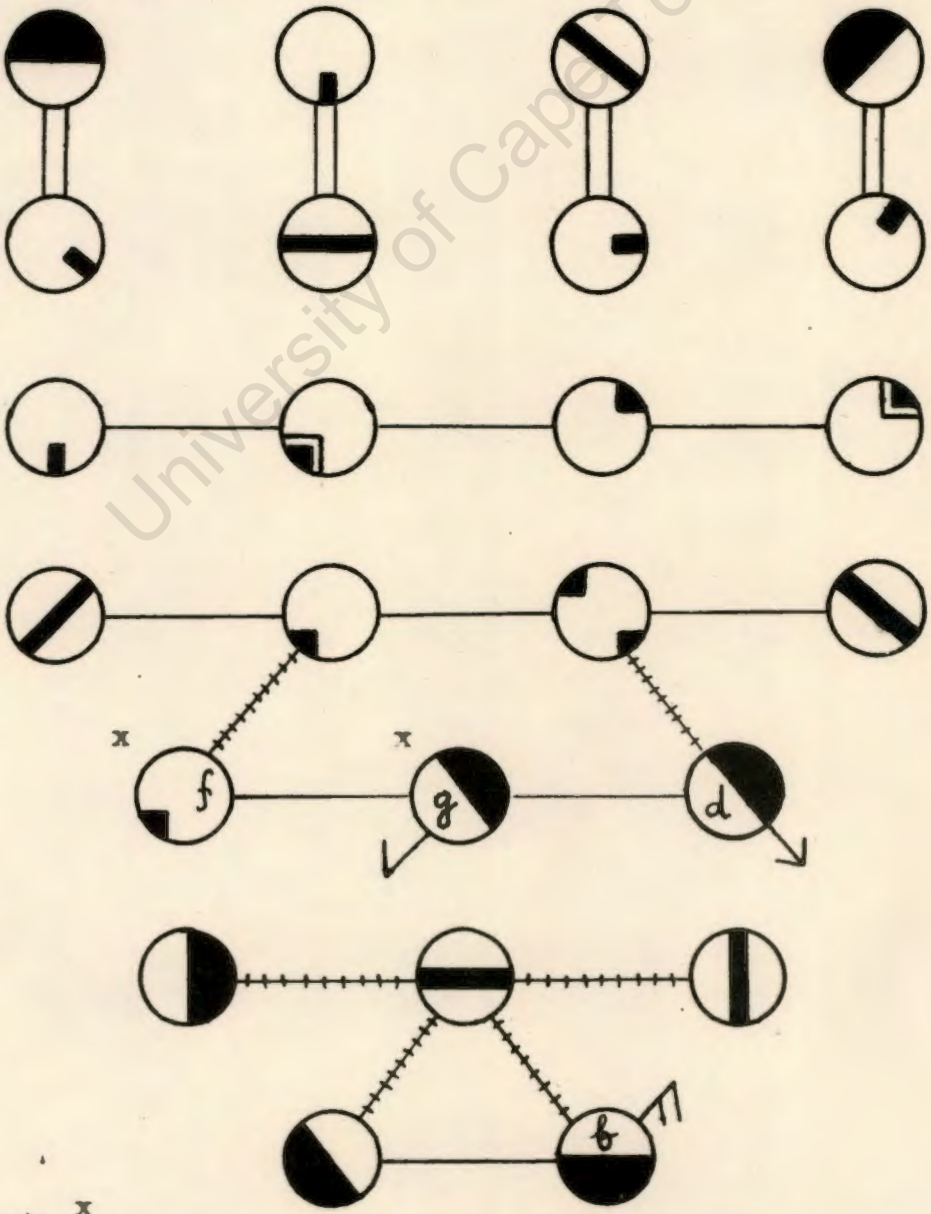


'Allied' Lineage-Cells.

Both Lineage-Cells in the same descent-name group and prohibiting mutual intermarriage.



Both Lineage-Cells in the same descent-name group, but permitting mutual intermarriage.



Footnote [x]
Here, the other members of this man **f**'s Lineage-Cell, though belonging to the same descent-name group as he, recognise no kinship at all with the man in question, **g**.

As will have been seen from the cultivation cycle, a considerable portion of the season necessitates a modified type of residence owing to the need for guarding the growing crop. For the first four months of the calendar year Ngindo practise virtual transhumance, sleeping, cooking, and living in their substantial field-lookouts. The latter generally stand at strategic points on the perimeter of the fields, hence somewhat distant from each other and from the living-huts. So even the members of tightly-knit hut clusters spend long periods in relative solitude. It has also been shown that the lookouts tend to become the homesteads proper in the course of time, depending on their central position in the opened-up cultivation areas and on the status of their owners (see Chapter II, Fields.)

The terrain of Ngindoland varies appreciably from area to area. But in certain basic respects the same conditions obtain throughout. Everywhere one finds moderately dense tree cover. This means that bush-fruits, building poles, and most of the essential materials are to be had. Water supplies are fairly plentiful and evenly distributed, which allows Ngindo to spread even though they have got used to being near water and find it a penance to have to go long distances to draw it. Fertility appears tolerably uniform, excepting in certain favoured valley bottoms. Certainly one could subsist in any part of Ngindoland. The environment therefore permits scatter; but only partially explains it. The more cogent reasons, which are sociological, will be elucidated later (see end of Chapter VIII, Special Ideology). What any male Ngindo of standing aims at is a perfectly distinct home-place peculiar to himself and peopled by as many dependants as can be attracted thither, subject of course to the

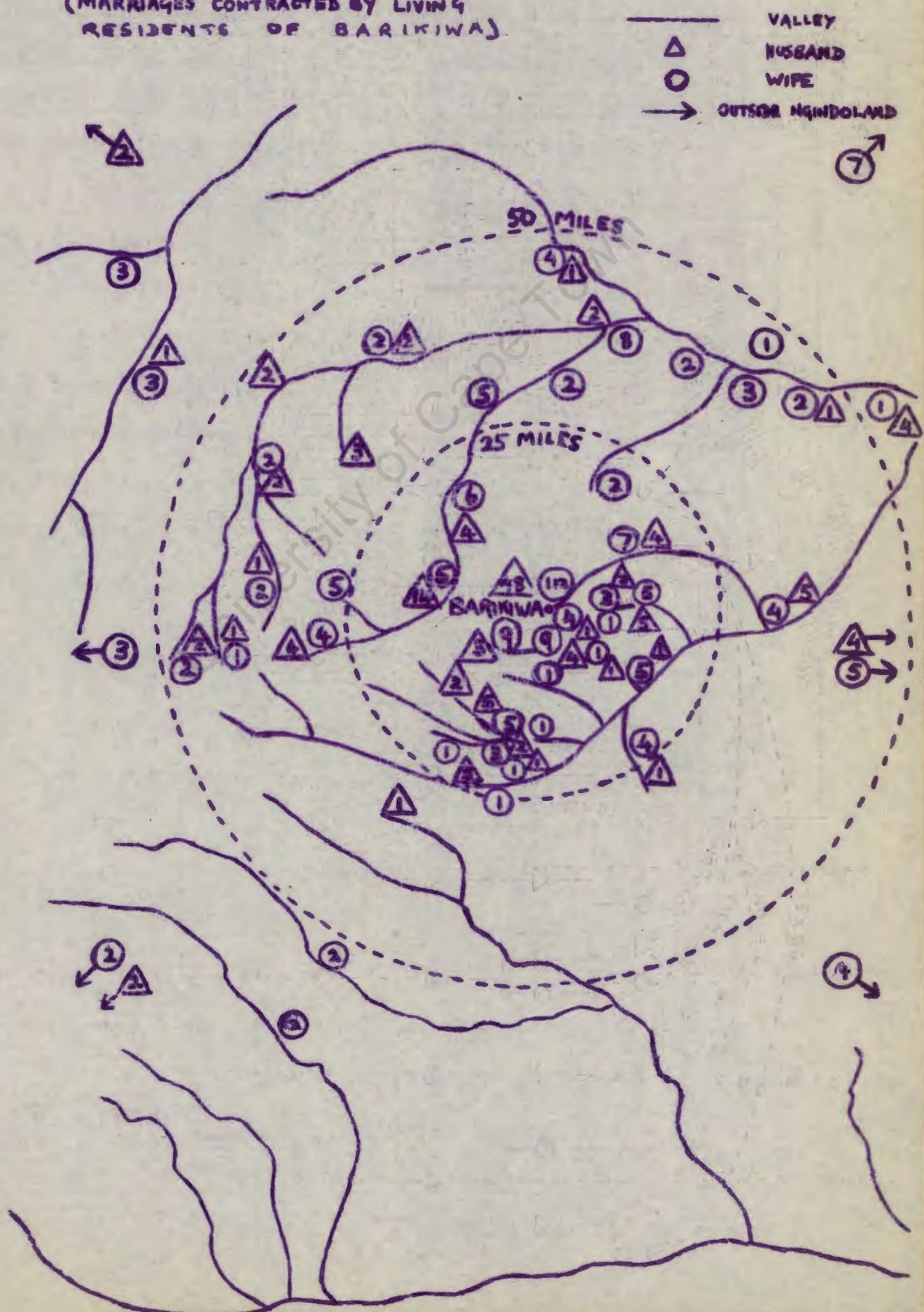
difficulty that many of the latter will progressively be obsessed by the same ambition. ~~So that~~ Even when the occupant has moved on somewhere else, people will still say "These are so-and-so's fallows". Despite administrative pressure exerted for several decades in favour of closer settlement ... note that the culminating measure of wholesale evacuation was offidally known as the Closer Settlement Scheme ... and the increasing hardship and economic loss of leading such a life, it is astonishing how many still contrive to achieve it. A mile, or several miles, from the nearest neighbour one comes upon a solitary clearing of ten acres or so, with its two or three huts. A number of the smaller settlements are merely flourishing editions of this microcosm, whereas the bigger ones are nothing but agglomerations of them.

Being without genuine centralization, Ngindo seek to bolster their perilously small social units by means of stabilising marital ties. An Ngindo settlement is like a tent resting on a firm structure of internal marriages and anchored by guy ropes radiating in all directions; that is, by its external marriages. What is the length and calibre of these tethering links ? This can be seen visually from a spouse distribution chart (next page) which shows something over one-third to be fellow settlement members, something under a third to be from within a 25 mile radius, and the remainder from further afield. The detail is as follows:-

Place of Origin.	Husbands.	Wives.	All spouses.
Home settlement (Barikiwa)	33.8 %	40.7 %	37.3 %
Within 25 miles	35.9 %	26.6 %	31.2 %
Between 25 and 50 " 2way.	19.0 %	18.2 %	18.6 %
Over " " "	11.3 %	15.5 %	12.9 %
Actual number involved.	(142)	(275)	(475)

SPOUSE DISTRIBUTION CHART

(MARRIAGES CONTRACTED BY LIVING RESIDENTS OF BARIKIWA)



Ngindo gerontocracy : turbanned Government aMWENYI(above), lute-playing native anaHOTA(below),are both octogenarians.

It should be noted that in the settlement surveyed, Barikiwa, the percentage of nearby spouses probably exceeds by a wide margin that of Ngindoland as a whole. The present trend appears to be towards diffusion, which is evident, prima facie, from genealogies reaching back into the nineteenth century. It also finds proof in a similar distribution chart referring to three of the component Barikiwa lineages, whose percentage of spouses from the immediate neighbourhood rises to 60%. The 117 marital unions in question ranged from the present to the sixth ascending generation, indicating that partners in marriage in the old days rarely came from afar. Nowadays, on the contrary, the network expands apace. Migrant labourers frequently state that their expenses in transit to the labour-centre a couple of hundred miles away were zero, thanks to the presence of kinsfolk all along the route.

Ngindo society, its agnatic cells too minute and flabby to form a hard structure, resembles a non-vertibrate creature possessing a broad shell. That shell is kinship. Ngindo for the most part seek their spouses away from the home settlement. The result is a complex web of kinship flung right across Ngindoland. Since marriage other than to divorcees and widows implies prolonged uxorilocal service on the part of the suitor a groom will have made multiple and durable contacts in his bride's settlement before taking her home to live with him. Whilst at work he gets used to shuttling backwards and forwards. Thereafter, spouses must be allowed access to their blood kin at regular intervals. So the intensity of their contact diminishes only partially. Any event of note in either family would undoubtedly bring them together. Once a marital link has been forged the offspring have a close bond with their maternal kin and

maintain a constant come-and-go. There is a rationale in this pronounced lateral development, which can be compared to a man crossing a marsh. If he stands upright he sinks immediately. If he lies flat he remains on the surface. The present insecurity of Ngindoland as environment and its historic insecurity in war have made it treacherous as a marsh. One is conscious that Ngindo life represents something of a tour de force. Necessarily the Ngindo evolve into an extreme social type.

CHAPTER IV. KINSHIP.

Procreation.

Popular views on procreation determine paternity. Those of the Ngindo appear to conform in almost every respect with scientific ones. They know the period of gestation and use it to calculate roughly the intercourse responsible for a particular embryo. For instance in a divorce suit the issue of a pregnancy stated to be only 2½ months gone at the time of appeal is awarded to the outgoing husband (AP 4/43). Owing to the practice of infant girl marriage or betrothal, a child is scarcely ever born out of wedlock. Whenever the eventuality does come about, ~~Where it does happen~~, the genitor should regularise the position by marriage. Otherwise he may get custody by paying a fixed amount in cash, currently 20/- for a boy, 30/- for a girl. Failing this, the mother's kinsfolk adopt the child, who nevertheless follows the genitor's clan and totem, if known. A husband who had deserted his leprous wife put in a claim four years later for a child born in the interim. He lost his case and the child went to the mother's kin, with the proviso that if the true father "possessing its blood" could be traced, he would be free to sue for it. (AP 24/41). If a child is born to an adulterous genitor, the latter has no claim on it. The child assumes the pater's clan and totem, and in every way behaves as his child. Judging by physical resemblances, this type of paternity abounds. As a rule it gets secret acknowledgment by thoseconcerned. The expectant mother, fearing for her life should she refuse to divulge the truth of paternity to her midwives, usually confesses. In the case of twins, the second to be delivered is held to be the senior. Twins occasionally thrive, but, owing to suckling and other difficulties, are not welcomed. Copulation with a suckling mother is fairly rigorously

forbidden. Consequently children occur at moderate intervals. Infant mortality, standing at about 40%[x], further separates the survivors.

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x Footnote:

1. From a survey of 185 women, virtually the entire child-bearing strength of a large settlement, including women married out from it, the following facts emerged:-

Overall infant mortality, i.e. Live-born children who died before the age of about three years	... 39.5%
Male infant mortality	... 39.2%
Female infant mortality	... 40.0%
Proportion of females born	... 53.1%
Average live births per mother	... 4

Ngindo frankly regard the first two live-born children as expendable. They call them 'openers' and liken them to the early pumpkins called kiBOKEYA of which the first fruit shrivels up, the second rots, and the third comes to maturity.

2. Out of every hundred children born, females exceed males by six, a comfortable increase only slightly offset by the higher female mortality of 40%, which is 0.8% higher than that of males. Out of 9,252 adult home-Ngindo, a homogeneous sample taken by the 1948 Census... being the residue untouched by the Evacuation Scheme, these are unlikely to have been affected by migrant-labour male absenteeism to any great extent ... 54.8% were female; whilst the sex ratio among their 7,604 children stood almost at par (the 1931 figures, based on a somewhat larger sample, give almost the same rate for adults, namely 56.4% female; though boys would seem to have outnumbered girls considerably).

3. Although I did not collect statistics on barren women, my rough estimate is that they are a very small minority; certainly not more than 10% of total adult women.

Paras 2 and 3 will furnish data for ensuing sections (see middle of Chapter V, Polygyny, and elsewhere).

Incest.

Apart from immediate physical kin, such as mother or father and their siblings, brother or sister, and child, three main categories of people may neither marry nor copulate. They are first, parallel cousins (that is, fairly close cousins. Those termed 'mhwibani' would be marginal. Again contact and co-residence are more decisive than actual genealogical proximity); second, Ego and the spouses of his sons and junior brothers; third, Ego and the spouses of his in-laws. Curiously enough, infringements concerning the latter arouse a far greater furore than any other, partly because temptation and opportunity are greater and they therefore happen more frequently, but essentially because they vitiate inter-group relations regarded as vital. Marriage contacts hold a peculiar importance for the Ngindo whose culture enshrines the ideal, and frequently achieves the actuality, of the wholly solitary, wholly autonomous extended, or even domestic, family. Marriage remains the sole grudging concession to the outside world.

Bridewealth being a necessary constituent of Ngindo marriage, the natives tend to construe incest in terms of it. "Why should we marry close kin ?" they ask. "Bridewealth goes round in a circle". The idea plainly does not hold water when it comes to Ego's mother's sister's daughter, who lives elsewhere and belongs to a different clan. And there are other objections. For instance, why should casual incestuous intercourse be wrong if no bridewealth passes ? However it applies to the in-law-spouse taboo in that the aggrieved husband will have accepted or had a share in bridewealth paid or contributed towards by the offender, which same money

may have been converted into bridewealth for the seduced woman. Only inasmuch as bridewealth symbolises inter-group relations is this interpretation valid. It is not the bridewealth, but fear of rupture, that provokes alarm. This is demonstrated by a case in which the plaintiff sought to prevent his brother's daughter's marriage to a man who had benefited from the bridewealth paid by her father's sister's son i.e. the plaintiff's paternal nephew. "The court cannot stop him (the husband)" was the verdict (AP 68/51), which shows not so much the impotence of the court as the situational nature of the in-law-spouse taboo; that is, as opposed to strict adjudication on grounds of bridewealth payments.

This type of incest arouses such feeling that it leads to automatic divorce of the culprit from his own wife, who is of course a kinswoman of the aggrieved husband. One of a number of such cases contains the following censure of the accused. "He is a trouble-maker in that he seduced his sister-in-law" (BAR 4/35), implying that, unlike other categories of incestuous persons, he was a threat to the public. Generally divorce seems to have been sufficient punishment. In four out of five cases (MCH 12/45 against MCH 75/43, 25/44, BAR 4/35, AP 16/42) no compensation for adultery was awarded. In the last named case, however, the judgment specified that, contrary to the usual divorce procedure, no refund of bridewealth should be made. In cases like this the outgoing wife expresses indignation at her husband's conduct, whereas in the ordinary way wives are not in the least jealous over their husbands. The courts are likewise severe. "He has slept with his brother-in-law's wife. This is against the law. He is a very bad man". (MCH 75/43). One informant explained

it this way, "They cross over", by which he meant that, the two groups being in regular contact, husbands might shuttle past each other on their way to trysts with each others' wives if there were no hindrance placed between them. This was inherently bad, and calculated to destroy kinship. Another made precisely the same implication. "It is like sorghum and millet". The two crops are sown together and grow higgledy piggledy side by side in the same field. But they are never consumed together as food. I heard the following explanation advanced for the prohibition on marriage with one's sister's daughter: "There is nothing but women. It has not yet come undone".

Ngindo have an astonishingly complacent attitude towards ~~infra~~ intra-clan or lineage incest. Where it occurs they take no action beyond mild condemnation. Even where it results in a permanent liaison no one, not even a court, insists that it be broken. There is no apprehension that the country at large will suffer. On the contrary the effective sanction against it is individual, namely the probable loss of children born to the guilty parties. This appears from a case in which an aggrieved husband sought a separation on the grounds that his wife had slept with her own father. He pleaded, "If I have children by her they will not survive, because she slept with her father". (ev.MCH 45/43). It should be noted that divorce actions scarcely ever originate from the husband's side. In defence of their apathy Ngindo say "We do not want to drive the woman out into the forest". That is, she should not be made an outcast, nor should she be obliged to carry on secretly with her lover 'in the forest'. Ngindo also hesitate to expose kinsfolk to the severe penalties laid down by the Territorial Code.

In a man's immediate kinship circle, he is in principle debarred from sexual intimacy with members of the parental or infantile generations. A fairly recent case of a father attempting to marry his son's widow met with this judicial tirade, "It is a case of behaving like wild beasts" (AP 28/51). Infringements do of course occur, and usually go unchecked. A man should definitely abstain from marrying his ~~maternal niece~~ sister's daughter. Commented another native-court holder on a husband divorced by his wife because he molested his own daughter, "He has not done what is right. He has slept with his daughter. This is not a good thing. It is not right at all" (MCH 8/45). Other such charges are against a man for marrying his sister's daughter (ev.LIW 46/45), for committing adultery with his wife's mother (MCH 10/43), and even for doing so with the ~~polygynous~~ co-wife of his mother's younger sister (MCH 30/43). It seems a stretch to call this woman 'mother', but the complainant, herself the co-wife of the compromised woman, declared vehemently that she did not wish to see the accused again for the space of a year, and the court, though it awarded no more than the normal compensation, endorsed her view. "In accordance with the law of Ngindoland and elsewhere, it is not permissible to sleep with one's mother." Members of alternate generations, or even of consecutive ones where the relationship is circuitous, may mix sexually as they please, though physical age and customary mutual banter ensure that direct grandchildren will not cohabit with grandparents. It would be merely a joke if they did. Ego's classificatory grandfather and Ego's female sibling quite frequently marry.

Regarding parallel-cousin marriage, one observes

the correspondence between it and clan exogamy on the agnatic side only; whereas, excepting as a result of the odd irregular match between fellow-clansfolk, uterine parallel cousins belong to different clans. If anything, it is more heinous for uterine parallel cousins to marry than it is for agnatic parallel cousins to do so. Even cross-cousins, though frequently man and wife, are the subject of considerable misgiving. Here, the trouble is that bridewealth must either accrue to the same person or group (Ego's mother's brother has benefited from Ego's mother's bridewealth. Now, if Ego marries his daughter the uncle gets more bridewealth from the same source) or return to the payers (if Ego marries his father's sister's daughter). Also, negotiators fear tension arising out of the incompatibility of the rôles of senior in-law and maternal uncle. An indulged nephew makes a poor suitor. Normally, maternal nephew is a very persistent relationship, not easily submerged by others standing in competition. When it clashes with actual daughter's husband, however, it succumbs, leaving the way open for the nephew to become plain 'suitor'. I even found a case of a man whose classificatory maternal uncle became his son-in-law! Kinswomen may not come together as co-wives of the same man; for instance a woman and her sister's daughter. That is not to say that they do not. In the instances quoted later in this section polygynous wives who were each related to Ego may not have regarded each other as kinswomen. I did not check whether this was so. A man objecting to such a match won his point (AP 3/45). Nor may pairs of full- brothers and sisters contract simultaneous reciprocal marriages.

The court cases cited have one thing in common. None of the incestuous parties was specifically penalised.

But these were cases heard before the Government-constituted courts. What happens at the level of village-arbitration ? Precisely the same thing. Numerous irregularities came to my notice, in none of which had a soul raised a finger in serious protest. One man cheerfully condoned his marriage with his genitor's widow by throwing the blame onto the deceased, who had begun to err by inheriting her from his own son, the present husband's senior brother. Everything points to incest restrictions being a social expedient rather than a basic natural aversion. Drunk men have confided to me that occasional lapses are doubly piquant. Islamic rulings on incest and those of Ngindo custom are chalk and cheese. Islam permits the marriage of first cousins, both cross and parallel.

Age.

Physical age strongly influences the kinship system of the Ngindo, whose concept of authority is a sort of indiscriminate gerontocracy. Elders of both sexes, even in their decline, are top dogs in Ngindo society. I have heard them described as 'half spirits'. By virtue of their experience they are thought to possess unusual powers. For instance Ngindo used to mix in with their beer a substance called liCHINJIRE, the purpose of which was to prevent quarrels. But its potency was such that only elders could stomach it. It is considered beneath the dignity of an elder to fight, even in the event of provocation (ev.LIW 16/44). To insult him is very wrong (AP 211/51). An elder has greater responsibilities than other men. Thus, out of several trespassers in the Game Reserve, the one who is an elder gets fined the most (AP 15/50).

Ngindo cannot readily conceive of any fellow tribesman, let alone a youngster, being dictatorial. This shows strikingly with present headmen who, in obedience to the Indirect Rule philosophy, tend to be hereditary. A young headman will issue orders with great circumspection. If there is only one stool he will offer it to the ragged elder who is his senior kinsman, and even consult him in official matters. Likewise, where age and genealogical seniority clash, the former nearly always wins. It is left to the younger man to reverse the rôles. The older one would not be so boorish as to take the initiative himself, and dutifully calls a babe in arms 'uncle' or whatever is required. Once made, however, the change will probably endure throughout their lifetimes, possibly overlapping onto the children as well. But usually the gap evens up, and offspring revert to true seniority. There is nothing corresponding to age-sets or grades among the Ngindo. Ngindo like to say that technical kinship-seniority formerly held pride of place, whereas nowadays aggressive individualism based on age alone has come to the fore. This is conjectural. Yet it is true that young men are coming into their own. To give an example, though men used to be circumcised in their twenties, they were still chaste. No woman would look at a man who was immature. If she did, she got laughed to scorn. Therefore youths feared to make advances. Today it is quite otherwise. Boys, circumcised before puberty, have become precocious. Women dote on mere lads. There is no doubt that a great swing has occurred in this sphere. Even more than is done the world over, elders bewail the passage of parental discipline, which in point of fact remains tolerably intact. Hence it would appear doubly unlikely that, in the old days, young scions ruled the roost.

Even for slaves, deference to age held good to a large extent. When, by the customary fiction, a slave entered his master's lineage, he would assume the generation appropriate to his years. A freeborn son of the family would readily call him father and treat him with only slightly diluted respect. In its Ngindo context, acquisition of slaves was as much a means of obtaining dependants as services. Again, in a polygynous family overall primogeniture of a child scores more heavily than the status of its mother. Sibling-seniority, as will be shown, is the key to precedence or leadership (see end of next section, Agnatic Kinship). There is logic in the Ngindo insistence on situational rather than strict genealogical reckoning. If a relationship becomes absurd, it should be modified as a short-term expedient. Distortion of the kinship structure does not matter. For long-term structures are top-heavy anomalies in Ngindoland.

Classificatory System.

The classificatory system of the Ngindo (tables, 2pp. overleaf) shows substantial diversity only within a three-generation range reckoned from Ego; that is, his own generation (zero), the one before (plus-one), and the one after (minus-one). In plus-two the sexes alone are distinguished, aUKURU[x] (grandfather) and aMBUJA (grandmother) embracing every recognized relative of that seniority. As for minus-two, inchUKURU (grandchild) covers both sexes... likewise aTANI, a reciprocal term

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x Footnote:

On the assumption that this word comprises the three elements 'A-HU-KURU', the first will be a personal prefix, the last an amplicative suffix (its presence in nchUKURU, grandchild, is obscure), leaving the stem 'HU', which may mean elder or leader. See the discussion of 'HUHU' etc., (Chapter X, Ndendeuli).

used only in reference, not address, which means any relative of plus-/or minus-three standing. There seems to be no connection between 'ATANI' and kiSwahili 'mTANI', joking relative, which is also used by Ngindo in that sense. A person who is aTANI has virtually ceased to be a kinsman at all. With aTANI, say the Ngindo, "kinship dies". Should a man survive long enough to become one, he will telescope his great-grandchildren upwards into his grandchildren, calling them nchUKURU, and treating them with appropriate familiarity.

The limits of kinship are imprecise. Though its personnel show no interest in anything beyond the immediate past, it is capable of attaining vast horizontal development, depending always on common residence or mutual contact, i.e. through putative relationships, the origin of which has been lost to view. The paramountcy of spatial proximity or otherwise is the axiom which governs Ngindo kinship. More often, thanks to past migrations and turmoil, its span appears no more impressive than its depth in time. The test of whether two persons are related is the grant of social recognition through the mechanism of classificatory kinship terms. Where no such labels exist, even though the groups concerned may belong to the same clan and postulate a joint origin, they get dismissed as mere URONGO JI literally 'not kinship'. In borderline cases Ngindo will privately question the validity of a label, but in practice bestow it generously. About fictitious kinsmen known to be descended on one or both sides from slave stock, they will snigger, but never veto their relationship or withhold the agreed kinship label. Illegitimates provoke somewhat less mirth, but enjoy equal confidence of descent from pater, if born in adultery, or from genitor, if born out of wedlock. Where

Classificatory Kinship Tables.

I.	Ego's	own	siblings	and	their	issue.
II.	"	father's	"	"	"	"
III.	"	mother's	"	"	"	"
IV.	"	father's father's	"	"	"	"
V.	"	mother's mother's	"	"	"	"
VI.	"	father's mother's	"	"	"	"
VII.	"	mother's father's	"	"	"	"
VIII.	"	wife's	"	"	"	"
IX.	"	wife's father's	"	"	"	"
X.	"	wife's mother's	"	"	"	"

Note:

The terms would be substantially different if Ego were a female.

Since diversity of terms occurs only in the generations Zero, Plus One, and Minus One, I omit the rest.

KEY TO CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP TABLES.

Generation.	Symbol.	Term.	Relationship.
Plus one.	△	AWAWA	Father, father's siblings, etc.
	○	ANIHENGA	Father's sister, etc.
	▲	ANJOMBA	Mother's brother, etc.
	●	AMAMA	Mother, mother's siblings, etc.
	◭	AKIBANGU	Senior in-law (reciprocal).
	◐	"	" " "
Zero.	△	AKUBANGU	" brother, cousin, etc.
	△	MANITU	Junior " " "
	⊖	ALUMBWANGU	Sister, female cousin, etc.
	◭	ALAMU	Male sibling-in-law.
	◐	"	Senior sister-in-law.
	◐	AKABANANGU	Junior " "
Minus one.	△	MWANANGU	Son, brother's son, etc.
	○	"	Daughter, brother's daughter.
	▲	MWIPWANGU	Sister's son, etc.
	●	"	" daughter, etc.
	◭	AKIBANGU	Junior in-law (reciprocal).
	◐	AKABANANGU	Daughter-in-law, etc.

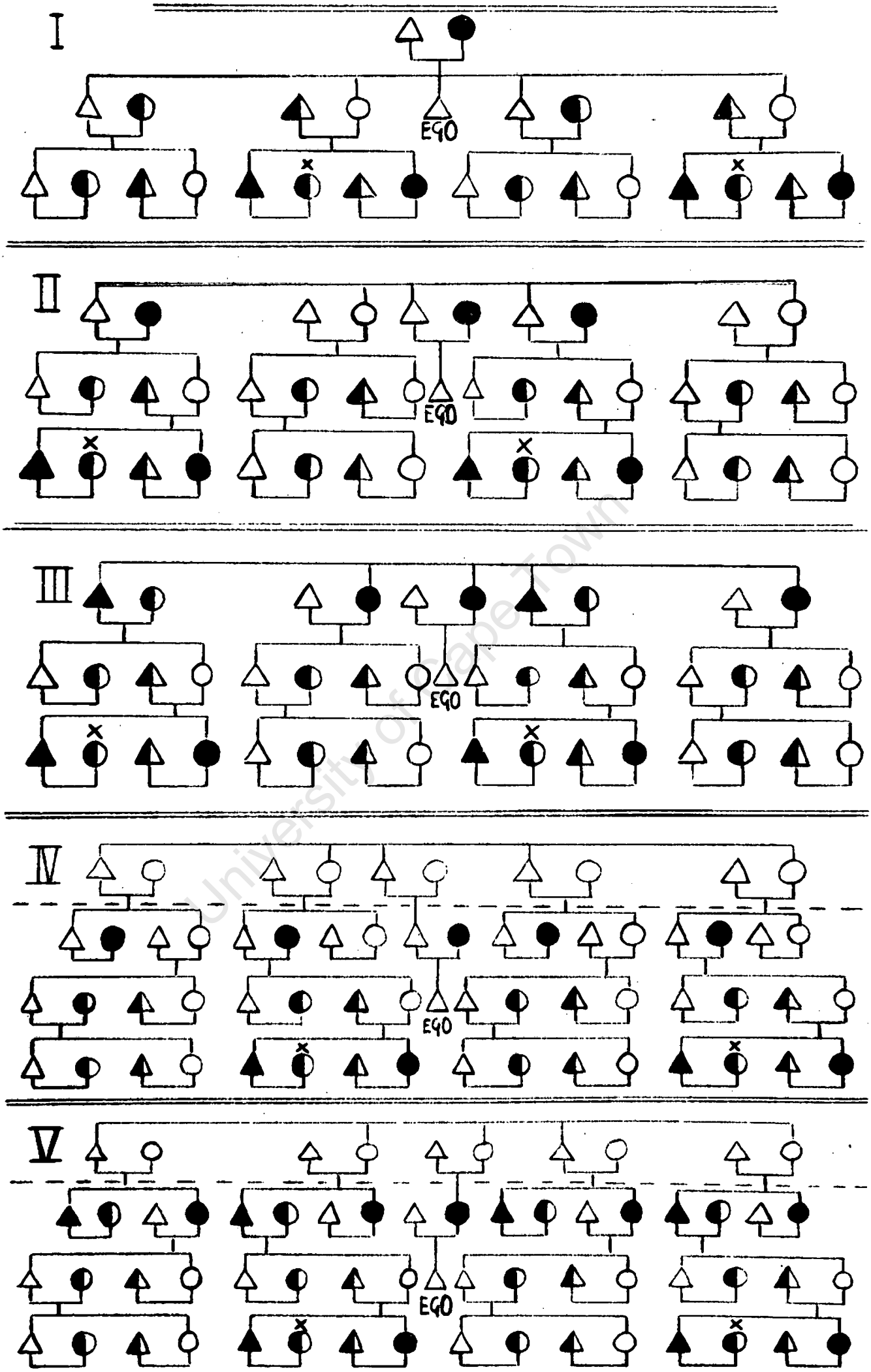
.....

Exceptions: × AKIBANGU instead of AKABANANGU.

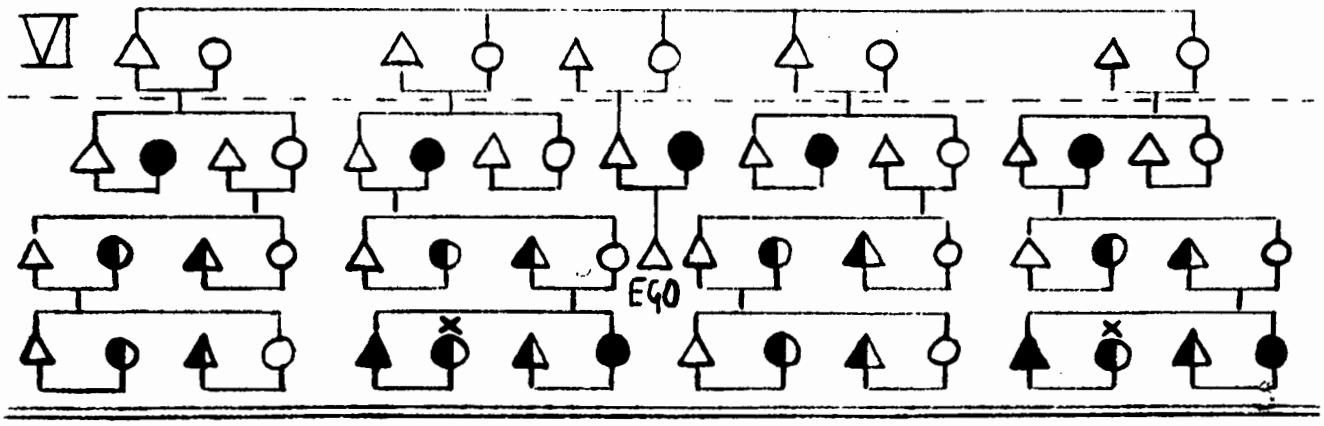
⊠ MWIPWANGU interchangeable with MWANANGU, in which case the maternal nephew's wife becomes AKABANANGU.

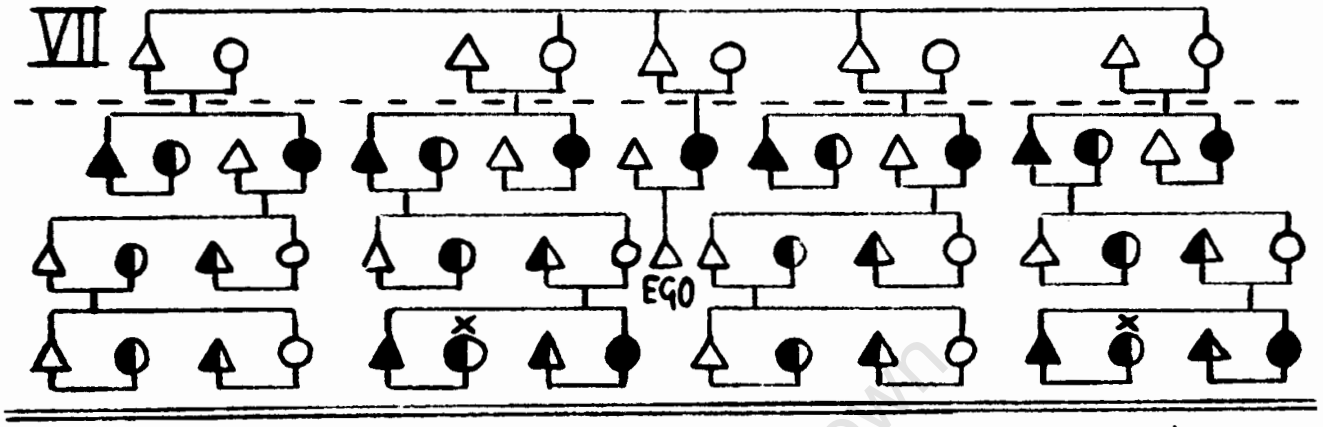
Note: in Zero generation the terms for agnatic and uterine siblings are identical.

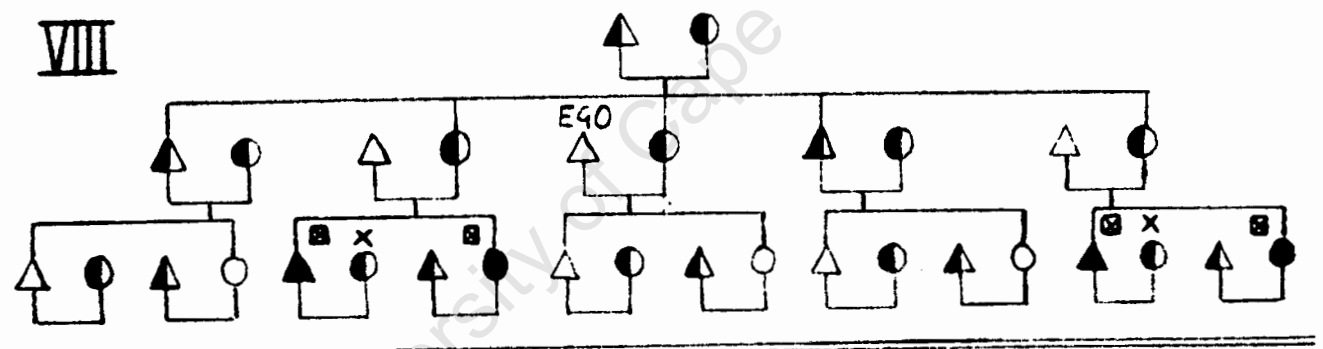
CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP TERMS.

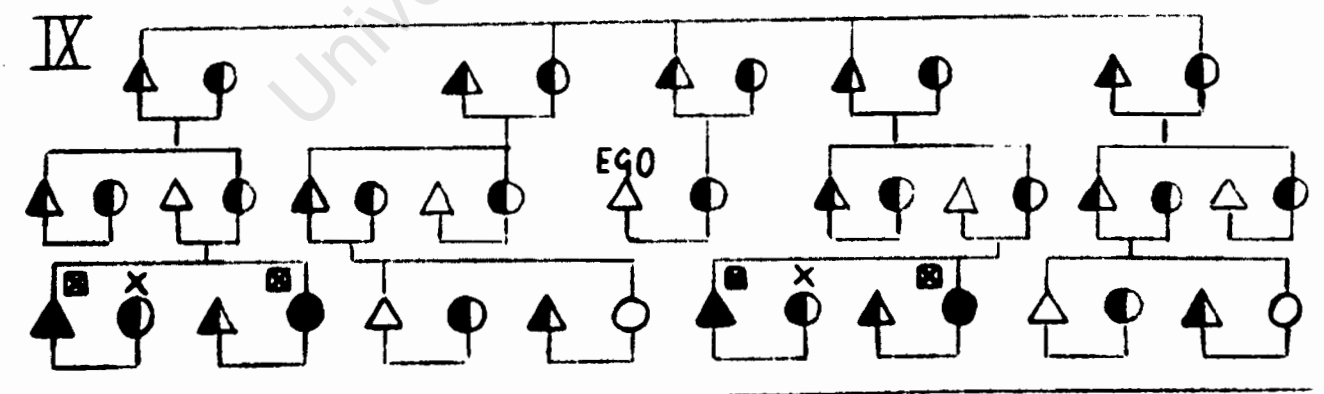


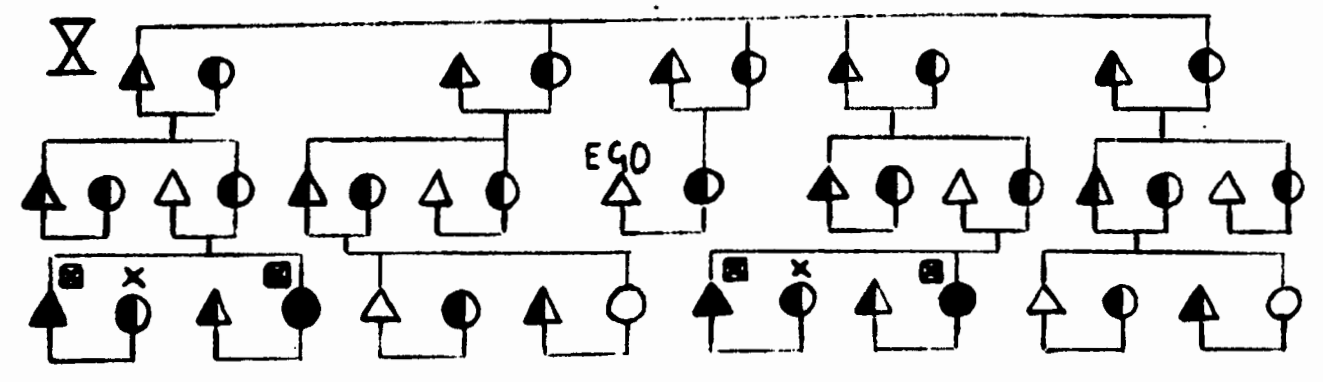
Note. For information on the signs and conventions used, see firstly the "Legend for All Forest-Chart Genealogies" on page 50.b, and secondly the "Notes on the Genealogies for the Village-Surveys" and "Exceptions occurring in Diagrams illustrating Chapter IV, 'Kinship'" on page 503.a.







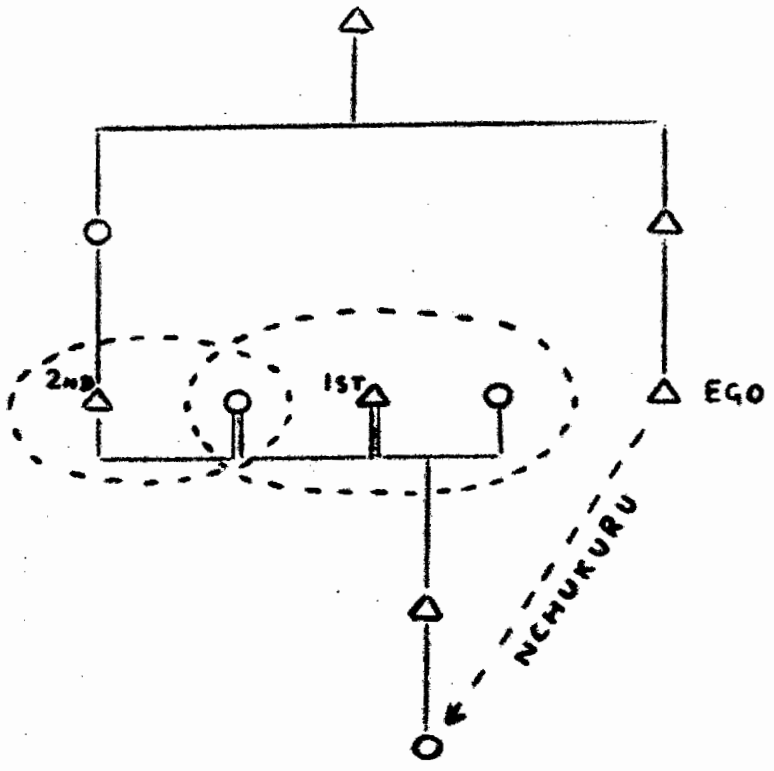




opinions fluctuate and the borderline is reached is in a link via a kinswoman who is ~~polygynous wife to~~ the wife of an unrelated polygynous husband. The latter bears children by another wife who is unrelated to Ego. Should these assume the rôle of children to their step-mother as well, hence become relatives of Ego ? The answer is situational and, failing any alternative connection, usually in the affirmative. The use of identical terms need not imply identical behaviour. Thus, though Ego calls his step-mother's kin 'akaNJOMBA' just as if she were his real mother, her daughter's bridewealth will not accrue to him in the same way as with a full sister. Distant in-laws whose specific title has lapsed have a blanket term of their own, aJEMBA. Because the classificatory system is so omnivorous, absorbing even marginal affines, aJEMBA rarely occurs. With the exception of this and of aTANI (relative thrice removed) all these labels are primarily personal, only secondarily categoric. Thus 'anJOMBA' is 'my mother's brother', but 'akaNJOMBA' (plural) may be applied to his immediate kin or to his lineage as a whole. In-laws are particularly prone to being lumped together in this way.

To give an extreme example of what might be called transferred or vicarious kinship, Ego's ~~uterine~~ paternal cross-cousin's wife is a remarried widow. Her deceased husband bore a son by another ~~polygynous~~ co- wife unrelated to Ego, and this son had a daughter. Ego calls this woman 'grandchild'.

Diagram on the next page.



Within the three-generation bracket, in relation to a male Ego, kinship employs a modest range of terms, just over a dozen, and without serious obliteration of any of the three categories o of relatives; agnatic, uterine,[x] affinal; excepting in the case of the latter. By obliteration I mean one set of terms over-lapping onto another and replacing some of its characteristic terms. For instance, Ego may be tempted to call his wife's mother 'mother' instead of 'mother-in-law'. Agnatic genealogies frequently excel in size and complexity because, with virilocal marriage, the other kinsfolk or kindred generally have their roots elsewhere. Distance soon erodes their solidarity. In plus and minus-one, once the adjustments in names have been made, the disposition of agnates and uterine kin is seen to be almost identical. These generations show slight variation in the designation of affines, according to whether their spouses are agnatic or uterine relatives of Ego. In

Footnote x: Here I use the term strictly in the sense 'related by blood through the mother' (Oxford English Dictionary, Vol XI, 1933); that is to say, through Ego's mother. But later, in the section on Uterine Kinship, I apply it by extension to all those blood kin, actual or putative, who are not agnatic. I do so in order to isolate 'agnatic kin', and so examine their position in contrast to that of kinsfolk related through competing lines of descent. I make no attempt to isolate 'matrilineal kin' in this way.

zero, however, relatives on both sides are equated and their spouses treated alike. In the case of affines, there is some tendency for their nomenclature to yield to that of agnatic or uterine kin; that is, for Ego to follow his spouse in the terms she employs; and vice versa. This is particularly so in address. Even in indirect speech, a father's brother's wife will become 'mother'; and a father's sister's husband, 'father'; as will ~~likewise~~ a mother's sister's or female cousin's husband (though the mother's brother's or male cousin's wife stays 'in-law'). The spouses of Ego's father's uterine siblings all get attracted into the agnatic and uterine counterparts in this way. As for those in-laws traced through Ego's own spouse, her ascendants and siblings remain 'in-law', excepting for her sister's or female cousin's husband, who is 'senior' or 'junior-brother' in accordance with his wife's seniority towards Ego's spouse. The nephews and nieces of Ego's spouse however become to him 'child', 'maternal nephew', 'maternal niece'; though the last two tend to be 'child' as well. In that case, of course, the affinal maternal nephew's spouse must assume the appropriate 'aKAbANANGU' label instead of 'aKIBANGU'. Regarding the peculiarity of the accordance of differential sibling status to female affinal cousins' spouses, conversely, female Ego calls her husband's brothers' spouses aKULU (senior sister) and aNUNA (junior sister), whereas his sister's husband will be plain aLAMU (brother-in-law). This cannot be the product of residence; for although the spouses of agnatic siblings frequently live close together, a man's female affinal cousins seldom do so. Presumably therefore, a man considers his wife's sister to be in some way closer than her brother. Therefore he calls her spouse 'brother';

but she, her brother, and the latter's spouse remain 'in-law'. This corresponds to the distinction drawn by males, but not females, between senior and junior brother; and by females, but not males, between senior and junior sister.

Seemingly the point at which the lines of descent linking kinsfolk bifurcated makes no difference to their treatment in the classificatory system. Thus, among agnates, the same terms apply to blood kinsmen traced through Ego's father, paternal grandfather and paternal great grandfather; Also, among uterine kin, those traced through Ego's paternal grandmother's father, and evidently ... though I never explored systematically beyond there ... still further back. I have noticed and recorded several cases of valid, indeed decisive, kinship deriving from Ego's paternal grandmother 's paternal grandfather. In zero there comes a stage when classificatory sibling fades out into mhwIBANI (male or female cousin). I do not think there is any fixed span at which this happens. mhwIBANI merely indicates that the line of descent in question is weak. None the less, such cousins are never addressed directly as such. A person is either brother, sister, or nothing at all.

In plus-one the terms aWAWA (father) and aniHENGA (paternal aunt) represent the agnates. Each attracts its spouse, who instead of 'in-law' becomes respectively aMAMA (mother) or aWAWA. The former (aMAMA), along with aNJOMBA (maternal uncle) which may be used reciprocally for maternal nephew, denotes uterine kin. But whilst her spouse becomes aWAWA, aNJOMBA's remains aKIBANGU (my senior in-law, etc.,) This last is the only affinal term for plus-one and serves reciprocally for 'my son-in-law'. Only in the case of a maternal nephew's spouse

does it refer to a female of minus-one, which exception seems consistent with that of the maternal uncle's spouse just mentioned. It might be thought to imply a behaviour pattern on Ego's part similar to that he adopts towards his father-in-law, namely one of deference. But this is not markedly so. Ngindo follow the Swahili usage, when speaking that language, of differentiating senior from junior classificatory parents, i.e. 'Baba mDogo' meaning father's younger brother, etc; but not in address.

In zero, male Ego's siblings, both agnatic and uterine, have identical names, females being lumped together into aLUMBWANGU (my sister) and males graded into aKUBANGU (senior) and MANITU (junior), as already stated. Likewise female Ego differentiates her female siblings into aKULU (senior) and aNUNA (junior), but refers to all male siblings by a single term, aHACHANGU. The corresponding spouses are called either aLAMU (sibling in-law) or aKAbANANGU (strictly 'daughter-in-law'), depending on the position of the spouse vis à vis Ego. aLAMU may be said to be the rule, with two exceptions; one, the use of differential sibling terms as explained above; the other aKAbANANGU. The latter, which appears to be a corruption of 'my son's wife' and in fact usually applies to her, doubles for the wives of junior brothers as well. This embodies the strong prohibition on intimacy between a man and persons standing in such a relationship, whereas seduction of his own wife by a junior sibling is no great matter. The distinction corresponds with the marked precedence of senior over junior siblings and with the practice of widow-inheritance.

Although agnates and uterine kin go by the same

names in zero, their children fall into the distinct categories of mwIPWANGU (my maternal nephew or niece) and mwANANGU (my child). The designation of their spouses has already come in for comment. To recapitulate, all male spouses are aKIBANGU. Female ones are aKAbANANGU, excepting for maternal nephew's wife who is aKIBANGU.

Apart from aNGWANA (husband) and aKANGU (my wife) or aHANU (wife), this completes the tally of kinship labels. If precise identification of an affine be required, aHANU or aNGWANA may be employed. Thus aKIBANGU refers to several quite different relatives, but aHANU ba NJOMBA can only be "mother's male sibling's wife". Another qualificatory term is aniHABANGU meaning "my husband's mother". When it is desired to specify traceable as opposed to putative kin, the word muNDU (human being) is added. Therefore genitor becomes aWAWA muNDU. A number of archaic labels have expired within living memory. Father used to be aTATI, mother aKWITU or aMABU, mother's brother aKWELUME. Taking aKWITU to mean 'our mother', aKWELUME must be 'male mother'. Another term for maternal uncle was aniLUMBANGU which, with current aLUMBWANGU (my sister) sometimes abbreviated to aLUMBU, seems to be connected with the verb kuLUMBA, 'to reward or be pleasing'. Why these two should have like names is obscure, unless it was the maternal uncle who dispensed reward or bride-wealth, and the sister who brought it in. But there is the objection that, under hypothetical matrilineal conditions, bride-wealth would probably be inoperative. The question of matriliny will receive separate treatment (see later section, Uterine Kinship). Some Swahili neologisms have made their appearance. AmuKWE (Swahili 'mKwe') duplicates aKIBANGU; aKAKA (Swahili 'Kaka'), aKUBANGU; aDADA (Swahili 'Dada'), aLUMBWANGU. Certain

of them tend to assume specific functions; for instance, a man may call his wife's maternal uncle by new amuKWE, but her father by old aKIBANGU. Such distinctions do not appear to be properly established. I regret that I overlooked the terms by which Ego's brother's wife's siblings are known.

It has been shown that persons incorporated into the classificatory system by fictitious kinship based on slave adoption are in terminology treated exactly as any other relative. I shall discuss the slave question separately (see Chapter VIII, Special Ideology.) The remaining mode of artificial recruitment is blood-brotherhood, called luCHALE, seemingly because the partners should incise each other with an arrow (nCHALE) and consume a few drops of blood mixed in with porridge. There is an alleged Islamic counterpart called MSAFU, presumably from the religious text of that name. It is conducted by a Preacher. Blood-brotherhood has no great vogue and seems to exert a negligible influence.

An individual is, of course, a variety of relatives to a variety of people. Also, as a result of intermarriage, he may be a variety of relatives to one and the same person. This, among certain Ngindo, produces an almost fantastic complexity of relationships. Where such duplication occurs, one label has to be singled out for use at the expense of the rest, a choice which furnishes data for a systematic analysis to follow (see later section, Uterine Kinship). For the present, I illustrate the phenomenon with four marriages between fellow settlement members.

A.	Paternal[x]	Maternal[x]	Affinal	Priority
Husband	mwANANGU(son)x2	-	nchUKURU (Gdson)x5 aKIBANGU (dtr's sp)	mwANANGU
Wife I.	nchUKURU (gddtr)x2 mwANANGU (dtr)	nchUKURU	aKAbANANGU x 2 (sons spouse)	nchUKURU
Wife 2.	nchUKURU (gddtr)x2	-	"	"

Note: "x2", etc., means that the relationship is repeated through two different lines of descent.

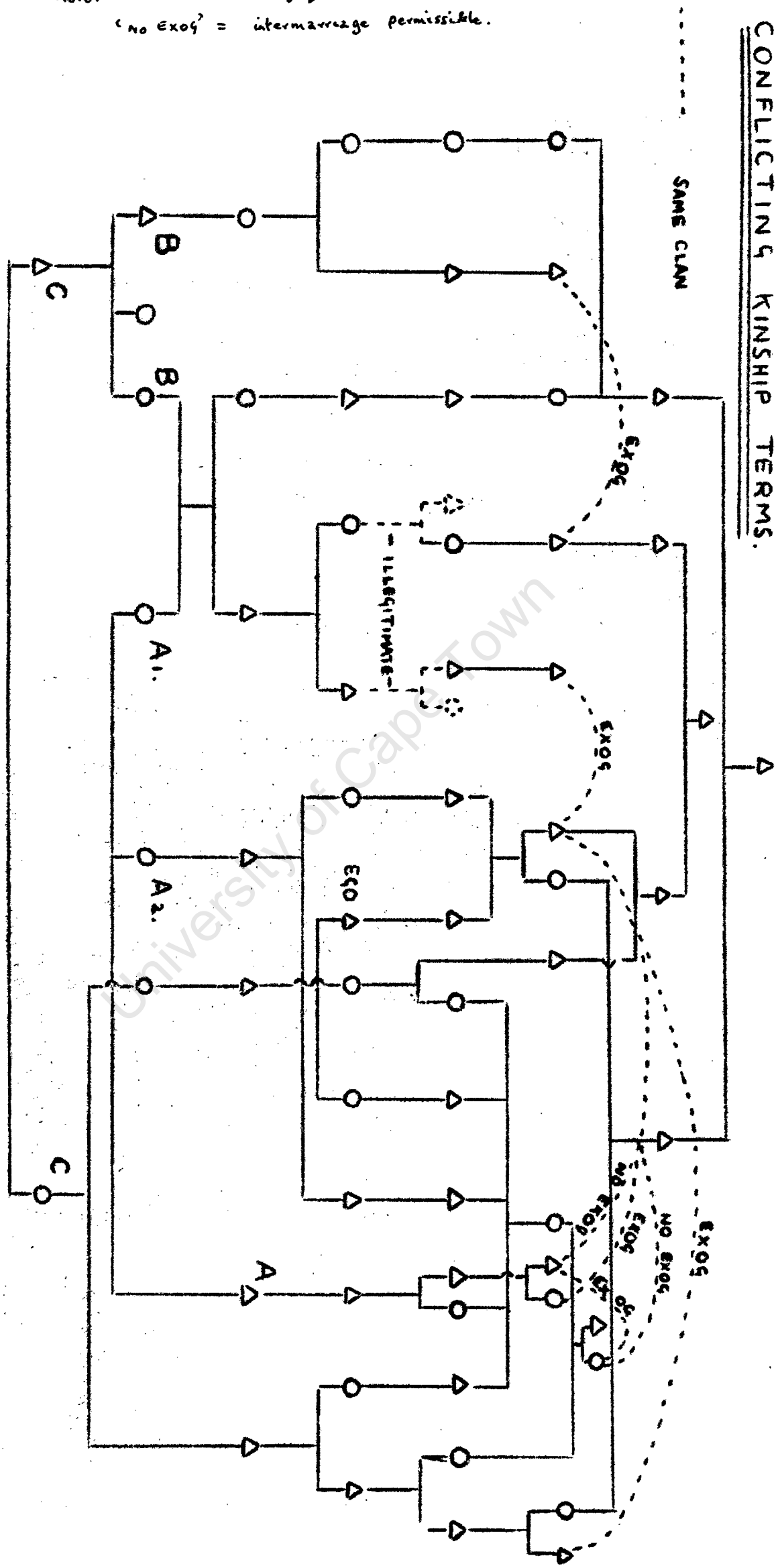
B.				
Husband.	-	mwIPWANGU (mat.neph) nchUKURU (gdson)	nchUKURU (gdson)x3	"
Wife.	mwaANANGU (dtr) nchUKURU (gddtr)x2	"(gddtr)	aKIBANGU (mat neph's sp) nchUKURU (gddtr)	"

C.				
Husband.	nchUKURU (gdson) aTANI (gt ")	nchUKURU (gdson) aTANI (gt. ") x3	" (gdson)x3 aTANI (gtgdson)x3	"
Wife.	nchUKURU (gddtr)x2 aTANI (gt. ")	nchUKURU (gddtr)	nchUKURU (gddtr) x2 aTANI (gt. ") x3	"

Diagram overleaf.

Footnote x: These terms, which are used purely for ease of reference, indicate that the relationship comes to the individual via one or the other parent. The one does not necessarily imply "agnatic", nor the other "uterine".

Note: 'Exog' = belonging to the same exogamous unit.
'No Exog' = intermarriage permissible.



Agnatic Kinship.

This section might be called political. Omission of the word is deliberate. That a society should exist at all implies it to be differentiated both within and without, hence a rudimentary political entity. But where differentiation shrinks to the point at which internally it lacks the sanction of socially regulated force (excepting for the alleged old-time mechanism of arbitration-cum-feud, to be described anon, rendered academic by the two-generation-old superposition of Western sanctions), externally it rests mainly on merging dialects, then political institutions as generally understood are absent. So instead, I describe kinship units, their function and personnel without risking alien connotations.

Every Ngindo belongs to one of the 'clans' referred to earlier. Both sexes automatically enter the clan of their legal father, or, failing a legal father, that of their genitor. They pay no attention to their mother's clan, nor do they observe her totem avoidance. Clans have distinctive names, few of which have any inherent meaning. Some resemble 'tribal' or 'sub-tribal' names. These are aniCHOBO and NJOWU (like Chobo sub-tribe of the Ngindo), anaMAGINGO (like Magingo sub-tribe), aniJOMBO (like extinct Mijombo sub-tribe), niHAMBA (like Hamba sub-tribe), aniMWERA (and probable variants aniNG'ERA, aniGERA, NYERA like Mwera neighbouring tribe), and aniNINDI (like Nindi neighbouring tribe, now absorbed by the so-called Ngoni). None of these has any satisfactory connection with the tribe or sub-tribe in question. Take the first. AniCHOBO is not a Chobo clan, whilst the similarity between it and NJOWU clan, which is pronounced in very nearly the same way, seems mere coincidence.

AnaMAGINGO is an established clan amongst the Ndonde sub-tribe as well as amongst the Magingo (both Magingo and Ndonde recur as place or tribal names outside Ngindo country). NiHAMBA gets allotted not to the Hamba but to the Ndonde. AniJOMBO and Mijombo are probably connected with the extremely common tree and place name nYOMBO (plural miJOMBO). There are no grounds for bracketing the two. AniMWERA has nothing to do with the tribe, whose name is itself confusing and repeated in different parts of southern Tanganyika. Finally, the Nindi live in the south of Songea District, the extreme periphery of the Ngindo culture area. So one must regard common derivation as unlikely. Detailed aspects of clan allocations will be discussed in connection with the sub-tribes. Complete lists of clans appear in the Appendix.

Every clan should have at least one totemic avoidance. These appear even more erratic than the clan itself. Different branches of the bigger clans will volunteer all manner of different totems. Some have no totem at all. None regard the totem as vitally important. Migration may have been responsible for much of the obliteration. Again, slave stock has no real fear of an assumed totem. Certain objects or practices are taboo to the people at large, and these become confused with clan totems; ~~for instance,~~ instances of these are freshly fired pots ~~or~~ and zebra flesh. Most of the totems take the form of small birds or rodents which would not ordinarily be eaten. But this may not have been the case with former thicket-dwellers who were omnivorous, and adept trappers of small creatures. Many people seem reluctant to divulge their totem and many frankly do not know what it is. I found totems unreliable as a guide to clan affilia-

tions. If clans were at one time corporate, it follows that they had uniform totems. But neither assumption can be proven, or even accorded fair probability.

To revert to the clans plotted on the Clan Distribution diagram in Chapter III, anuHUBA had the following selection of totems.

1. LiBIRU rat (two associated branches living apart.)
2. Estuary of the ~~R. NJENGERA~~ River Njengera near the coast. (one branch)
3. Flour eaten from a gourd. "
4. Giant lizard. "
5. NJEGEJA bird. "
6. KiPELEPE bird. "
7. Any embryo bird. "
8. Porcupine. "
9. Not known. (two branches)
10. Nil. (One branch)

AniHUKA had almost as many. Only anaMAGINGO, with the kiHIGI bird, and naPONERA, with the bush-buck, were reasonably consistent. The totem of the former is more popular than any other and utilised by a number of clans. The latter has the peculiarity that, as well as the animal itself, it shuns the MBAWALA (bush-buck) type of banana, so called from its resemblance to the horns. Other totems I recorded were fish, leaves of certain trees, sleeping on doors, lapping up water like a dog, snakes, hares, rhino, and castor beans. Ngindo hold that the totem, if it be an animal, should be avoided down to its spoor, droppings, and lair. More especially must one refrain from eating its flesh. Infringements will produce a dangerous rash all over the body. Thus a personal, not group, sanction attends it. On the other

hand, clansmen will do nothing to stop others from molesting the creature or consuming it before their eyes. A man explained the apparent decline in adherence to totemic rules by saying that nowadays meat was only to be had by poaching or ignoring Islamic food restrictions. So if one got invited to a meal with meat-relish, one no longer enquired as to what it was, but simply gobbled it up and kept quiet. Ngindo maintain that clan and exogamy go together, but this is true only of the subordinate lineages. Even in a case like that of NJOWU clan, many of whose branches have kept in touch and preserved their awareness of common agnatic descent, cross-marriages between lineages have been frequent. When confronted with infringements of this sort, informants merely laugh and say "They were cheating". As for the usual disjointed clan, like anaHUBA above, its lineages simply intermarry without let or hindrance, excepting where they know themselves to be closely related.

Just as the average clan has no headquarters, it is also, as stated previously, acephalous. Though there is such a thing as the senior surviving member of its senior lineage, even NJOWU cannot be said to have a supreme head. As a matter of fact, its most prominent representatives belong to a branch somewhat removed from the top of the ladder. However, the Ngoni raiders started a precedent, followed by the European governments, of favouring the line in question, which has ever since embroidered on the theme. This is the place to discuss the policy of Indirect Rule, applied to Ngindoland by the Mandatory Government in the late twenties, and in force for about a generation[x]. Since

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x Footnote: Immediately prior to its introduction, ~~the~~ the structure of German 'Jumbeate's remained

the second World War, though its terminology has been scrapped along with most of the courts and salaried staff, the system remains substantially intact. Indirect Rule presupposed some form of indigenous rulers, and its initial task was to discover them. The officials responsible for Ngindoland, then about twice the size and less arbitrarily defined as an ethnic unit than at present, though sceptical of the existence of chiefs, could not admit defeat, and made a tolerably good selection from the poor material available. These they dressed up as chiefs, with some fanfare, and the title of MWENYE.

There was no question of fraud about the decision. Whilst admitting that "the discovery of tribal leaders to carry on the native authority has been one of some difficulty"(Ref.55, dated 1928), the relevant report concluded that the Ngindo were in the "patriarchal stage", and contented itself with declaring "all the present Magingo (and by implication those of other sub-tribes) headmen are of gentle birth and their authorities are based on true tribal custom". Clearly, the officials thought along clan lines and construed their appointees as clan leaders. A somewhat later contributor stated "... clans were found to exist in too vast numbers ... eventually thinned down to twenty". But he went on to kick some of the props from beneath the structure he controlled. "Knowledge of names of spirits leads nowhere in determining clan-lands ... indeed I am confident that

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x Footnote: (continued)

standing, at first under the combined Liwale 'Akidat' (Paramountcy of an appointed African Agent), created in 1923; later under the twin 'Akidat's of Liwale (10 'Jumbeate's with 12,000 people) and Mihungo (6 Jumbeate's with 5,000 people). I discuss elsewhere the contribution of these Jumbes' forerunners towards the Majimaji Revolt (See Chapter IX, War and the West).

many uninhabited areas possess no guardian spirits at all". This was beginning to hit the nail on the head, a nail in the coffin of Indirect Rule as a copy-book answer to the problem of administering Ngindoland. A successor wrote ten years later, not long before the pretence of genuine chieftainship was dropped, that in some respects the German petty Jumbeates had been more closely modelled on native custom than was the régime created in its name as a replacement! However, Indirect Rule having laboriously fashioned artificial potentates, these could not be abolished overnight. The MWENYE, though ill-equipped to govern, quickly acquired the façade. One whose claims bear less examination than most, now disdains the less imposing office of JUMBE (present designation of headmen) with all the air of injured aristocracy. Ironically the philosophy of Indirect Rule, discarded by Government as inapplicable to this area, lingers in the minds of its largely discredited native agents. Whence the extreme difficulty of disentangling the truth about Ngindo leaders from the dramatisations of Indirect Rule, especially since the latter has in a sense become the truth of today. Allowing for such smoke-screens, the MWENYE emerges as a shadowy figure. MWENYE, rendered aMWENYI by the Ngindo, means owner, holder, or occupant. It is used by the Yao of Tunduru District as the title of an important chief, and I suspect the adoption of it by Indirect Rule in Ngindoland to have owed something to the Yao analogy. Yao and Ngindo are poles apart, but speak (mutually unintelligible) tongues belonging to the same linguistic group and have a good deal in common culturally. Also, a lot of Yao have been absorbed by the Ngindo. However, it seems that the Ngindo did hold their own specialised concept of the MWENYE.

What was his position ? He was titular head of the dominant or senior lineage in a group of lineages belonging to the same clan and retaining consciousness of their inter-relationship. To this extent only could he be described as clan-head. Alternatively he might be almost without agnatic followers, merely representing the oldest established stock in his neighbourhood. Even an immigrant might rank as a MWENYE, provided that he and his people settled somewhere on their own, by which is meant perhaps five miles from the nearest competitor. Basically the MWENYE was a territorial phenomenon. There must have been dozens of them in old Ngindoland. Yet, the late nineteenth-century population comprising such a high ratio of immigrants, rooted MWENYEs were comparatively rare. Thus one or two achieved a certain prominence, attracting the attention of Ngoni and Germans in turn.

On at least two occasions individuals would seem to have represented Ngindoland as a whole; namely Kinjala with the Ngoni, Mpinga with the Germans. But the truth is they were opportunists, each elevated to the status of ambassador merely by the preconceptions of the powerful foreigners with whom they dealt. Though his aged father might have been, Kinjala was not even a MWENYE in his own right. Being a youngish man at the time he supposedly sought out the fearsome Ngoni leader, Mhomakiro, at his raiding encampment, his was nothing more or less than bluff, gratuitously 'surrendering' on behalf of his people. The latter clearly knew nothing of the move beforehand and simply welcomed it in retrospect. Kinjala, whose background became thoroughly Ngoni, never achieved real standing at home. It is noticeable that his next big gamble, twenty years later in the Majimaji revolt, took him to Ngoniland.

The more venerable Mpinga's overtures had just as little backing. He happened to present his own private petition at the propitious moment when the German coastal garrison stood poised to subjugate the interior. Like Kinjala, who became one of several 'NDUNA's under the Ngoni, Mpinga ranked as German-appointed JUMBE, among several others. Neither of these 'leaders' therefore can invest the MWENYE with chiefly stature.

Investigation reveals that even super-MWENYEs like this could have been no more than primus inter pares. They exercised authority only inside their own petty lineages, beyond which their function was purely advisory. They had no retinue, no court, and no distinctive badge. I failed to get confirmation of District Book reports to the effect that the office carried hereditary bangles, or the "Mokongo ... a sort of coloured tarbush of Arab origin", or the "Kitibu" stool of state. The presence of Yao and other pockets may have led to the assumption that the Ngindo went in for such formalities. No ritual marked the MWENYEs' installation ... District Book material on this point would appear to have come from sources of doubtful veracity .## And their standard of living was precisely that of any other lineage-head or freeman. Their influence over land-tenure did not amount to control. They stood to benefit from no communal labour or contributions in kind from their followers, nor did they enjoy any special privileges whatever. Even the District Book, speaking of the Ndonde, dismisses the idea of tribute (NDAJA), though "the Wenyi received presents from time to time as a mark of voluntary respect". The only isolated exception coming to my notice was access afforded to the womenfolk of immigrants, but this MWENYE was evidently not the only person to enjoy that luxury

(In another instance the said immigrants turned around and held their hosts to ransom with wholesale demands for adultery compensation). Personally involved in a dispute, the MWENYE could expect no preferential treatment. If anything, in conformity with the Ngindo notion of status, he was humbler than ordinary men. Ngindo hold that a peace-maker should be the most peaceable of all, that a lineage-head should look after his dependants rather than himself. The result was a personage looking wholly to the goodwill and manners of others for the maintenance of his own prestige. Gentlemanly abstention has plagued Ngindo leaders ever since ... when requested by the Germans to become blustering JUMBEs, at least one of the old MWENYEs declined in favour of a more extrovert underling. /A MWENYE's

n/p. claim to distinction rested on his being the oldest inhabitant, not physically but by pedigree. Since he was also supposed to be of advanced years, it is not clear how the line of succession was determined. If the present method of lineage-head selection is any guide, any mature eligible kinsman, namely an agnatic colleague of the deceased living in or near the same hut-cluster and possessing the necessary personal qualities, might become MWENYE. There was no need for the people to assemble. Their choice would become tacitly known from the volume of callers at the successful candidate's hut. Conversely the sole means of expressing disapproval or change of allegiance would be the cessation of that flow. Age, it has been shown, commands universal respect among the Ngindo. Elders[x] have special qualifications as officiators in sacrifices;

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x Footnote: Known as anaHOTA (plural akanaHOTA), a word bearing a tempting resemblance to Swahili 'Nahodha' (meaning captain of a ship in coast parlance) and one with a pure Persian ancestry ... remember that Persians ruled mediaeval Kilwa and that a native group on the mainland today, the WaShirazi of the Rufiji mouth, claims to have Persian blood.

though the MWENYE seems to have been pre-eminent in this respect. In connection with the Ndonde, the District Book mentions the ritual ducking of both MWENYE and anaHOTA in time of drought, the ritual installation of the former at a feast "attended by all the elders", and his function as "Anahota biitu" (in the capacity of conductor of lesser sacrifices ... the expression simply means 'our elder' ... as opposed to the rôle of "Anahota mbikira" or high priest: The District Book here refers to the Chobo). Initially, under Indirect Rule, sub-headmen were gazetted "Wanahota" (plural), but later the title gave place to "Mwenye mdogo". I cannot help speaking of the MWENYE in the past tense, seeing that the word now appears to refer exclusively to the erstwhile appointees of the Government. I never heard of anyone else described as such in present Ngindoland, not even the ex-MWENYEs themselves. At the same time these official MWENYEs and JUMBEs have usurped the place allegedly occupied by the prototype. / My portrait of the Ngindo MWENYE rests on the consensus of statements made by the natives: It cannot therefore be accepted without reservation. In support one can cite Burton, who found an Ngindo group north of the Rufiji a hundred years ago. Clearly these Ngindo were politically stratified, recognising a certain "Mpambe, headman of the Wangindo ... who appeared a kind of cunning idiot" (Ref. 9, dated 1857). Mpambe was not such an idiot as to give back to the explorer those supplies entrusted to him! His status of headman cannot be regarded as conclusive. 'Headmen' were taken for granted by all travellers in those days, and this group, lying on a caravan route, might have been unrepresentative. No hint is given of the indigenous title, if any, borne by Mpambe. Only a year or two later Von der Decken, inside Ngindoland itself, spoke in flattering terms of a presumably Ngindo host, "Sultan

Djemao" (Ref.40). On the other hand, "We had no MWENYEs but only anaHOTAs" is a statement I have heard from the lips of weighty informants; in fact I long regarded the MWENYE as a myth. At the other extreme are interested parties intriguing for a come-back, or, when in power, striving to consolidate. Thus the assertion of the old Ngindoland Council, a body of Government MWENYEs sitting in 1930s and early 1940s, that former MWENYE-s used to get "a little share" of treasure-trove such as ivory (from Council proceedings, 1938). ~~(Proceedings. 1938.)~~ Some years earlier the Council had objected to the appropriation of ivory-gratuities by the actual finders because "in this way they break the law of the men of old"; must be viewed with suspicion as a possible attempt to bolster chieftainship. The safest course is to regard the hypothetical old-MWENYE as a slightly enhanced lineage-head.

Does the Governmental MWENYE throw any light on his former indigenous counterpart ? In a negative sense, yes; for these new MWENYEs plainly possessed little tradition of leadership. Their twenty-man council immediately fell beneath the sway of the one dynamic exception, 'Mwenye Mkuu' Nganora Mkwera, father of the present 'Sultan'. Nganora held the supposedly rotational yearly chairmanship right through to his death in 1935. Beside this pocket-sized giant the remaining members show in a mediocre light. Rent by intrigue, their deliberations have been likened by a distinguished naturalist to the chattering of a monkey-house! And their recorded decisions betray unmistakable feebleness, as witness the pronouncements on Closer Settlement (see Chapter II, Labour). On the crucial issue of infant marriage its appeal-court committee could table this obvious insincerity: "Since long ago we gave notice that it was not permissible to marry

young children. It is not good in the very least" (AP 2/41). Three MWENYEs had to be dismissed outright, whilst minor scandals seem to have occurred regularly. For instance unusually heavy sentences would be meted out for offences affecting council-members' interests, prompting a District Commissioner to remark of an adultery case: "I am informed that 15/- (instead of the Shs. 28/- total actually imposed) would have been paid but for the fact that the plaintiff was a headman" (AP 1/34). Both this and another apparently similar case (AP 14/43) concerned MWENYEs who had ~~running to~~ an unprecedented dozen wives apiece. Some MWENYEs were found taking advantage of their position on the bench to manipulate marriages (AP 12/37,5/45). On one occasion a tribesman delivered a harangue in court, branding the MWENYEs as parasites: "Why do you people in power eat up the wealth of the people ? You puff yourselves up with pride because of this authority" (AP 9/38). That he should later have retracted the charge, pleading "a devil" (i.e. temporary insanity), does not dispel the suspicion that a certain disrespect was present. Again, on the introduction of a bean-seed scheme in 1933, the District Commissioner at Kilwa had found it necessary to warn: "Take care this is not used by the Mawenye to obtain personal service" (from correspondence files). Even n/p. the customary rulings of this Ngindoland Council cannot be taken as wholly reliable indices of Ngindo precedent. To quote another example, its approval of 'Mwenye' Bushiri's succession at Barikiwa ... "now his son has succeeded him (the deceased holder, 'Mwenye' Bwanali). This is indeed exactly how it ought to be" ... might seem to endorse straigh forward agnatic heredity; whereas in fact it is the Ngindo practice to favour brothers or even cousins of the deceased. Perhaps the most revealing observation made by the council was that following hard on the death of Nganora: "Since

long ago we have said that in this country of the Ngindo there is no Sultan!' By this they meant 'paramount'; but, insofar as the term implies chieftainship, they could equally well have meant 'Mwenye".

One of the old MWENYE's functions was to mediate in disputes. The party seeking to atone a wrong inflicted by one of its members would approach one or more recognized MWENYEs with a request that negotiations for a meeting with the injured group's representatives be arranged. Evidently this service was gratuitous. If it proved successful the two parties ... feud would probably have been operative prior to the adoption of this expedient, so participants came fully armed ... would take up their station on opposite sides of a valley. Volunteers known as kiTARA (plural iTARA) would then shuttle back and forth bearing the proposals submitted in accordance with the advice of MWENYEs, who would have made the first overture of all by means of such messengers bearing cockerels. A MWENYE would for preference join the injured party so as to increase the chances of achieving reconciliation by calming its anger. Once this mechanism had produced agreement over compensation the parties were free to disperse, foregathering later at the homesteads of the one to which payment was due. There at a formal feast of forgiveness the compensation, or at least an instalment, would be handed over. Debating this pre-European method of arbitration in 1938, the Ngindoland Council agreed that "Prominent men come forward, namely the neighbours ... these MWENYEs ("Mamwenye" in the Swahili record), namely the prominent men ("Wakubwa") of the country, come forth one from each settlement ("Mtaa"), and each with four or five men". Some would join one party of litigants, some the other, "but they stay far apart, not together". Negotiators, apparently

the MWENYEs themselves, approach the defendants who "produce one Gora of cloth, that is four Pandes (a 'small measure) of Malekani ('Merekani' cloth)". The plaintiffs then make their demand, a specimen of which, for deliberate homicide, might be fifteen GORAs of cloth plus two slaves plus a musket and powder. The account concludes with the plaintiffs' threat: "If they do not agree on these terms, we will fight." As for the offender, if unable to meet the liability, his fate was "to be sold to the Arabs. He disappears completely. He does not return". Feud (maLUNGA as opposed to bigger NGONDO, warfare, and NJALALE, raids or battues) appears to have been a furtive vendetta in which avenging relatives would approach the enemy homesteads singly by dark and despatch any kinsman of the killer as he sat by his fire ... even within his hut the chinks in the log-cabin (liPATIKA) then in vogue made it easy to insert a poisoned arrow. At this distance of time it is not possible to determine the exact nature of feud or the groups employing it. Whilst agreeing that there was "no organised inter-tribal warfare", the District Book states that "clan warfare took place, and prisoners were said to be retained in a state of benign slavery, though this was uncommon". Unless by this is meant large-scale feuds, the information would appear inaccurate. Individuals could however be kidnapped and held to ransom until such time as outstanding compensation or other debts were honoured.

Nowadays the extra-cameral procedure (i.e. outside the Government-recognized courts) is known as kiLONGELO KILO (discussion at night). As the name implies, the parties may meet at night//, but by no means always. KILO has the connotation of secrecy rather than darkness. The venue must be the hut of the plaintiff's senior kinsman,

to whom the offender's lineage-head or deputy goes to beg pardon. If a quorum of the plaintiff's kin can be convened there and then the matter may be settled summarily. Otherwise a second and pre-arranged visit will be made. Both procedure and attendance are informal. Seldom do more than a dozen people gather, seated under the hut-eaves. They sit together, though with any womenfolk somewhat apart. The latter may however enter the debate, which consists of an opening speech by the leader of the visiting delegation, explaining his business, followed by demands on the part of the home-group. The culprit or accused never shows his face at such a meeting. The popularity of ki-LONGELO derives from its leniency and from its appreciation of communal rather than individual responsibility. The Government-sponsored courts appear by contrast morally inhuman, socially unrealistic. It was on the grounds of their readiness to resort direct to Government litigation that more than anything else lowered the coastal Matumbi in the eyes of Ngindo evacuees under the Closer Settlement Scheme. KiLONGELO is and was an inter-lineage affair, hence tentative and exploratory. With disputes inside the lineage the position is quite otherwise. The lineage-head, especially if he feels sure of backing from his subordinates, may lay down a ruling which the contestants can disregard only if they emigrate. Probably the District Book confused this with kiLONGELO or the archaic system of adjustment when it referred to disputes "within the jurisdiction of the family ... (or) clan-head who convened assessors". As an individual wrong-doer, even a kinship outsider might in the past be forced to confess by means of stocks (KONGWA) or other intimidation; for instance his hair-clippings and nail-parings might be appropriated as a surety for his truthfulness (kuLAPA, to swear i.e. tantamount to an oath). Presumably such an offender could

count on no immediate support from his own kin.

It seems likely that in the old days kiLONGELO of this sort, backed by feud, furnished the primary avenue of settlement. Nowadays this sanction has been replaced by that of reference to the Government courts ... kiLONGELO alone has no means of enforcing a decision. Since the MWENYE until recently presided over these Government courts, he could have no place in kiLONGELO excepting in his private capacity. Incidentally, kiLONGELO may handle anything up to homicide, should there be reason for secrecy, or should the litigants wish to avoid paying official fees. As a rule, recourse to the Government courts comes as a last resort. Very few Government court actions are brought without the prior breakdown of kiLONGELO. Sometimes where an individual or group wants to administer a sharp warning a Government court verdict will first be obtained; whereupon, at a private session held afterwards, the inflated Government penalty will be toned down to the accepted extra-cameral level by the handing back of a proportion of the compensation awarded. Nowadays the interplay between official and unofficial has grown in complexity thanks to the demotion of Ngindoland since the second World War from de facto administrative 'District', with eleven subordinate 'Native Courts' and one of appeal, to 'Sultanate' with only one court. For a unit 100 miles square and ~~at least 20,000~~ about 30,000 strong this provision would obviously prove inadequate, even bearing in mind the astonishing docility of the Ngindo, were it not for the volume of legal business handled by the present non-judicial JUMBEs and deputies, some of them ex-court-holders (i.e. MWENYEs), who form a buffer between 'Government' and kiLONGELO proper. Both now and between the World Wars the Government courts have

plainly recognised the existence, and even the jurisdiction, of kiLONGELO ... "The court does not want to hear cases which you settled at home" (KIP 4/38). An indecisive inheritance case is even pushed out onto private settlement (MCH 11/44). Elsewhere some ambiguity arises, especially over divorce when adultery-suits are brought despite the prior granting of separation by kiLONGELO. "You have done wrong. You cannot give back your child's money (i.e. on divorce) any old where outside without appearing before a (Government) court" (AP 159/51). If not a vindication of the MWENYE concept, the extra-cameral system does reflect the agnatic units of which the MWENYEs may or may not have been the heads.

The non-functional 'clan' has been outlined. For its further attributes one must look at the component lineages, the salient features of which have also been demarcated. Besides spatial, or 'cellular', and genealogical consistency, the lineage has a recognised head. It spends and receives formally transferred wealth in concert. It accepts group responsibility in disputes. It incorporates specific ritual and taboos. It co-operates in all normal enterprises. Lineage-founder names are not however over-stable. They belong to male agnates, seldom more than two generations removed from existing senior members. Their use is a matter of focus. Ordinarily they fill the myopic vision of Ngindo kinship. But in a given context, the anterior lineage-founders whom they usurped are liable to come into view, not passing directly into oblivion. New lineages appear to arise out of a certain degree of distension in either time or space. If agnatic siblings migrate to points 50 miles apart their lineage will lose no time in splitting. If they stick together in a lineage founded by, say, a paternal great-grandfather,

one or other of them will develop an ascendant and his name will 'flourish', eclipsing those of past and present kinsmen. These are the main factors. To assist his name to flourish a man should have a commensurate personality, or at least an array of family dependants. He should have some quality or possession to tip a balance already weighted in his favour. I know of one lineage-founder, himself a nonentity and son of an immigrant, whose wife was not only an inhabitant of standing, but a virago. She kept open house on her own initiative whilst he took a back seat. She also bore him several sons. That meek husband's name now flourishes exceedingly.

In old genealogies one finds a distinct tendency on the part of first sons to follow their father's name. Whether this was so in their own lifetime is problematical, but it indicates their subordination to the lineage founder. Lineage names appear to be nick-names for the most part, and supplementary to the founder's official name. Before the present century, personal names were vernacular and highly variegated. But since the conversion of the tribe to Islam, Muslim names have made a clean sweep. It so happens that, to date, all lineage-founders belong to the pre-Islamic or transition era. So their names, though coupled with those bestowed by religion, remain distinctive. But henceforth it would seem that no alternative will offer for the dozen odd stock Islamic names. It will be interesting to see whether indigenous names will still be manufactured for lineage purposes. Confusion would result from a host of 'Tom, Dick, and Harry' lineages were they to be Islamicised. It is said that on the non-Ngindo coast, where the process has gone much further, Islamic names have actually come to refer to kinship groups, but the analogy may not be applicable to the Ngindo interior.

^/p. Only within the lineage does the indigenous authority operate on a systematic basis. Other situations involving inequality of status are standardised, ~~on a purely individual plane~~ but in a fragmentary way, such as in the fear of a man for his father-in-law or in his affection for his maternal uncle. Within the lineage, on the other hand, a whole set of kinsmen adhere to a mutual code which is given coherence by the fact of their common residence, and nowadays enforced by Ngindo-inspired, government-supported law. What sanction governed cases of intra-lineage conflict before the Europeans came I could not discover. People blandly insisted that no one would ever quarrel with an agnatic kinsman. Presumably, since feud was inoperative at that level, the final solution was ostracism. I have not heard that curses or ritual sanctions could be invoked.

n/p .....

Nowadays lineage solidarity rests on two propositions, namely that junior agnates should reside with senior ones, and that they should obey them. Corroboration is abundant. A judge scolds a truant paternal nephew. "From today you and all your younger brothers will follow his authority" (AP 1/51). Again, "It is not right for a man to leave his elder brother" (BAR 12/37). Another case is even more explicit. "The law and custom of our tribe is for a son to live with his father" (KIP 10/ 37), to which an ensuing case added the principle that, though an agnate might emigrate to "follow the country", he must not do so in order to transfer his loyalty to another person (KIP 24/37 The lineage-head is to be consulted in matrimonial matters. Thus, a divorce awarded to the wife of a junior brother was rescinded when the senior brother protested that he had been ignored. "This is not right without calling the senior brother" (AP 8/44). Plainly, he had exercised a veto. The dignity of a senior agnate demands that he be treated decorously. It is wrong "to insult one's senior

brother without cause" (BAR 20/36), or simply "one's father" (BAR 8/37). In the latter case the language of the son appeared amply justified, but he had to pay a 2/- fine none the less, as did the previous accused.

Cases like these show senior agnates to be in possession of definite executive functions at the lineage level. It is they who make the decisions. On the other hand they cannot act arbitrarily. The courts frequently plead for harmony between agnates. "It is not good to scorn your elder brother. Settle the matter in concert. This is the law" (AP 3/45). They caution overbearing seniors. Thus a man who had married out his paternal niece without the genitor's permission found the marriage annulled.# "It is absolutely wrong to marry out the complainant's daughter ... you are able to wield authority, but only by agreement between yourself and your younger brother" (AP 47/51). Though the senior agnate is in charge, his authority remains conditional. "You must live with your father ... you will discuss together each matter ... you are bound to consult your parent and paternal aunt. This has been the law of the Magingo-Mbonde since long ago" (AP 22/43). The inclusion of the aunt is interesting. I shall return to the point later in this section. Theoretically, the power of a senior agnate is unlimited. But it is felt that a junior would win his case if he complained of oppression, with witnesses to prove it. Conflicts between agnates are deplored. "Seeing that it is one family, for this reason the court is angry" (BAR 11/37). Here, the junior of the two litigants, who had been brawling at a beer-party, was fined 2/-. However, if the parties have fallen out seriously, each must get his due share. A man and his junior paternal uncle who quarrelled over bridewealth and

adultery payments were made to restore their respective contributions (AP 12/44).[x] Of course, formal litigation only touches the edge of relations between agnates, who scarcely ever go to the Government courts.

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x Footnote:

The man who had contracted the marriage ('husband') was found to have received contributions towards his wife's bridewealth from two kinsmen; first, from his senior-brother (not known whether full or classificatory), to the extent of Shs.19/50; and second, from his junior-paternal-uncle (not known whether direct or classificatory), to the extent of Shs.21/-.

The judgment, insisting that all claims outstanding between these two kinsmen be adjusted, ordered the husband's senior-brother to take responsibility for the combined bridewealth total of Shs.41/50 (apparently Shs.1/- out, owing to a mistake either in arithmetic or on the part of the scribe). The husband's senior-brother was to do this by handing over that amount in full to the husband's junior-paternal-uncle, who in his turn had to refund to the husband's senior-brother an old debt of Shs. 17/-, namely adultery-compensation incurred by the husband's junior-paternal-uncle's own son.

Such an allocation obviously fails to restore to each man the money he has actually paid; for the husband's senior-brother has been obliged to surrender Shs.22/- (assuming the figure of Shs.41/50 to be the one actually awarded) 'in return for' the lesser amount of Shs.17/- in respect of former adultery-compensation, which could be regarded as a separate debit item altogether. However, claims of this sort between kinsmen are so rare, and so deplorable in the eyes of the Ngindo, that the principle of 'satisfaction to each party' as opposed to strict equity, becomes even more important than usual. Therefore, the court award is more likely to reflect the mood and circumstances of the contestants than the exact requisite settlement of accounts between them. Thus, looking at the situation from the point of view of the husband's senior-brother, and overlooking the fact that the past adultery-compensation might constitute a present credit due to him, he is not seriously out of pocket; whereas the husband's junior-paternal-uncle, though he has lost financial control of the marriage, should be more than contented with his pound of flesh. In addition, laconic court-records may have omitted to mention other items or arguments which influenced the judgment.

The lineage-head is pivot of his lineage. Anyone approaching any of its members on a matter of note should do so through him. It is his duty to provide for his charges. This is not to say that he feeds and clothes them, though he would were a kinsman to be destitute. Rather he attends to formal payments, of which he holds the purse-strings. He is trustee, not hoarding the available money in his own hands, but disbursing it to meet lineage liabilities such as bridewealth. On occasion he gets into trouble for neglecting his responsibilities. A man found guilty of failing to obtain treatment for his son's ailing children was fined 4/-. "He made no attempt to divine for them, nor did he seek medicine on their behalf. He just sat" (MCH 5/45). The lineage-head handles disputes. Where the aggrieved party is of his agnatic or other satellite kin, arbitration proceedings will take place at his hut. Should it be necessary to plead elsewhere or, as the Ngindo say, "submit", on the score of offences committed by a kinsman, either the lineage-head or his representative will appear. It is also he who for preference will conduct offerings to the spirits, a duty which persists when others have fallen away. A senile elder of my acquaintance still sacrifices, but he is past diplomacy. Indeed it was his sons who, entirely on their own initiative, procured the comfortable widow who is now his wife. Regarding land, if a newcomer were polite enough to ask permission to settle he might approach the nearest lineage head or the one principally associated with the proposed living site. Disputes, sacrifices, and land are discussed

in detail elsewhere.

Qualifications for the position of lineage-head are primarily generation, secondarily sibling, seniority. No son will succeed whilst an eligible uncle is on the spot ... in my hearing two highly competent mature men whose aged father was lineage-head, remarked of a hanger-on paternal uncle: "He is just waiting to inherit us, that's all". There is no formality of installation, nor can a lineage-head be identified by his garb, mien, home, possessions, or by any other external mark except the behaviour of others towards him. The father-son, senior-junior brother, and brother-sister relationships follow the same general pattern. Mostly a son defers to his own father; whence to the lineage-head. Even a paternal aunt may wield authority, especially if she be the sole surviving senior agnate. Paternal cousins behave in the same way as direct siblings, depending on their residential proximity.

The paternal aunt, known as aMATI as well as aniHENGA, should she be the father's own sister, must be greeted politely and maintains a certain reserve. For instance she would not shake hands with the nephew; but the two do not hesitate to touch each other or converse in the ordinary way. When visiting, the degree of cordiality between them compares with that shown by a maternal uncle. Should the nephew stay any length of time at his aunt's he would definitely be expected to work for her, whereas she would be under no obligation to do so if she were the guest. About carrying a load opinion is divided. Informants feel however that, as a woman, the aunt would insist on carrying it herself. The rôles would never be sub-

stantially modified, even if the aunt were comparatively young. A dissatisfied aunt would complain to the nephew's father or other senior male agnate. If a good deal older than the nephew she may scold him, but not box his ears. Her contributions to debates over marriage-parleys and the like carry weight. She may even conduct lineage affairs in the absence of males. For nephew and aunt to copulate is highly incestuous, though not so much so as parents and offspring. The aunt's husband warrants the designation aWAWA (father) and should be treated as such. No levity is permissible between nephew and aunt. Gifts pass between the two, though the aunt will favour her own children more. If living more than a day's march apart they will visit one another perhaps once a season. The nephew will be made welcome, though tension may arise with the aunt's husband should he be too much in evidence. Obituary information and notice of ritual events will be passed as a rule, though attendance would not be obligatory. A nephew could expect little material assistance from his aunt, if short of bridewealth or other funds; for "she looks her own way". On the other hand she would be unlikely to bewitch him. As for her offspring, they get n/p treated as brothers or sisters, in accordance with their real or putative sibling seniority. It is thought that a junior paternal cousin would run errands and render other services, though not to the extent that a suitor in marriage would. The junior cousin may not be struck by the senior unless still a small boy ... note that no suitor young or old could with impunity be struck by his prospective in-laws. A joking-relationship may link paternal cross-cousins of the same sex, but not the remaining categories unless very distantly related. Where a sharp line separates them is in the attitude towards spouses ... the senior should never associate with the spouse of the junior. The intensity of contact between cousins would normally be less than

that between an elderly maternal uncle and his nephew. Attendance at ritual occasions involving either cousin would be optional. Where they live within reach, either one would be bound to appear at the marriage-parley of the other. Neither would conceivably work sorcery or bring court charges without extreme provocation.

Lineage or lineage-cell solidarity rests on the foundation of kinship attitudes such as these. Even the paternal aunt whose cell affinities, though she be a lineage member, will as a rule lie elsewhere, serves to reinforce the home cell; for the reason that, as 'female father', she ~~forms an extension of~~ is identified with the home lineage-cell's top stratum. Were she to be neglected the home cell would thereby be undermined. The lineage-cell is the co-operative unit. This has been seen of beekeeping (see Chapter II, Forest), and applies equally to other activities. The lineage sees to its own internal affairs, even in governmental matters. If porters are wanted to carry ivory or tax, the headman, who has a rough roster of lineage-cells, merely sends word along to each that so many representatives are required, the choice of whom rests with the lineage and would not be questioned unless a man protested that he was being victimised. Again, the lineage (virtually whenever I use the word it can be taken to mean 'cell'. The abstract 'lineage ', stripped of its attendant spouses and hangers-on, bereft of its geographical consistency, has next to no relevance to Ngindoland) has identity of interest in managing the property of its members, including their rights over their wives. Should a man's wife be found in adultery, he cannot overlook the affair, even if personally disposed to do so. If he tries, his kinsmen may prosecute the seducer on their own account, dismissing the husband as a fool. The same would happen in any other

case of gross mismanagement.

Externally, as well as by the indices already enumerated, one lineage may be identified in relation to others by reciprocal joking-relationships. The lineages in question must be somewhat distant, for the relationship automatically ceases once a marriage unites them. Regular joking-relationships do not concern any wider groupings than this. Those allegedly linking broad tribal entities such as 'Ngindo' and 'Ngoni' do not appear to me to be satisfactorily verified. The most that can be said is that a certain proportion of informants postulate them. I have no evidence on their occurrence at burials or marriages as suggested by Moreau (Ref. 49a). Otherwise the persons poking fun at one another (waBIRU) are individuals ... fellow initiates, members of alternate generations, or simply friends. Charged with being abusive a man admits: "Nor was he a friend of mine" (BAR 10/37). Another facet of the lineage is its taboos. A certain lineage when performing the ablution rite during the initiation ceremonies keeps away from the pool or water-hole, washing the children from vessels instead. This is because an initiate of that lineage fell into the water some years ago and was drowned. Another lineage refuses to allow its initiates to be tapped on the head with a millet-stalk, as is done during another ritual episode, because one of its members developed a sore on his head from which he ultimately died.

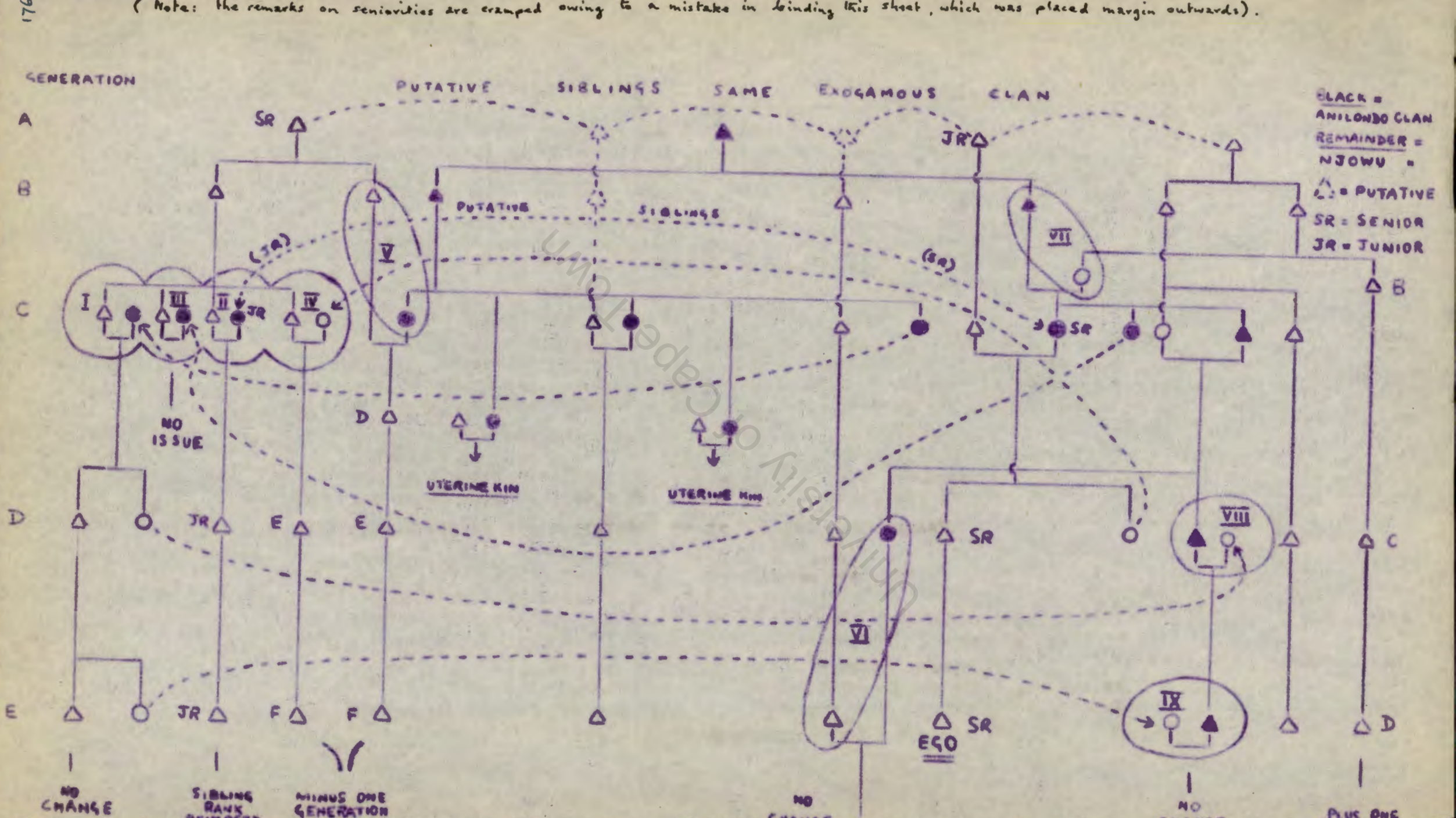
Uterine Kinship.

Ostensibly the Ngindo follow the agnatic line of descent. A man gets his lineage and clan names, including totem, from his father, the bulk of whose property he can expect to inherit via paternal uncles. Almost invariably

he assumes a paternal personal name as complement to his own, especially now that stock Muslim names for males are the rule. I say 'almost' because I did discover half a dozen odd cases of men adopting names of uterine origin besides the regular agnatic ones. But, although the stronger of the two, these were more in the nature of nicknames, and a very small minority at that; certainly less than 1%. Women used to be called simply by their clan names, unless they developed some idiosyncrasy giving rise to a personal name. Nowadays their frequently bizarre names have been steam-rollered by insipid "daughter of (Male) so-and-so" (Ngindo:aBINTI TENABA), an instance of Islamic conventions giving a slight edge to patriliny. Not that the latter, either conceptually or in practice, receives a serious boost from Islam which, whenever it conflicts with pagan custom, comes off second best. At one stage of the investigation it appeared that anterior matriliny ... Ngindo have numerous matrilineal neighbours, all of them apparently in transition, and one wholly orientated, towards patriliny ... might account for the features not ordinarily associated with agnatic societies, presence of ~~matrilineal leanings~~ such as marriage-by-service. This is why I accord the question such emphasis. But no evidence of a switch-over from one to the other was to be had. On the contrary, it transpired that all Ngindo groups, including those outliers who have aped their present matrilineal hosts (see Chapter X, Neo-Hamba, etc.,) had a fairly pronounced agnatic slant even before that other agnatic irruption, the Ngoni, reached southern Tanganyika a century ago.

In case the surmise of matriliny should be considered unwarranted evolutionary thinking, it should be stated here that certain features of the southerly Ndonde outlier groups to be discussed later seem more readily explicable

(Note: the remarks on seniorities are cramped owing to a mistake in binding this sheet, which was placed margin outwards).



Uterine Kinship : (above)beekeeper,with bow,and mother's brother leading with honey-combs,make up harvesting team: (below)mother's brother, in foreground puffing at tobacco, sponsors his nephew initiate, watching the 'childbirth' charade before circumcision.

as survivals of original patriliny than as functional responses to present needs. In the same way a bump on a man's head might be explained as a protective pad for the damaged tissues. But it would be more cogent to postulate a blow from a blunt object and to ascertain the circumstances of its infliction.

Amongst the home-Ngindo, patriliny is, and has long been, in the saddle. They show such signs of strong agnation as the granting of paternity to the pater of a child conceived in adultery. On the other hand, to take an instance already quoted, the fact that a man's paternal great-grandmother's people, belonging to a different clan, can get terminological priority over agnates shows uterine kin to be by no means neglected. Indeed, where residence allows, the latter achieve parity in the classificatory system. This emerges clearly from a quantitative analysis of cases where the two lines come into conflict. Thanks to inter-marriage of persons connected with Ego, these are numerous, amounting to one sixth of all marriages in a broad homogeneous sample. Actually, the ratio of such marriages is still higher, for I extracted only such cases as embodied a clash of terms. For example, if two of Ego's classificatory grand-children got married, neither could influence the label of the other in relation to him, since a grandchild 's spouse automatically becomes 'grand-child' too. Therefore I would discard cases like this. The results of the analysis were as follows.

<u>Priorities for multiple classificatory kinship terms.</u>

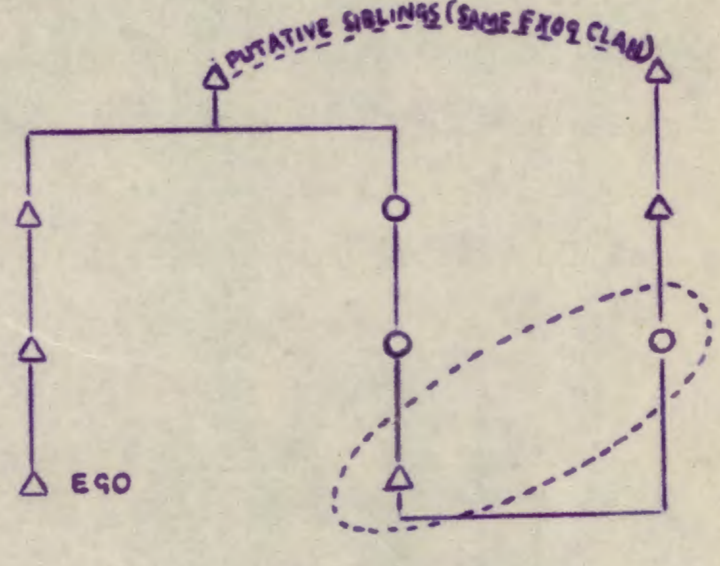
(belonging to competing spouses i.e. both related to Ego)

(a) Uterine versus agnatic, the former eclipsing the latter's label. 2%

(b)	Uterine versus agnatic, both labels remaining intact, but children following the former	4%
(c)	Uterine versus agnatic, the former strong but with an irregular competing line (servile, etc)	6%
(d)	Irrelevant priorities, i.e. not statistically significant.	76%
(e)	Converse to (c).	4%
(f)	" " (b).	4%
(g)	" " (a).	4%
	(50 cases occurring in approximately 300 unions in a continuous genealogy).	100%

It will be seen that cases in support of each line of descent amount to 12%. Therefore the balance between the two may be taken to be roughly equal. The fact that fewer of the cases in favour of the uterine line of descent are clear-cut than those in favour of the agnatic, i.e. (c) is bigger than (e), is offset by a subtantial proportion of persistent uterine labels in (d); that is to say, labels which in an agnatic society might be expected to yield to those of agnatic spouses. Since uterine kinship is the present topic, its effective examples of priority will best serve to illustrate the nature of the categories listed.

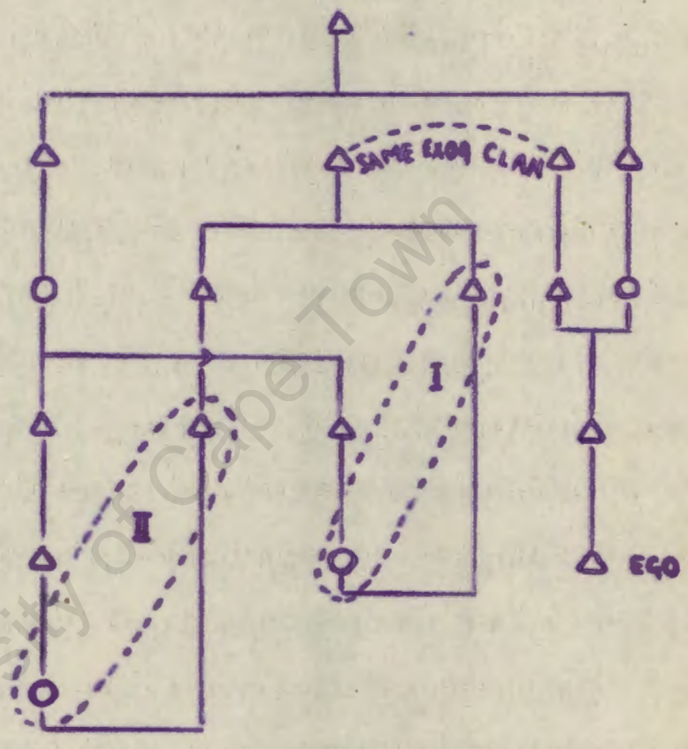
(a) One case.



	Paternal.	Maternal.	Affinal.	Priority.
Husband	-	aKUBANGU (sr.broth)	aWAWA (fath)	aKUBANGU
Wife	aniHENGA (pat.aunt)	-	aLAMU (sibling-in-law)	aLAMU
Child	...	Nil	...	

Note: I was unable to discover whether, in such marriages as these, the spouses recognised each other as kinsfolk.

(b) Two cases.

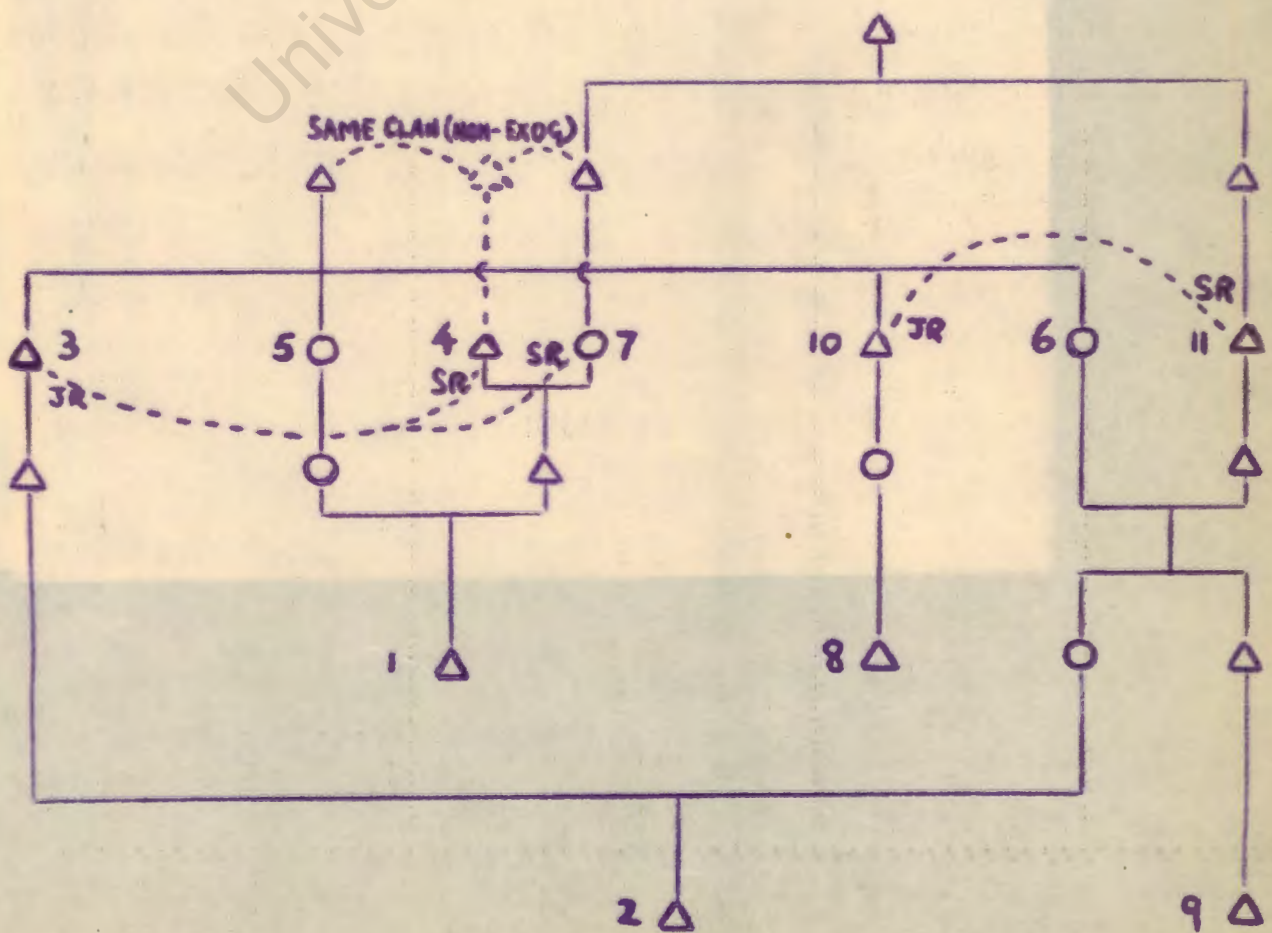


I.				
Husband	aUKURU (gfath)	-	aLAMU (sibling-in-law)	aUKURU
Wife	aLUMBWANGU (sist)	-	aMBUJA (gmoth)	aLUMBWANGU
Child	aWAWA (fath)	mwIPWANGU (mat.neph)	-	mwIPWANGU
II.				
Husband	aWAWA (fath	-	aKIBANGU (dtr's sp)	aWAWA
Wife	mwANANGU (dtr)	-	aMAMA (moth)	mwANANGU
Child	MANITU (jr. broth)	nchUKURU (gson)	-	nchUKURU

Note: In each of these two matches, it is the wife who is the 'uterine' spouse, and in each case she is two generations junior to her husband vis à vis Ego.

Another instance of the importance of uterine kin, as reflected in the sequel to asymmetrical marriages, appears overleaf ... Here, the aniLONDO clan, thanks to a spate of daughters, is key to the reckoning of both generation and sibling seniority in NJOWU clan wherever the two impinge. The repercussions of these aniLONDO matches are even more extensive than the extract shows. As for the one case (VI) where inter-generation marriage fails to distort agnatic sequence, physical separation seems to be to blame. The NJOWU branch in question emigrated long ago. Its members are now scattered and none of them lives within 100 miles of Ngindoland. Had they remained in touch with their home fellow-clansfolk and aniLONDO in laws, there is no doubt that the position would have been otherwise. Another of the four asymmetrical marriages unites two NJOWU partners, technically an infringement of exogamy (IV).

Elsewhere in this same clan (NJOWU), the same thing happens twice over, the one match nullifying the effect of the other ...



Note. See commentary on page 177, para i.

Detailed Commentary.

I. The NJOWU husband and aniLONDO wife have the same generation-seniority, and both their branches are senior in sibling-rank to Ego's branch; so there is no resultant irregularity in the kinship terminology.

II. The NJOWU husband, who belongs to a senior branch of NJOWU by relation to Ego, marries an aniLONDO woman who is reckoned to be junior in sibling-rank to Ego's aniLONDO grandmother. Therefore Ego, adopting the aniLONDO seniority, becomes senior to those agnatic classificatory siblings issuing from this marriage.

III. This marriage was childless, so it remains indecisive.

IV. The NJOWU husband (Ego's classificatory grandfather) irregularly marries an NJOWU woman (Ego's father's sister) who is a generation junior to him. Therefore the issue of this marriage, following the woman's seniority, lose their rightful one-generation seniority over Ego.

V. The NJOWU husband marries an aniLONDO woman who, when viewed in the context of Ego's NJOWU and aniLONDO ancestors, is a generation junior to himself. However, it is the woman's seniority that prevails, i.e. this husband's descendants lose their agnatic one-generation seniority over Ego.

VI. This case has already been discussed in the text.

VII. Ego's father's aniLONDO mother had an NJOWU mother in generation 'C'; but since this NJOWU mother married an aniLONDO man belonging to generation 'B', her brother and his issue thereby gain a generation's seniority in relation to their agnatic kinsman, Ego.

VIII. & IX. In neither of these marriages is there a change of generation-seniority, but both of the NJOWU wives come from a branch which is senior to Ego's branch. Yet, in obedience to the aniLONDO reckoning, the aniLONDO husbands remain junior to Ego in sibling-rank.

The point to note is this. I (one) holds superior sibling rank to 2, agnatically speaking. But informants attribute this not to their paternal grandfathers, 3 and 4, (and 7, who is also senior), but to their respective maternal grandmothers, 5 and 6, who seemingly carry more weight than their spouses. It has been pointed out to me that the inversion may have been due to the desire to escape the commitment of exogamy. I do not consider this to be so. For one thing, fellow clansfolk do not regard themselves as necessarily exogamous. For another, violations of exogamy are leniently judged.

Again, one finds a distant uterine link restoring contact between fellow-agnates who had lost touch. Thus, Ego and X belong to NJOWU clan and live not far apart; but without exogamy, classificatory labels, or known kinship. Ego's father's mother, belonging to aniLONDO clan, had a female classificatory sibling, Y, belonging to a third clan called aniLUMBA. X and Y get married, with the result that kinship between Ego and X's off-spring is resuscitated.

n/p .....

Without corresponding material from a typical agnatic society with which to make a comparison, one cannot gauge the true significance of the Ngindo terminological balance, which, on the face of it, seems to belie professions of wholly agnatic descent. Remember that the degree of intermarriage recorded here refers to the nuclear Ngindo of Barikiwa, the so-called Chobo. Nowhere else in the land does kinship attain such development, nor do the ordinary heterogeneous Ngindo subscribe to inter-marriage of this sort. They are aware that the practice of it is one of the distinguishing Chobo features. As for the Chobo, they prefer marriage within the group. ~~whereas these last verge on endogamy in their outlook.~~ One of them described those branches of his clan whose founders had married immigrant women as 'half-castes'.

Uterine kin get a large measure of recognition in terminology. How do they fare in actual behaviour ? The answer is, not a great deal less favourably. The mother-child relationship (admittedly a bilateral one since it sets agnation in motion as well. I treat it here because of its immediate nexus with uterine kin), having little of the irksome discipline associated with the father, is very close. Women, knowing how indispensable they will be to them in their old age, desire children intensely. A wife who failed to bear off-spring threatened suicide (BAR 4/35). A woman told me, "Step children are different. They will never stint themselves to provide snuff in the way that one's own child will". Lepers gravitate back towards their agnatic kin, but more especially to the mother; likewise a decrepit mother to her son. Men in distress cry "Mother, mother!". Even though, on divorce, mother and children must part company, they keep in close touch; whereas she and the ex-husband seldom remain on speaking terms. I have noticed that children born of the same mother but different fathers have a very strong bond. A litigant of this category got custody of classificatory children in preference to their deceased father's ~~physical~~ full-brother, who had neither grown up with them nor put in a prompt claim (AP 7/34). Mothers and lovers, these are the two real generators of passion among the Ngindo. Ill-treatment of a mother leads to bitter hatred. A certain widow became the ~~polygynous~~ co-wife of her deceased husband's junior paternal parallel-cousin. At that time her son, being adolescent, remained in the care of this uncle. A crisis soon flared up between the two when the latter, in a drunken rage of jealousy, set to beating his new wife. The son came to the rescue and dislodged several of his uncle's teeth, whence his nickname "Sawgums". No action was taken, and the two now live amicably together.

n/p .....

A mother's brothers and sisters, and other kin, share her indulgence and privileges. Theoretically they exercise no control over uterine kin, but it is surprising how many cases show the contrary. Quite frequently a maternal uncle will act as negotiator of his nephew's marriage. (BAR 16/35, 17/38, AP II/37, NJ 2/44). One woman complained about her maternal uncle's acquisitiveness. "He comes continually to take bridewealth. My father I never see ... he (the uncle) makes a slave of me on the score of my mother being his own sister, whose bridewealth he holds ... then he eats up my bridewealth as well" (ev.LIW 10/44). In another case a man gave his maternal nephew Shs. 85/- to marry a second wife (AP 9/35), and there are other such cases on record (AP 1/38, 7/43, MCH 63/44). Occasionall the uncle may be on the receiving end (AP 18/42). One maternal nephew was entrusted with the task of making overtures for marriage on behalf of his uncle, and promptly married the girl himself. He was later forced to leave her and pay adultery compensation as well! (MCH 16/43). Another took care of his emigrant uncle's family, and then got into trouble for marrying them all out behind his back (NJ 25/44). Maternal uncle and nephew have a tolerant interest in each others' spouses. The former finds the latter in adultery with his own wife, and takes him to court; but lets him off finally (BAR 8/35). He faces a charge of blackmailing a man he caught with his nephew's wife, but pleads that he merely winked an eye (AP 6/33). Conversely, a nephew may stand watchdog over his maternal uncle's wife. "I caught you with my maternal uncle's wife", states one witness (ev.AP 29/32). Another reports to the relevant kinsmen a similar act of infidelity (AP 1/34). A maternal nephew may defend his uncle's person. Accused of assault, he explains that his uncle was being insulted. "He is my maternal uncle. So I felt compassion for him,

and came to blows" (BAR 15/39). Inheritance by a nephew of his maternal uncle's widow is not uncommon (LIW 27/43, 2/44, NJ 24/43, MCH 65/43, AP 191/51).

The behaviour pattern between maternal uncle and nephew cannot easily be distinguished from that between any other senior and junior kinsmen, or even plain youngsters and elders, such is the force of etiquette and lack of overt expression among the Ngindo. Its salient features are, however, consistent respect, with some familiarity; moderate optional interchange of gifts and services, the latter mainly from the nephew, the former from the uncle; little direct authority or regular commitments. Should the uncle be younger than the nephew, the pattern will be modified, but not reversed; ~~and~~ the change will always be on the initiative of the younger man. The term aNJOMBA (maternal uncle) can be used reciprocally.

Here is an outline of the maternal uncle-nephew relationship. The nephew gives the respectful greeting SHIKAMO! (actually Swahili, but used in the vernacular), and steps aside for his uncle to pass. He will also give up a stool or bed if the uncle chances along or comes to stay, and entertain him to food at any time, especially if he has travelled some distance. The two shake hands, eat from the same platter, and exchange jokes, but not of the obscene kind; nor would they strip naked in front of each other ~~xxxxx~~ if they could help it. If the nephew brews beer, he puts some aside specially for his uncle, who would probably reciprocate. ~~; and probably vice versa.~~ The uncle is generally in a position to give bigger gifts. If he is generous he will give cloth; or at least slaughter a fowl. If within a couple of days' march of each other, the two should meet every few months or,

failing that, send a letter; preferably with a junior kinsman, who might stay over a while. For instance, the nephew might say to his child, "Go and see your 'grandfather'"(i.e. his father's maternal uncle). In principle the nephew would bestir himself more frequently than the uncle. The latter would never strike him, unless he were still a tiny tot, nor would he order him about. Only, the nephew would feel bound to offer to carry a load if on a journey, or to help with cultivation if staying as a guest for any length of time. If the uncle particularly wanted something done, he might ask the nephew to lend a hand; but he would not mind if the latter declined. He would only get offended if this happened continually. When visiting, neither is under the necessity of bringing gifts. To come empty-handed would be reprehensible only in time of famine. Neither of them has any positive hold on the other, and the most that could be done in the case of rudeness would be to censure the offender to his face or report him to his senior agnates. Accusations of sorcery between them are rare, and likely to arise only when an uncle has been given ground for dissatisfaction. There is nothing very shocking in copulating with the uncle's wife, though the converse would be more serious. Marriage between maternal uncle and niece is not permissible. The uncle's widow often goes to the nephew; and sometimes the nephew's to the uncle, though this is irregular. An uncle would be lenient in the event of discovering his nephew in adultery. In disputes and marital affairs the two do not necessarily consult one another, excepting where the uncle happens to be the nephew's guardian. If the nephew were hard up for bridewealth he would not normally approach his uncle in the matter, but get help from his mother; which would amount to the same thing. For she would probably request a portion of her own bridewealth

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x NOTE: Nos.182,183 in the series are missing (i.e. Page 184 should have been 182).

held by the uncle. He might be expected to meet a third of the total bridewealth, not more. Each would certainly visit the other in the event of sickness in either home, but not for everyday functions; they would do so only for big events like the initiations. They would however normally let each other know in advance about any noteworthy matter. If living in different settlements, neither would go to the other's work-party. If one of them were a headman or Muslim preacher, this would not affect their relationship. As for the uncle's children, the nephew will treat them much as he does his own paternal cousins; though somewhat more distantly, since their meetings will normally be infrequent. Though not so intimate, he will treat his mother's sister as a mother.

Though cases of control by, and cohesion between, uterine kin amount to something appreciable, they are none the less exceptions. As like as not, in most of the court extracts adduced, no agnatic competitors were forth-coming. Yet, even in abortive suits brought by uterine kin (BAR 18/36, 10/38, 16/39, AP 15/41), it is significant that they should have been brought at all. Listen to this explicit statement of the uterine viewpoint, made in evidence before a court. "The deceased is classificatory father on my mother's side, not on my father's. His child belongs to me" (ev. MCH 63/44). Sometimes a maternal uncle rears a family, only to lose it to agnatic claimants; but his bridewealth contributions made to such dependants must be made good to him (AP 1/38, 7/43). In one case the uterine party gets custody of disputed children; but largely because his agnatic rival had neglected overlong to bring a suit (AP 7/34). Here, the plaintiff put the question flatly, the defendant being maternal uncle to his deceased father. "I ask you, is it right that he should

be heir ?". The court agreed that it was not. Agnatic and uterine confront each other directly in this next case. The female ringleader of several youngsters whose place of residence was the issue for hearing, vehemently refused to be matrilocal; i.e. with her mother's own kin or the step-relatives on her mother's remarriage: "I do not want to live at my brother-in-law's. I do not even want my junior siblings to live at his place. He is only a suitor!". To which the uterine representative retorts, "What! Has matrilineal kinship (in kiSwahili "uJamaa wa kiMama") died now ?". Awarding custody to the uterine party ~~latter~~, the court gave no reason for so doing. Instead it side-stepped the problem by declaring the recalcitrant woman "a mere child" (AP 12/45).

In principle, the courts repudiate attempts to set up uxorilocal marriage ~~conditions~~. One case of this type related to a man from Masasi District, home of the matrilineal Yao and Makua, who contracted a marriage in Ngindoland on matrilineal terms. In evidence he described how the father-in-law stipulated "You have no permission to pay bridewealth, but we will follow the Yao custom of living with one's wife". The sequel was that the bride herself got tired of the responsibility. "Hoe, axe, bill-hook, clothing, and food up to me; and considering the fact that I am a woman! So I saw it was better that we should part". Her father stated his motive to be fear of losing her, to which the court came back. "Do not do this again by trying to cheat a man and put him inside (prison i.e. compel him to be uxorilocal). Today is the end of it. I am letting you off very lightly" (NJ 7/47). The marriage was to be set aside, debts paid up, and the crops to be shared out equally between the spouses. Similarly, wives seeking to remain home-bound get severely

censured. One wife, who declared herself positively unable to go 100 miles to settle with her husband, received the following lecture. "By the law of Ngindoland and other places, if a woman gets married, she must follow her husband" (MCH 46/43). Or again, "Wherever your husband wants to live, you must follow him" (AP 17/43). In this case the wife finally got her divorce, not because grounds were adequate, but because the court capitulated. In another case, however, it refused to yield ground (AP 21/43). Only occasionally ~~does the matrilineal type~~ is uxorilocal marriage ~~get off unscathed~~ tolerated. One son-in-law is poverty-stricken and offers to be uxorilocal in order to escape paying bridewealth, the court making no adverse comment (AP 1/43). Another, whose wife sought to divorce him without avail, was warned that he would have to go and live with his in-laws in the event of further misconduct (KIP 28/37). Conversely, a wife is on record as protesting that her husband never took her away from her own kin! (KIP 11/35).

In every sphere ~~I kept noticing touches~~ there is evidence of of uterine solidarity. Children would be sent to play or recuperate at a maternal grandfather's for days or weeks. A woman, going 20 miles to attend the initiation of a maternal niece, thereby misses that of her step-son at the virilocal home. A maternal nephew stands to take over an important forest sacrifice, though the holder has competent sons of his own. A husband moves out of his own hut to make room for his wife's aunt on a visit to see her niece's children. But these touches do not invalidate the overall priority of agnates. Ngindo make the stock witticisms at the expense of the husband in a matrilineal society. "He is just a cockerel lent out for stud purposes". Despite their own allocation of enhanced cash equivalents for female as opposed

to male children, Ngindo say "We prefer sons. Only the Mwera and Yao prefer daughters". It has been shown how high the feeling over uxorilocal marriage may run. Angered at a woman's insistence on staying with her maternal uncles, despite a court order that she should quit them, a man used bad language and was arraigned for calling her a slave (AP 6/35). The association of slavery and matrilocal residence is significant. In the old days there was a bias in favour of servile suitors. A slave, it was argued, would be more reliable than an outsider whose loyalties, should he become uxorilocal, remained outside. Similarly an heir by a slave wife was more to be trusted than a freeborn one, always prone to uterine intrigue. More, a person with roots elsewhere would not have the same reverence for home taboos, hence bring misfortunes.

In balance, though agnatic descent binds and reinforces the loose fabric of Ngindo society, there are inumerable uterine threads in the weave.

Affinal Kinship.

A man's in-laws can be described as incipient uterine kin. The fact that the same person can be viewed so differently by father and son, the one calling him distant, potentially hostile 'brother-in-law', the other, respected but indulgent 'mother's brother', brings into relief the antithesis between adjacent generations.

The relationship between in-laws is a mixture of mutual antagonism and deferential accord, with antagonism uppermost. A wife's kin are constantly intriguing, suspected of intriguing, or inhibited by such suspicion. Cases brought by a husband against in-laws engineering

the rupture of his marriage or leviritical inheritance are very frequent// (examples NJ 1/46, BAR 11/36, 12/39, 2/45, MCH 43/42, AP 37/43, 6/46). Generally the court makes some disparaging comment. "You have no right to hinder your daughter seeing that you have given her to a man and received bridewealth" (NJ 8/47). "Do not get used to keeping your daughter for long periods and leaving her husband all by himself. This is not fair at all" (AP 2/40). "You have no right to lend an ear to your daughter's complaints ... if she and her husband have a quarrel, do not enter it" (AP 5/38). One father-in-law was found to have given his ~~dauther 2/-~~ daughter Shs. 2/- expressly to provoke a divorce. He was fined 6/- Shs. (MCH 58/44). Another admitted to holding his daughter's child as a hostage for payment of bridewealth. He was merely ordered to surrender the child, whilst the husband's kin had to pay up (LIW 18/45). A wife who kept playing truant with her own kin, though she got her divorce, received the peculiarly Ngindo sentence of banishment (MCH 59/42). Elsewhere the court appears to take a more lenient view. Granting a divorce, the court merely stipulated that bridewealth should be refunded in full to the husband, which is the normal procedure. "Let him have his due, since he and his wife never quarrelled, excepting that you (the brother-in-law) simply do not like your sister's husband" (AP 9/45). In a solitary case the dissentient in-law seems to have the support of the court. "The genitor of the wife no longer wants to have his dau~~//~~ght her married out" (AP 7/36). But the match does not seem to have got beyond the betrothal stage, nor are the suitor's shortcomings specified. The Ngindo can scarcely conceive divorce without some clandestine party in the background, either lover or in-law,

Conversely, the husband runs the gauntlet of criticism by his in-laws, who often take him to task for

neglect of his duties. Usually the disgruntled in-laws are angling for divorce. The commonest ground given is obstruction by the husband, who should allow his wife regular visits to her own people (KIP 37/37, BAR 5/37, NJ 14/44). Refusal on his part to give his wife leave of absence is particularly reprehensible when some crisis has struck the in-laws. One successful divorce suit was brought because the husband failed to escort his wife to her mother's funeral or contribute money on that occasion (MCH 49/42). It is also regarded as improper to leave one's wife with her own kin overlong or without explanation (BAR 3/42). This is an offence even when the wife has been in the wrong (BAR 4/35). On the other hand a husband should not pester his in-laws with domestic matters. "If you quarrel with your wife, settle it between yourselves. Do not go and worry your in-laws" (AP 3/48).

The relationship between husband and wife's guardian, usually her father, paternal uncle or cousin, or brother, gets off to a chilly start. This is because, on a girl's first marriage, the ~~former~~ husband serves them in the capacity of suitor. The same applies even to an established or would-be polygynist. And the relationship remains asymmetrical after the girl, on reaching puberty and initiation, has become virilocal and the suitor-contract ends. The reciprocal classificatory kinship term aKIBANGU appears to ignore this inequality. I shall discuss the whole question of suitors later on (see Chapter V, Marriage Procedure). Suffice it that most suitors appear extremely ill at ease when working for their prospective in-laws. This tension is always liable to flare up later when the husband or his kinsmen feel themselves on surer ground. Take an example. An elder gets drunk at a beer-

Agnatic and Affinal Kinship: (above) boy watches paternal grandfather beating barkcloth at my camp; the two live together and are inseparable ; (below) initiate shouldered by sponsor, who is classificatory brother-in-law, during circumcision dances.

party. On the way home he calls on his son's father-in-law, who is at the time looking after his married daughter's ailing children and with whom the caller seems on the best of terms. The two groups live only five miles apart. But now the reveller grows bellicose, demanding how his grandchildren came to be there. The sequel is a formal demand for payment of the sum of 60/-, being bridewealth outstanding which had lain dormant for years. By extension, disciplinary action may be taken by agnates to forestall friction with in-laws. A youth, having decided to go off and do migrant-labour, sets out with his young wife. But the news comes to the ears of his father, whom he should have consulted beforehand, and who now hastens to overtake him. After a violent scene the wife is ordered back, the husband going on alone. The father gives as his reason for so doing that the girl's kin would have raised a monumental fuss had their daughter been corrupted or exposed to corruption at the labour-centre.

A girl's guardian
~~An in-law~~ expects to be treated with deference by his ward's ~~his~~ suitor. Otherwise he will seek to break the marriage (BAR 1/37, AP 9/42). Even the suitor's affianced can demand such consideration, giving as grounds for divorce her future husband's lack of esteem for her. (MCH 59/44). In the old days, senior in-laws had a special honorific title, BOMBE. I heard a man put it this way. "Your father-in-law is your master, or your 'European'. Were it not for him, you would not have been able to build up a family". A husband is bound to help his in-laws when in trouble or sickness (MCH 57/44), And vice versa, more especially when it is the daughter who is ill. "You have thrown aside your daughter like a dog's carcass" (NJ 19/44). Of course the ex-suitor should do the lion's share. A man holds a work-party, but his beer turns out sour. So

everyone goes off to work for a neighbour whose beer is sweet ... excepting the man's son-in-law who dutifully attends. Another in-law attracts people from a mile or so around to his work-party. The remainder just come to drink ... excepting his son-in-law, living five miles downstream, who comes punctually, bill-hook in hand. Certain obligations seem to be accepted by in-laws. For instance, the father-in-law should buy a shroud for his daughter's deceased husband (NJ 1/46).

Genuine give-and-take sometimes characterises the in-law relationship. A youth who has no guardian available may get his in-laws to negotiate his marriage for him. Instead of placing obstacles in his way, some in-laws accompany their ward's suitor to the labour-centre. A man leaving on a journey may put his brother-in-law in charge of his family (ev. MCH 60/44). But co-operation is seldom altruistic. A woman whose brother's wife had died had to be escorted 20 miles to attend the funeral and made an ostentatious show of grief. When I expressed surprise that she should be so moved, I was told "She is in reality sorry for her brother who no longer has anyone to look after him". The prevailing animosity between in-laws projects itself onto the relationship between the spouses, which is decidedly cool. Even taking into account Ngindo inscrutability, one marvels at the lack of any overt sign of affection between man and wife. On the contrary, friction often comes to the surface. The husband tends to treat his wife peremptorily. He scarcely ever trusts her fidelity. Most husbands frankly stalk their wives as a deterrent to lovers. Those who do not are merely cynics who overlook irregularities for the sake of peace. Time and time again Ngindo say "If you want your wife to be

content, give her some freedom". They also say that if a woman alienates the affections of another's husband, she will come to no harm. But if she steals her lover, then they will fight when they meet at the water-hole. Some wives, on the understanding of like tolerance, even connive at their husbands' amours and keep a lookout lest they be caught. I shall return to the question of marital fidelity when speaking of adultery (see end of Chapter V).

Sometimes it is the wife's kin who precipitate a quarrel. For instance, her brother accuses the husband of giving her poison (MCH 23/44). But more often it is the couple who themselves start their own private feud. What sorcery accusations come to light almost invariably relate to spouses (ev. AP 1/33, ev. 5/35, ev. 1/41), especially polygynous ones (ev. AP 9/35, BAR 17/39). A man whom I treated for a creeping sore finally wearied, and instead subjected his two wives to the luKUTA ordeal (see Chapter VI, Sickness). Both stood revealed as sorcerers. As a rule, thanks to infant-girl betrothal or marriage, the husband has an edge of several years over his wife whom, in the early stages, he naturally treats as a child. Later the gruff tone persists. When husband and in-laws fall out, the wife is brusquely told to mind her own business// (AP 2/39). The husband remains the disciplinarian and checks levity on his wife's part in no uncertain fashion. I have witnessed this more than once. A man is at liberty to beat his wife short of causing open wounds. "Although you were justified in striking her, you should not have broken the skin" (LIW 7/43). However, dangerous assault of any description, including intent to injure, is forbidden. A man who threatened his wife with an arrow got sent to jail (AP 8/42). Another

who injured her with an axe was told that if the wounds had been fresh he would have been convicted. Instead he was divorced (AP 1/35). Corporal punishment should also be commensurate with the wife's misdeeds. "It is not lawful to beat her very, very hard for a small matter" (MCH 56/42). It should also be inflicted in private. "It is not permissible to attack one's wife in front of people" (AP 93/51). The right of chastisement extends partially to the husband's siblings, but not to others. Thus, one man who beat a married woman was found to be without excuse. "This woman is not your sister-in-law" (MCH 71/43). Another is warned, "if a man's wife has wronged you, it is up to you to go to her husband" (AP 1/39). An outsider may not intervene on a wife's behalf. A man who tried to do so was fined 5/- (AP 14/35). It should be added that he was suspected of being her lover. The rift between spouses appears markedly in allusions to their offspring. A man whose wife broke the taboos on sexual intercourse before weaning, with the apparent result that the child fell ill and became metally defective, dedared "You have killed my child!" Again, a woman who had a miscarriage was implied to have " spoiled her foetus" (BAR 11/36). However little a man cares for his wife as a woman or companion, he is determined to hold her. This is because his own prestige demands that he should do so; because the security of his kinship group requires the maintenance of smooth marital contacts; and because he depends on her labour. As instance of this last, listen to the pathetic query of a leprous husband deserted by his wife. "Who is going to cook for me ?" (BAR 16/37). As will have been seen from the division of labour, women do by far the greater share of work. Essentially they are drudges. Here and there a wife has been known to keep the family going single-handed. A husband admitted that

n/p

his wife had built him five successive huts and paid his tax for ten years. She was awarded 6/- compensation! (LIW 46/44). Even though it is said, "A woman must be in someone's hands", the converse applies with almost equal force. Women are schooled to be submissive, especially through the medium of initiations (see middle of Chapter VI), but this policy is far from successful. Rather it makes them more adept in subterfuge, which is the idiom of Ngindo behaviour and its dominant trait. I shall treat the status of women later. (See Chapter V, Adultery).

In spite of the contrast between maternal uncle ... the yardstick quoted earlier ... and senior in-law, the difference in one's overt reaction to each is relatively slight, seeing that both are senior and both live some distance away as a rule. Sometimes this reaction may be misleading. For instance, the two are taken ill simultaneously. Whom does one visit first ? Probably the father-in-law; but only because he tends to be the touchier, whereas the maternal uncle would more readily understand and forgive. n/p : The situation of the bride's mother has much in common with that of her husband, though she tends to be gentler. If she takes to the suitor, she may show him all sorts of favours, in preference even to her own sons. For example, after the whole domestic group, including the suitor and girl, has eaten a meal, she may secretly send a little extra food up to their hut. The suitor works for his bride's mother, specifically. Unless she agrees to some other arrangement he cultivates her field and not those of her ~~polygynous~~ co-wives or other persons in her husband's immediate circle. One mother-in-law tried to break up a marriage directly, accusing the suitor of disobedience. "I saw he

had no wish to follow my instructions" (LIW 6/44). She only lost her case because she had not the wherewithal to refund bridewealth on her daughter's divorce. A girl does not learn how to cook properly until adolescent. So Ngindo say that, when negotiating the betrothal of an infant daughter, the first essential is to go and ask her mother, "Will you cook for such-and-such a suitor ?". If she says No, there is nothing for it but to reject him. A determined mother-in-law can effectively veto a marriage, whether by threatening to sue for divorce from her own husband or by more subtle means. There is scarcely anything in the nature of a mother-in-law avoidance. A court judgment records disapproval, but nothing more, of familiarity. "It is not good to strip one's mother-in-law naked, the person who gave birth to the woman whom you have now married" (AP 12/39). An act like this would have been viewed much less calmly were an avoidance to be operative. I have heard Ngindo joking about the strict avoidance practised by the Ndendeuli peripheral Ngindo-speakers in the west. It seems that Ndonde refugees from that quarter also brought it with them, but did not long retain it. Suitor and mother-in-law behave quite naturally towards each other and without reticence, excepting what befits a woman of her age and standing, remembering that the Ngindo are superficially prudish. It is with the mother-in-law that the initiative rests in setting the standard of cordiality for the relationship. If she is friendly, the suitor responds. Otherwise he keeps at arm's length. This appears contrary to the adjustment of relationships between males, where the senior party, without standing overmuch on his dignity, generally waits for an indication from the junior. ~~rather than standing on his dignity~~. The position with 'mothers-in-law' other than the wife's mother is of course

different. For instance, the wife of one's paternal uncle, who is addressed as AMAMA (mother), seems a potential nuisance. One such woman took to ordering her husband's nephew's wife about. The nephew, furious, gave her a hiding and threatened her with a spear (AP 38/43).

Where the avoidance comes is not with a man's mother-in-law, but with a father-in-law vis à vis his son's wife// (or, as indicated in the classificatory system, with a man's ~~his~~ younger brother's wife). In the case of indecent exposure just quoted, the victim's principal distress was on the score that her husband's senior brother was present. "He (the accused) stripped me in front of my brother-in-law; that is, the senior brother of my husband." The avoidance between such persons, though not complete, is considerable. They make detours when passing each other, converse at a distance of several yards, and eat apart. Once the woman has born a child, however, the barriers begin to drop. The Ngindo say "She has paid". On the other hand, a woman's mother-in-law is not in the least implicated in the avoidance. The two share many domestic duties and in effect are mother and daughter, for a mother always loses her real daughters, married out before they grow up.

CHAPTER V. MARRIAGE.

Procedure.

Ngindo marriage being for the most part a gradual process of rapprochement between girl and suitor, the point at which 'marriage' can be considered to have started depends on one's definition of the word. The standard procedure in the case of a girl's first union falls into two broad phases: one, largely uxorilocal, leading up to her initiation ,,,(this, for convenience, I call betrothal): the other virilocal when the couple set up home together on t heir own, and beget children,, (this I call marriage).

The ideal and typical Ngindo match unites infant girl and adolescent youth[x]. At the beginning of their betrothal they may be eight and sixteen years old respectively. The suitor is generally at least five years older than his affianced. If he is almost mature, or an established husband seeking to contract a polygynous union, he may have chosen the girl himself. Otherwise his parents or guardians do so. It seems customary for the latter to be in the know from the inception; but this is not always the case. A mature suitor may make covert advances to the girl so as to ascertain her wishes, if she be old enough to have a mind of her own; then on his sole initiative make the opening move in negotiations. Thus his senior kinsmen are presented with a fait accompli.

Footnote x:

Average incidence of infant-girl betrothal throughout Ngindoland 74.2% of total marriages (detail at the end of this Chapter, under Divorce) This includes all types of infant-girl betrothal i.e. to polygynists, etc.,

Infant Marriage : 18-year-old suitor and his 11-year-old affianced. The picture was taken at the former's home, i.e. the couple, already betrothed for three years, were temporarily virilocal : (below) suitor weeding for his future in-laws, in this case the girl's mother's paternal uncle and spouse, who has just shown the suitor in which direction to work.

I have not heard of their trying to back out in such an eventuality. They would in principle be relieved ... brides are not easy to come by, and these kinsmen would thereby escape the obligation of searching for one. The Ngindo do not marry relatives as a rule. Even at Barikiwa, noted for its in-breeding, the incidence of such matches was only 19% of the total,[x] all types of marriage included. Related wives in this instance comprised 43% maternal cross-cousins; 19% paternal cousins (nearly all the daughters of their husbands' paternal aunts); and the remaining 38% paternal nieces and classificatory grand-daughters; maternal aunts, nieces, and classificatory grand-daughters; relatives by marriage, joking-relatives, and distant unspecified kin. Elsewhere ~~Other~~ than at Barikiwa my surveys showed inter-kinsfolk marriage to be negligible.

The first step, which is generally made on the suitor's behalf by his own female kin, is a payment called kiBANI (apparently also known as kiRAMA, NGOBEKO or nCHALA ... the latter seemingly derived from ~~modelled on~~ Swahili 'mShahara', wages). KiBANI may vary from 50 cents to as much as Shs. 20/-, in cash, but I never personally registered anything in excess of Shs. 12/- (full table later in this section). Always depending on the age of the girl; The older she is, the more one should pay. KiBANI is not ordinarily redeemable. Only twice did I ever see or hear of it being repaid (LIW 5/44, BAR 1/36). In the latter case the reason was advanced that "the woman started to reject the marriage first". Ngindo hold that it would be unreasonable to expect a large amount for a mere toddler, whose future potential was unknown, and who stood to attract her suitor into the orbit of her own family for a considerable number of

x Footnote: the size of the sample was 230 marriages.

years pending her initiation and subsequent transfer of residence. In the old days, kiBANI might be in kind. A fowl was the usual medium, and there are marriages in existence today which began with the presentation of a fowl. A fowl is worth about a shilling nowadays. The recipient of kiBANI should be an agnatic kinswoman of the girl. The money may go via the bride to this kinswoman, who is generally her elder sister or paternal aunt. If no female is available, kiBANI should be put aside for a younger brother. On no account should an elder brother take it, a further example of the male sibling inequality referred to earlier. If payment has been made to the guardian direct, he must hand on kiBANI to the appropriate person. If on the other hand it has gone through the normal channel to a kinswoman, she sounds out the guardians, or has already done so before accepting. If she accepts it finally, that is a sign that the guardians consent and that the betrothal has been clinched. The proper recipient of kiBANI has full rights of disposal over it.

Next, the suitor should present himself at the girl's father's or guardian's hut, where he is received without formality and shown a place to sleep. So, for several days or even weeks he remains as a guest. During this period he is not bound to do any work for his prospective in-laws, but only of his own volition. Finally a deputation of his agnatic kin arrives to make the first bridewealth deposit. This is called kuPUNGA liHAMBI, meaning 'fastening the bracelet'. And indeed, white beads or cloth should be placed on the girl's wrist. I have also heard it referred to as kiJENGECHA NYUMBA, 'the house-builder', which indicates that the suitor will now settle and build a hut. As with kiBANI, cash is the medium. The amount is Shs. 2/-, which should be stepped up to about

20/- by additional instalments before the girl's initiation. If the parents or guardians of the girl agree to take this money, then the betrothal is well and truly founded and the suitor starts work in earnest. Marriage by service applies only to the pre-initiatory period. An initiated woman warrants no suitor labour.

The content of the suitor's contract (kuTEMBA, which has the specific connotation of cultivation work) is not fixed. The prospective in-laws still hold the whip-hand, but enjoy little outright authority over the suitor. Nor can they retain him for months at a stretch. Actually, their relationship is fraught with tension. Very few prospective in-laws are entirely satisfied with their suitor's performance. A prospective in-law cannot order the suitor around in the same way as a father his son, nor can he legitimately beat him. Somehow, without any sanction except nuisance tactics and the latent threat of sabotaging the marriage, he has to gain an ascendancy over the suitor and extract a modicum of toil. For his part, the suitor's behaviour reveals equal malaise. He seems quite deflated and goes about his duties in a pitiful lack-lustre fashion. Not every suitor is dejected, of course, but few seem at home. To give an instance, I was impressed with a young man I interviewed. A qualified Muslim preacher, and son of a headman, he had driven a Groundnut Scheme tractor. When however he remarked that we had met before I thought he must be mistaken. "You saw me" he insisted, "at such-and-such a settlement". I had indeed done a survey of the place in question and fancied I knew every man jack. Then it dawned on me. This was none other than one of two comically insipid suitors I had found there! The suitor's position approximates to that of former slaves who, though

treated as members of the family, were nevertheless prevailed upon to do much of the dirty work. When a lineage is ordered by the Government headman to provide a porter or labourer, it commonly sends a suitor; especially when the beer season is in full swing. The phrase "only a suitor!" is commonly heard.

The contract centres around cultivation work. Having no field of his own x ~~(Only in an isolated case on the southern border of Ngindoland did I find a suitor with a smallish maize-plot of his own nearby. He was a middle-aged man)~~, the suitor's primary commitment is to assist his intended mother-in-law, as opposed to her co-wives or other persons in her husband's household. In practice the suitor listens to her. She may say "I am going to a work-party this morning, but you stay behind and weed my field". He complies. If the suitor is found to be working for the girl's grandparents or paternal aunt, it is in her mother's absence, or with her mother's permission. Only if the mother is divorced before her daughter gets a suitor does she forfeit her claim on his services. The suitor's other main task is to provide clothing for the girl and himself, a thing he is frequently unable to do without assistance. He should also be at the disposal of his prospective in-laws in associated activities, such as beekeeping. But these are secondary, and something in the nature of favours. If a suitor carries loads to market, most prospective in-laws give him a token wage, if only a few cents to buy snuff. Therefore, his presence is demanded almost full-time in the cultivation season, during which he may get a few days off a month to go and see his own people; but only if the senior prospective in-law considers that cultivation work is running to schedule and nothing immediate needs to be done. Directly

FOOTNOTE.

x Only in an isolated case on the southern border of Ngindoland did I find a middle-aged suitor with a smallish maize-plot of his own nearby.

the harvest is in, however, the suitor may spend more time at home than with his prospective in-laws. The arrangement is very fluid. Some suitors get away with a few weeks' intermittent work spread over about 18 months. Others do several months a year for five or six years.

Ngindo are fond of saying "You cannot get a wife without working". The courts bear this out consistently. "From long ago there has been this specific law, namely that if a man gets married at no matter whose place, he must do work there" (KIP 39/37). "You must follow the agreement to build a house and work if you have married in the Magingo way" (AP 30/51). "If you want to receive his daughter, ... you must work in the agreed manner" (AP 32/51). A defaulting suitor is told "You are bound to go and live at your in-laws' × place until he (the bride's guardian) himself gives you leave to go" (KIP 2/37). Frequently prospective in-laws complain of non-fulfilment of contract (KIP 6/35, BAR 14/38, AP 16/51). Sometimes they secure annulment of the match (AP 15/35). In this case the suitor had raised the necessary cloth but neither cultivated nor built a hut. In another such case, the suitor was accused not only of idleness but of thieving (AP 10/44). More often the suitor is simply ordered to go to work forthwith. "He has not done work for his in-law, and this is wrong in the eyes of our law ... he will work at his in-law's" (BAR 6/37). "The duty of being used as a worker by a man is our law, we Magingo-Ndonde. You will accompany your father-in-law and work for a whole year" (AP 141/53). Another defaulter is told to work for a set period of five months (BAR 7/35). One prospective father-in-law gave a detailed inventory of ~~his~~ a suitor's conduct, in view of which the court's opinion is interesting. The evidence was that the suitor first brought Shs. 2/- kiBANI, which was accepted.

× Footnote.
Neither in Swahili nor in the vernacular do the Ngindo distinguish between actual and prospective relatives-in-law.

This was early in the cultivation season. On the first day of the following month an elder brother appeared with a further Shs. 2/-, being the first bridewealth instalment, but the suitor did not report for duty until the 29th day of the month after that. He did two months' work, and then asked if he could take the girl home for a short spell. He was granted leave to do so, with the proviso "Do not stay there many days ... I want to have this wife of yours initiated". Whereupon the suitor went and kept her for six weeks, later failing to contribute anything towards the initiation costs. Instead he went off to one of the labour-centres for two years, during which time another suitor was taken on; whence the law-suit. The prospective father-in-law concluded dramatically "I ask you, is this the proper way to marry ?". The court, whilst fining him Shs. 5/- for failing to seek legal divorce, shared his indignation. "The suitor has not observed justice or the custom of the land" (AP 8/47).

Even though suitor-labour is an essential element of Ngindo marriage, court verdicts make it obvious that it is only one of several commitments, and that failure to work does not mean automatic forfeiture of marital prospects. According to the courts, the correct redress is to sue for damages, not break off the match summarily. "If you see that the suitor does no work at your place ... demand whatever sum you like for the bridewealth of your daughter. You can quite well do this ... but let him get his bride" (AP 5/46). Note the relative importance accorded to bridewealth and labour. Actually Ngindo elders seldom recommend stepping up bridewealth, inclining rather to the view that it should remain at or near the traditional level of Shs. 60/-. Again, whilst decreeing that a suitor should resume his labour-

contract, a court observes "It is not right to deprive him of his bride over a question of cultivation alone" (BAR 16/36). The low amounts awarded as compensation for default indicate that the suitor's labour is a far cry from regular paid employment. A suitor who, having completed six years of his contract, failed to get his bride received only Shs. 12/-. Said the court, "This makes Shs. 2/- a year ... he did the work of a hired man, that is all" (MCH 55/42). It should be borne in mind however that the grounds for terminating this match were the suitor's tender years. "He is very young compared with my daughter". One should also remember that ~~Also, that~~ Ngindo cash equivalents are notoriously inadequate by relation to wages for current unskilled work for Government or other big employers ... about Shs. 30/- a month, but only half that figure before the war. A foster parent will get only a shilling or two for rearing a child right up to the age of puberty. An aged widow who does not want to be inherited will get only Shs. 5/- reduction in bridewealth-refund for all her years of toil; And so on. Another disappointed suitor was to get Shs. 5/- for six months's work (LIW 6/44). Again, the brother of an absentee suitor offers his prospective in-law Shs. 2/- "so as to plead for mercy because my brother did not work last year" (ev.KIP 2/37). One migrant-labourer absentee who missed his entire suitor-contract paid Shs. 30/- in lieu. Substitution is not uncommon. "I agreed to do suitor-labour instead of my (classificatory) son", says the defendant-husband's representative in a divorce case (NJ 16/45). Besides working, I have also found defaulters' relatives making amends with odd services and gifts. For instance a suitor's father goes 50 miles with a load of food for the prospective in-laws in time of famine. Another gives a few measures of grain so that the prospective in-laws can brew beer and get their fields weeded. The suitor-contract tends to coincide with a youth's most frivolous stage of development, and it is frequently only due to the efforts

of his steadier senior kinsmen that his marriage is saved from shipwreck.

In its detail, the suitor's labour-contract and personal upkeep, together with that of his affianced, are a joint matter. Besides giving token wages for what might be termed 'overtime', such as carrying loads, prospective in-laws help in other ways. It is in their interest to keep the suitor out of trouble. They often contribute something towards the cost of clothing the girl, and even produce whole lengths of cloth to last a year and more. Incidentally, it takes between ten and twenty shillings a year to keep a girl properly clad. During the peak season, it would appear that the suitor spends more time at work than away from it. If he leaves, he must state why and for how long. However, if he is still a lad, or for some reason not able-bodied, service and even cloth may be temporarily waived. If a mature suitor is hard-pressed for tax, on the other hand, it is not unknown for his prospective in-law to raise part of it. Such a suitor, under the Government regulations, may also be expected to have a standard field, and prospective in-laws may be party to the offence if they detain him so long that he is unable to tend it. Therefore, especially for polygynous suitors who have a household to maintain elsewhere, prospective in-laws may give piece-work which can be done in short bursts. Similarly they will allow a suitor to go and do road clearance work inside Ngindoland, but as a rule show themselves less keen on journeys further afield. The suitor is expected to build his own hut within a stone's throw of that of his intended father-in-law or the person acting as such. But the erection of such huts has fallen off latterly owing to the threat of Government intervention. Sporadic attempts have been made by the authorities to check infant-girl betrothal, and naturally ~~(by the authorities)~~ the suitor

huts get singled out as the easiest index of contravention. These are of less solid construction than the ordinary Ngindo hut, itself by no means imposing. So their disappearance is no great matter, and suitors merely carry on as before excepting for their being quartered in their prospective in-laws' huts. No sooner has a lull succeeded a mild blitz than the huts reappear. I have seen double huts built to accommodate a pair of suitors.

This is the place to review the vexed question of infant-girl betrothal. The practice (kuTOMERA, or ku-KOBEKA; the latter means 'to hang up', i.e. set aside) is universal among the Ngindo and a cardinal tribal feature. Even if parents voice misgivings, the courts reassure them. "Although she is small, that does not matter. She will settle down happily, that is all" (MCH 34/44). Ngindo regard chaperonage of young girls as impracticable, and urge that it is better for a precocious girl to limit her attentions to one suitor rather than distribute them to many admirers. If she is maturing and still not betrothed, they will if anything give her increased freedom as an inducement to suitors. They believe that promiscuous girls may become barren. Also, since women are schooled to be expressionless and docile, a suitor's kin ardently desire to gain control of his bride from an early age so that, as they say, "she may get used to him". This desire is exploited by prospective in-laws who, should the suitor's kin fail to step up bridewealth to about the 20/- shs. mark before the girl's initiation, merely refuse them permission to take her home with them beforehand. The couple live together as man and wife, acquiring progressive independence as the girl learns to cook and keep house.

About the sexual aspect I am not qualified to

speak. Evidently, thanks to gentle manipulation, girls copulate well before menstruation. This is implicit in court evidence. Referring to her impotent suitor, a girl states "We did not sleep in the same bed. And then I started menstruating" (NJ 15/44). Many girls whose breasts have not even begun to develop are fully active sexually. If one wants to compliment a suitor, one says "You have matured your bride very quickly". The astonishing thing is how little apparent bodily harm they suffer, their child-bearing capacity seemingly unimpaired. This is demonstrated by the statistics on fertility quoted earlier. Only once has the legal issue of 'defilement' come to a head. This was in the nineteen-thirties, when a suitor stood accused of criminally assaulting his betrothed (AP 2/36). Despite pleading temporary insanity, he was found guilty. The offence carries a severe penalty under the Territorial Code, but the court imposed a paltry 20 shs. fine or two months' imprisonment in lieu. "Our custom is to marry young girls, but he (the accused) did wrong to fasten her with rope out in the forest, that is all". Reviewed by the European official in charge, the sentence was upheld. He wrote, "This offence in any other tribe would be very serious. Amongst the Wangindo however it is the custom to marry young children. The girl in this case is about eight years old and has been married a year and a half. The husband at once begins to 'interfere' with his wife". He added that, if the law were upheld, "every grown male would be a convict".

Girls belonging to the vast majority of lineages in Ngindoland are secluded on menstruation and initiated as soon as possible. If there is famine or the harvest has gone past, making it impossible to hold the ceremonies for lack of supplies, a girl may be treated medicinally

and allowed to return to her suitor. In these lineages, it is a great disgrace to bear child before initiation, and in fact such births are almost unknown. I am unaware whether the medicine, said to be a substance placed on the vagina, is a contraceptive. Possibly abortion is practised, but I never had word of this. Supervision of a young couple shows typical Ngindo laxity or rather reluctance to pin other people down or invade their privacy. Fathers of girls state that they make no enquiries whatsoever as to the competence of a suitor in sexual matters. This is left to the youth's own grandmother or a like kinswoman, excepting that the girl's elder sister or female cousin may give advice. Some girls, despite their sex experience, are believed to be ignorant of the facts of conception right up to the time of their first confinement. Boys are initiated so young nowadays that the somewhat garbled sex instruction they receive goes clean over their heads. Also it includes no directions as to how a juvenile partner should be treated. However, a suitor will probably have acquired casual ~~acquaintances~~ sweethearts, or even a regular lover, before he has to deal with his girl bride. Men do not consider juveniles more alluring than adults. On the contrary, a suitor seeks satisfaction other than with his betrothed.

What is the legal position of a betrothed girl ? She is firmly bound to her suitor, to whom she should be faithful, and from whom she cannot informally be parted. Incompatible betrothed couples get regular divorces from the Government-recognized native courts ... whilst there is no court registration of pagan marriage, it is felt that divorce should be the monopoly of the regular courts. In only one case did I find such a divorce decree waived on the grounds that the parties were too young (AP 16/51);

whereas successful suits brought by recalcitrant girls, especially where the suitor is elderly, are plentiful. "I do not want him because he is old. He is not my equal" (AP 15/35). "I did not approve of him (the suitor). My parents merely accepted bridewealth" (MCH 56/43). "Even though my father accepted him (the suitor), I do not want him" (AP 90/51). Cases like this show that free bridal choice (accorded to widows and mature women) lies open to young girls as well, who naturally could not have been consulted when the match originated. Some are literally babes in arms at the time of betrothal. If, when they become conscious of the situation, they make sufficient fuss, they will assuredly get their way, as the following case shows. A father finds an exemplary suitor for his daughter. But to his horror, no sooner has the labour contract been completed and the change of residence effected, than the girl comes running back home. "When I heard about this I beat her very, very hard, because I did not want to listen to any suggestion of rejecting him (the suitor)". But ~~to~~ no avail; his efforts were of no avail; divorce took its course. (AP 6/47). I have seen a harrassed father holding his head and bewailing the fact that he ever allowed his daughter to marry young. He swore he would not do so again, and had already refused several offers for the hand of a ten-year-old younger daughter.

As regards bridewealth, the target-ratio paid before initiation of the girl is one third of the obsolescent standard total of Shs. 60/-.[x] Such instalments are refundable on rupture of betrothal, but cloth for the girl's apparel is not. In the preceding case a sum of Shs. 31/-, the cash equivalent of clothing provided by the suitor, was claimed but not awarded. "It will not be paid back. It has been lost because the wife ("kibi" in the Swahili record) was merely given it. It is not right to sue her father". If the girl dies before

x Compare this with the average monthly cash wage of Shs. 30/-, paid for local unskilled labour.

initiation, only the amount paid over to date is lost to the suitor's kin. This contrasts with the procedure on full consummation, when bridewealth must be made up to the agreed total figure should the wife die. With betrothed girls there is in any case the difficulty that the total will not as a rule have been fixed. Ngindo hold adultery compensation to be inapplicable to a betrothed girl. The remedy is to give the culprit a hiding, or to complain to the girl's father, who is still responsible for her upbringing. The eventuality seldom arises; for the girls, though flirtatious, are absurdly small. Even on initiation, some of them appear scarcely ripe for amours. Residentially, as I have said, a betrothed girl is only secondarily virilocal, but the suitor must keep her clothed. Indirectly, through his labour, he keeps her fed too. Should she bear him a child before her initiation, he becomes its pater, provided that he is willing to follow up and complete the marriage-process. So Ngindo betrothal entails a firmer commitment than is generally conveyed by the word, but definitely falls short of marriage proper.

To continue with the sequence of marriage procedure, initiation of the bride marks the watershed between betrothal and marriage. The ceremonies are complex and will be treated separately (see middle of Chapter VI). Suffice it that they include specific marital rites, that the bride goes to live with her husband immediately afterwards, and that she may now bear children. Even on the present economy basis, the initiations are a major expense. Both families are expected to contribute, though the prime responsibility rests with the girl's father, who shelters her during seclusion, and near whose hut the coming-out lodge is built. The suitor's people are also supposed to remit a further one-third of the total bridewealth

during the ceremonies, leaving only a third outstanding. In practice the amount depends on their purses and goodwill. Some husbands pay in full at this stage, but the majority carry on for years with petty instalments. Immediately after the bride's initiation a payment of Shs. 2/- may be made. It is called 'nHICHA kuJUPA' (I have come to beg) or 'kuNYAIKA aKANGU' (borrowing my wife). To Ngindo, bridewealth is the vital legitimizing element in marriage. A man attempting to evade payment is told "This is against our ancient law. There is no one who may refuse to pay" (LIW 34/45). Time and again the courts bear this out. "He cannot marry a man's sister free" (BAR 5/37 II). A girl for whom Shs. 6/- kiBANI had been paid, but nothing more beyond Shs. 2/- for the sling in which to carry her child, referred to the payer as "only a lover" (AP 17/42). A marriage concluded without bridewealth by leave of the bride's father was described by a court as "merely by kindness", i.e. abnormal (MCH 6/45). Unless a rightful heir can produce bridewealth or other requisite fees, he cannot get custody of children. Thus three children are withheld from a penniless man inheriting a ~~woman~~ wife ~~levirtical husband~~ and given to the widow's father until such time as payment is made (AP 28/32). Elsewhere in-laws hold a child as security for payment (LIW 18/45). This is the legal position. In practice the majority of fathers have yet to finish paying bridewealth; but there is no question of paternity. Without cash to back it, ~~backing~~ a union is not only irregular; it is servile. When in the old days a man had male and female slaves of his own, he might simply mate them.

The medium of bridewealth nowadays is almost wholly cash paid in coin, not notes. Formerly it might be a bale of cloth or a load of salt. The latter still lingers

as an adjunct, whilst cloth has been incorporated as a separate commitment. To this day a liberal husband may give a basket of salt over and above the regular bridewealth, salt being an imported commodity in Ngindoland. Goats, of which the Ngindo own a paltry number, do not serve as bridewealth. Again, cloth forms a prescribed gift for the bride's father, presented at the time of her initiation. Called kiTAMBI from a coloured and tasselled cloth of that name, it costs about Shs. 12/- for the length required. KiTAMBI is a regular dignified dress for elders. The standard value of bridewealth is, or was, Shs. 60/-; or in German days its equivalent of 30 rupees. Note that tax then stood at 3 rupees. Today it has risen to Shs. 20/-. Latterly, however, bridewealth has gone up to Shs. 100/-, or even more (details on table below).

Table of Average Bridewealth Payments for Ngindoland.

	(average amount). (range of amounts).
kiBANI	Shs. 3 cts. 20 (Nil to 12/-)
Pagan HETO alone	" 71/- (Nil to 160/-)
HETO (cum MAHARI)	" 71/- (40/- to 100/-)
MAHARI (cum HETO)	" 16/- (Nil to 30/-)
Islamic MAHARI alone	" 73/- (60/- to 100/-)

Note: details of how the averages were computed appear in Chapter IX. For explanation of HETO - MAHARI distinction, see the end of this section.

In the case of Barikiwa, my material is sufficiently abundant to permit the subdivision of these categories both chronologically and on the basis of marriage-types.

Table of Payments made in respect of Marriage-types.

(a) KiBANI	Before 1925.	1925-40.	After 1940.	Average.
Betrothal. ⊗	1.9(1 to 4) (31 cases)	2.5(1-6) (53)	3.4(1-6) (66)	2.6
Straight widow.	3.0(2 to 4) (4 cases)	6.0(2-12) (5)	5.0(4-6) (4)	5.0
Inherited "	5.0(0 to 12) (3 cases)	6.4(2-12) (10)	8.0(0-12) (17)	7.0
Divorcee.	I rupee (-) (1 case)	3.5(2-4) (4)	8.2(2-12) (10)	6.5

Note: Marriage-types here determined by the status of the contracting wives.

All payments in shillings and decimals thereof, unless otherwise stated

(b) HETO	Before 1925	1925-40.	After 1940.	Average.
Betrothal ⊗⊗	65(30-100) (32 cases)	73(40-100) (44)	85(60-160) (54)	76
Straight widow	60(same) (4 cases)	65(45-100) (5)	32(12-55) (3)	55
Inherited "	40(10-60) (4 cases)	33(0-80) (10)	34(20-80) (14)	35
Divorcee.	80(same) (1 case)	70(60-90) (4)	74(24-120) (9)	71

Note: cases of multiple widow-inheritance too few for analysis

Cases of Islamic marriage too few for analysis.

By relation with the prevailing infant-girl betrothal, other types of marriage can be seen to possess distinctive payment structures. For divorcee women, though 'HETO' remains roughly constant, 'kiBANI' goes much higher//...doubtless in answer to the competition they arouse,

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Footnote: ⊗

Paid in rupees	...	...	4 cases
" " poultry	...	...	4 "
" " cloth	...	...	8 "

Footnote: ⊗⊗ plus salt (4 cases); in rupees (4); in cloth (1).

claimants must in the first instance produce a substantial bait~~s~~! ~~For~~ The kiBANI of straight-widows shows the same trend ~~likewise~~, though not to the same extent. Such a widow is likely to be elderly, and this may account for the correspondingly reduced level of HETO. Remember that the widow will probably have spurned the deceased's heir, hence like a divorcee have lost both bridewealth and children. For an inherited widow very high kiBANI may be paid, reflecting the risk of her refusal to be inherited as well as the rivalry between competing heirs. The low ensuing HETO may again be due to her age, and in part to the deceased's prior instalments of, ~~or full~~ or fully paid, bridewealth. The overall rise in payments from past to present is unmistakable (exceptions such as apparently diminishing HETO for widows neither rest on over-many cases, nor affect the general rise), and the elimination of non-cash media complete. Few brides are to be had for less than Shs. 80/- now. Inflation of bridewealth is a matter for bitter comment. Conservative fathers, arguing that Shs. 60/- is a sensible level in relation to local income standards, persist in adhering to it. Shrewdly they sense the very great worth of a good suitor's labour were it to be measured in cash, and tell with relish the story of a father throwing down money offered to him as a counterpart. "Plant that and see when it will sprout!" But few can resist the temptation of ready gain. "They have made us traffic in our daughters" is one of the unfair charges levelled against the Government by Ngindo, who tend to blame the régime for Liwale's lost prosperity. The rate of bridewealth-payment varies a lot. This is illustrated by a pair of brothers living in adjacent huts, one of whom had paid only Shs. 29/- out of a total of Shs. 40/- for a wife who had borne him two adolescent sons, whereas the other had paid Shs. 80/- down for a newly initiated girl. The birth of children, as this instance shows, does not materially affect the flow of bridewealth.

n/p

n/p

As a rule the grand total is not stipulated until after a bride's initiation. Even thereafter husbands fear additional demands which, although not claimable in court, should be met if the marriage is to prosper. n/p Conflicting views are held on the subject of payments where two lepers get married. Some assert that kiBANI alone need be paid. But there is a case on record in which 60/- Shs. was levied (MCH 62/43). Three children had been born of this marriage, so possibly the amount was not bridewealth proper, but an equivalent for the children. Claims for the bridewealth of defunct marriages should be made with reasonable promptitude. One of ten years' standing was declared null and void (NJ 2/45). n/p The person who should receive bridewealth is the bride's father or guardian. Anyone doing so without his consent is at fault. A girl's grandfather who acted without such authorisation has to cancel arrangements he has made. (NJ 21/43, AP 10/44); Her classificatory maternal uncle likewise, is compelled to do who is fined 5/- Shs. (BAR 10/38); and her brother (AP 14/42). A Government headman trying to overrule a girl's father is too fined 10/- Shs. "Let him give her to whomsoever he pleases" (AP 12/39). A marriage concluded without the permission of the relevant kinsfolk is invalid. A woman protests "My husband married me by stealing me without the consent of my kinsfolk". The attempted marriage was set aside (BAR 9/41). If a girl's father objects from the outset, would-be suitors must clear off. "You cannot marry this woman. Her father does not wish it" (Kip 13/46). Acceptance of bridewealth by competing kinsmen is not the only source of conflict. Another is one and the same man trying to play a double game with two suitors. The courts impose relatively heavy fines on such people. "According to the custom of the inhabitants, it is not good to accept money (bridewealth) from this man,

and to accept money from that one" (MCH 29/44). One contriver of bi-andry was obliged to pay full adultery-compensation to the disappointed suitor! (NJ 23/44). Another received a straight fine (AP 16/32).

The raising of bridewealth is situational, depending on who can afford to pay, and mostly within the lineage. The parent, guardian, or elder brother of a suitor bears the brunt, with due participation by the lineage-head, should he stand in some other relationship. Nowadays to an increasing extent, thanks to migrant-labour, the suitor seeks his own bridewealth. Even his mother may lend a hand if she happens to be a skilled potter or has some other source of income. Contributions made towards bridewealth, adultery-compensation, and the like may technically be reclaimed. But in the ordinary way the donor can expect nothing beyond a sense of obligation on the part of the beneficiary. Kinsmen imagining that their contributions entitle them to special privileges make for bad blood. An embittered husband says of his senior brother, who raised most of his bridewealth and then saw fit to seduce the wife, "Let him have the money (i.e: get it back through bridewealth refund on divorce), since he puffs himself up with pride over his money" (MCH 11/45). Incidentally, this man's misconduct is heightened by his disregard for the grave junior-sibling's spouse taboo.

The persons paying or receiving bridewealth can be regarded as agents for its transmission. Thus, although a girl's father takes her bridewealth, his disposal of the money is hedged around with all manner of commitments. For a start, his wife should get a share: Two lengths of cloth, worth about £10/- sh. in all, are cited as an example (ev.BAR 17/39). She is also entitled by

law to a formal payment called MKANGE, until recently Shs. 6/-, but now doubled. It falls due on the initiation of her daughter, and even a divorced mother must get it. If she dies in the interim MKANGE goes to her own surviving kinsfolk (MCH 28/43).

Another bridewealth adjustment is a reduction of the order of Shs. 10/- from the bridewealth-refund for a widow refusing ~~the levirate~~ widow-inheritance. I have never heard it called by anything but the Swahili name MALI MAUTI, 'corpse money'. This points to it being a novelty, though informants do not seem to think so. Among the MBunga (peripheral-Ngindo) it is payable only for Islamic marriages. Its purpose is to compensate for the long service rendered by the outgoing widow to the deceased and his kinsmen. Sometimes, in a deserving case, it is stepped up. But there is a feeling that this is irregular. "It is Shs. 10/-, not Shs. 15/-" (AP 11/45). Another court, placing MALI MAUTI at Shs. 12/-, explains: "Her daughters have borne her eight grand-children" (MCH 63/43). Another such payment is that due to the kinsfolk of a deceased wife. It is called viTUNGA and stands at Shs. 12/-. For viTUNGA to be levied the deceased must have borne a living child. If she has had more than one, this is immaterial. ~~She~~ bereaved husband was excused payment because "he had not cultivated with her (the deceased), nor had he bought a plate or mat, nor (had he built) a hut" (MCH 69/43). If the woman dies in her first confinement, viTUNGA is not payable; nor, for that matter, is the full bridewealth payable, though concessions may be made in favour of her kin. Thus out of Shs. 80/- bridewealth due in respect of a girl dying in childbirth the husband is obliged to pay half (AP 13/44). Apparently the level of viTUNGA used to be far higher than at present. I have heard Shs. 50/- mentioned. It also had another name, NAMANYANDA, and appears to correspond with a Pogoro (neighbouring tribe) custom known as "Ulishi". This, reports the

Mahenge District Book, was bitterly opposed by Christian missionaries on the ground that it was a relic of the sororate. There is nothing in Islam corresponding to MKANGE; nor, to my knowledge, is there anything corresponding to viTUNGA.

With the exception of the initiation-cum-marriage ritual cycle, which is highly dramatic and in every sense a pageant, the evolution of an Ngindo marriage is marked by scarcely any outward demonstration at all. The odd parleys which mark its course are informal. Visiting deputations behave with dignity, but employ no rhetoric. Rather they affect an elaborate casualness. No special gatherings, parties, or sacrifices are held. "The initiation is marriage", say the Ngindo, and leave it at that.

Virtually all home-Ngindo are professing Muslims, but few go to the length of adopting the Muslim rite (NDOA ... imported Swahili terms must naturally be used to describe imported Islam) in marriage. Its incidence I put at about 10% of total marriages (Detail in Chapter VIII, Internal Variations). Islamic and pagan marriage conflict in a number of particulars which is the reason for the former's rarity. Even when it is followed, the procedure is far from orthodox.

In the first place, the type of Islamic marriage preceded by betrothal of an infant girl, rigidly chaperoned, and deflowered by the groom on the nuptial day (HARUSI), seems to the Ngindo a sheer impossibility. For the bride must on that day be proven a virgin. Not only do Ngindo believe in early acclimatization of girls to sex, but their forest environment and modest dwellings inhibit proper supervision. What they do therefore is to superimpose a Muslim stamp on existing pagan marriages. What happens is this. A man has been betrothed and married

under native custom for a number of years. His wife is now a mature woman, initiated in the traditional manner, baptised a Muslim in accordance with the local version of religion, and virilocal. She will probably have borne children, and her kin will have received at least part of her bridewealth. The initiative in entering Islamic marriage resting with the husband, the ceremony takes place at his home; but he must first get written authority from his senior in-laws. Certain of the latter object, since they anticipate monetary loss over the bridewealth, and complications over divorce. I never succeeded in attending an Islamic marriage ceremony, which is a fair indication of its infrequency. It occurs not more than once or twice a year in a large settlement, if at all. My description rests on accounts given by Preachers and others. A Preacher is called to the groom's home on the appointed day, but neither the bride's father nor his representative will attend unless they live close by. This contrasts with the regular procedure followed by coastal Muslims, who make the bride's father responsible for the whole affair. Meanwhile the bride and her attendants stay inside the hut, whither she has been carried pick-a-back, seemingly an echo of the seclusion of girls prior to pagan initiation. The Preacher, accompanied by two male witnesses, then enters the hut and asks the bride thrice whether she agrees to the match and its conditions. He may use Arabic formulae, Swahili, or even on occasion the vernacular. Usually the bride has rehearsed the correct responses. Next, seated outside on mats, and before witnesses, the Preacher repeats the interrogation with the groom, whose hand he clasps. The amounts of proposed bridewealth are by this means confirmed. (HETO) and Islamic dowry (MAHARI,)[x] ~~thought to be payable to the woman herself. Whence the paired figures in lines 3 and 4 of the bridewealth table earlier in this section.~~

[x] Footnote: MAHARI is thought to be payable to the woman herself; whence the paired figures in lines 3 and 4 of the Bridewealth table earlier in this section. Less frequently, the two may coalesce as 'MAHARI', as in line 5 of the table.

~~Less frequently the two may coalesce as 'MAHARI', as in line 5 of the table,) are by this means confirmed.~~ After that the Preacher goes on to recite appropriate passages from the scriptures (HOTUBA, i.e. extracts from the Qur'an and commentaries, and particularly a book called NIKAHI). Finally a feast may be served, but this is optional. It consists of rice with poultry-relish. The Preacher's fee is £2/- Shs. as a rule, and witnesses should get a few cents each as well. Generally a document (HATI) is drawn up to confirm the marriage. Neither party signs, nor is it read out in public. However, the name of each spouse, together with HETO/ and MAHARI, are written down. The document is put away, to be produced only in event of dispute.

Ngindo believe that, under Islamic law, the full amount paid over should be MAHARI/, (~~that is,~~ destined to be the portion of the bride/, and that HETO is a purely local variation. In point of fact, Muslim guardians of the orthodox type do take over the dowries of their wards; whereas in practice the Ngindo divide the total amount into two unequal parts, the smaller being MAHARI, the larger HETO. Thus, where a prior pagan marriage has been agreed upon for, say, £60/- Shs., the total may be pushed up to £80/- Shs. on Islamic marriage, the extra £20/- Shs. being MAHARI. The latter is not paid over to the bride at once, but remains on deposit, as it were. Only on divorce may it be realised. Conditional dowry-payments like this are also sanctioned by Islam.[x]

Footnote: x

By 'Islam' is meant the rulings of the Shaf'i school of law and the practice of communities following that school, which supposedly governs the bulk of African adherents in Tanganyika. The rulings and practices in question have been determined thanks to the kind assistance of Prof. J.N.D. Anderson of London University.

The synthetic Islamo-Ngindo marriage just described differs sharply in some respects from that of Islam proper. In particular the suitor-labour contract and temporary uxorilocal residence are alien to Islam. Muslim betrothal does not appear to be so binding or full of commitments as its Ngindo counterpart, which necessarily precedes the Ngindo-type Muslim marriage. Again the Islamic rule that half the dowry should be paid over in the event of the girl's death before consummation is a departure from persisting Ngindo custom, whereby the amount already paid is considered lost. In a sense, however, since Islamo-Ngindo marriage is always an afterthought, Ngindo betrothal may be considered wholly pagan, apart from the fact that the contracting parties are professing Muslims. Strictly, only the suitor is likely to be a Muslim .~~A~~ A girl~~s~~ is not as a rule formally inducted until after initiation ... but her guardians no doubt will have been baptised, hence belong to the Faithful. Another point of difference is Ngindo neglect of a face to face declaration by groom and father-in-law affirming the terms of the marriage. In other ways the two systems, probably by chance, appear to coincide. For instance, they do so in the allocation of girl-wards in compulsory marriage from an early age; in the payment of bridewealth by instalments and to a woman's guardian on her behalf; in forfeiting gifts other than the dowry or bridewealth itself; and in paying the latter in full on the wife's death.

The Ngindo both want and fear Islamic marriage. As Muslims they are aware of the inconsistency of pagan marriage, whilst to some extent Islamic marriage has come to be a mark of status. When asked, most husbands untruthfully state that they are on the verge of adopting it. It has snob value, particularly among competing ~~polygynous~~ co-wives. But its real or imagined disadvantages have so far

restricted it to a tiny minority. In talk, Ngindo make much of the burdensome fees and feast. In reality they dislike a bond which is at once so rigid and so brittle, not to mention the whole paraphernalia of Islamic law of which they have a vague, uneasy notion.

Polygyny.

Polygyny appears to be on the increase among the Ngindo. Evidently, even allowing for the omission from old memorised genealogies, of childless spouses, it was rare before the present century. Islam, which has gained a hold in the corresponding period and favours polygyny, is a factor accounting for the rise.

The so-called Plural Wives Tax, now abolished, enables one to gauge the incidence of polygyny in the nineteen-thirties. Records show a fairly consistent 15% ratio between total tax-payers and those ~~polygynous~~ co- wives who were supplementary to a man's first wife. Unfortunately these are the only two totals available.

Detail ...

	Tax-payers:	Extra Wives:	Latters' %
1935.	7,868	1,423	18
1936.	7,454	1,191	15
1937.	8,034	1,201	14.8
1938.	8,097	1,244	15.4
1939.	8,303	1,272	15.3
1940.	9,006	1,409	15.6
1941.	8,618	1,295	15
1942.	9,083	1,433	15.1
1943.	8,680	1,405	16

(These figures refer to the old Liwale administrative Division.)

Set out on the same basis, the 1952 situation shows a staggering change ...

Tax-payers.	Extra Wives.	Latters' %
5,983	2,281	38.1

(These figures refer to the present Liwale Sultanate, otherwise known as Ngindoland).

To account for it, apart from a gradual, or even steep, rise in incidence, which was probably obscured during the period of Plural Wife taxation by reluctance of polygynists to declare newly acquired wives, one must assume wholesale evasion. Besides, tax figures are not always satisfactory for demographic purposes. There is also the factor of distinguishing betrothed girls from married women. Doubtless only the latter counted in the tax assessment; whereas now that ~~polygynous~~ co-wives are listed solely for record, infant brides may have crept into the registers. Yet this does not appear to be so in the one case I could check. Here the totals in the register tally surprisingly well with the actual position 18 months later. Detail ...

	Register (1952).	Actual (1953).
Tax-payers.	141	146 (96 able-bodied married men, 27 elders well over sixty, 16 unattached youths, 1 " leper, 1 destitute elder, 1 unattached blind man, 1 " cripple 3 " lunatics) Adult males (number exempt from tax unknown)
Total wives.	196	197
Polyg. Husb.	49	60
Bachelors.	12	23
Spinsters.	No record.	11 (including 7 senile, 2 lepers, 1 blind, 1 able-bodied widow).

One must therefore deduce a considerable increase in the rate of polygyny over the past decade. Expressed as a ratio of total married males, male polygynists are 32.4%. This is using 1952 data.[x] At that same time the incidence of bachelors among total tax-payers was 10.7%; and the average number of wives per polygynist, 2.32. Referring again to the same data, the total number of tax-payers in the Sultanate is given as 5,983, to which must be added about 500 persons with permanent exemption-certificates. Taking the two together at approximately 6,500, this still falls more than 1,000 short of the number of wives on record, 7,623. Since the latter comprise all initiated women, except for a negligible spinster element, one may assume that all females over the age of fifteen were accounted for. The normal qualifying age for tax among males is 18 years. Hence the omission of boys between the ages of 15 and 18 helps to narrow the gap between estimated female and male population. But it still appears that there must be a decided discrepancy between the sexes, with women preponderant. Can this be explained by a differential birth or survival rate ? Seemingly yes. It has been shown earlier that more of the live births are female than male and that the infant-mortality of each sex is roughly equal, or only very slightly weighted in favour of males. Such conditions, if typical, would result in a sizeable surplus of women after the passage of one or two generations; more especially with other possible contributory factors at work, such as a relatively high male death-rate.

n/p .....

It is fair to say that any Ngindo male of any pretensions desires polygyny. Thereby he automatically has an increased number of dependants and calculates on acquiring still more through reproduction. Also, extra wives enable him to enlarge his enterprises and entertain

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Footnote: x The surveys I carried out gave an incidence of 46%, the average number of wives per polygynist being 2.3, and the total range of wives from 2 to 4 inclusive (Further detail in Chapter VIII, Internal Variations); but the comprehensive tax-figures must be reckoned sounder.

more frequently. Wives are definitely an economic asset in Ngindoland. It is customary for each to have a hut, granary, and field of her own. So two wives mean double the number of work parties straight away. To pool the resources of women is, to the mind of the Ngindo, asking for trouble. One of their favourite objections to living in compact villages is that female animosities would engender unbridled sorcery. The only polygynist I saw running his wives as a team was both a trader and Muslim preacher. He pointed with pride to an outsize joint granary, but I heard whispers of the extreme difficulty he was having in keeping the peace. Conflicts, and especially accusations of sorcery, between ~~polygynous~~ co- wives are very frequent. Such conflicts tend to rebound on the husband's head. Either he finds himself criticised for favouritism or threatened with divorce on some pretext. Though wives are little prone to jealousy, they resent being treated as inferior to newcomers. A woman whose husband was excited at getting a new widow and very attentive towards her said to me "Never you mind. I shall chase her out!" Yet she herself had been caught in adultery more than once and, having suffered the consequences had no great love for her husband. Nevertheless, women seldom object to becoming ~~polygynous~~ co- wives. Some even beg their husbands to get a second wife to help with the chores. Men likewise, despite the problems of a polygynous household, persist in coveting additional wives (maTARA). A monogamist told me "If only I had two wives! I would put the senior in charge of the children and important work. The junior I would make my lover!" The desire to combine the inimical rôles of husband and lover is interesting.

Another prime consideration is status. It is noticeable that headmen and other dignitaries tend to have

more wives than the rank and file. The Islamic ceiling of four does not deter them, seeing that few if any of the spouses will have been married in the eyes of religion. Islam permits numerous concubines. One of the former Government MWENYEs, now deceased, is said to have had fifteen all told. In the ordinary way anything more than three is very rare. I have referred to the hardships of polygynous suitors. Most polygynists acquire their second or third wife ~~via~~ through widow-inheritance or ~~snapping up~~ marrying divorcees. Yet, not a few do two suitor-contracts. Some even do three.

Adultery.

In so far as is possible in such guerilla-type country, a man keeps his wife under close surveillance. He watches for unfamiliar footprints around his hut and looks with disfavour on callers who have no ostensible business. Ngindo are definitely of a jealous disposition//, yet great realists. Very few, for instance, go to the length of forbidding their wives to attend dances. Even those who escort them thither are on a fool's errand. Short of clutching hold of them throughout the night they have no means of following their movements in the murky tumult of an Ngindo dance. Most mature husbands, albeit reluctantly, sit at home "guarding the fowls". "When the drumming dies down in the early hours", they say, "our doubts reach a climax".

This matter of fidelity, along with the prevailing attitude towards it, is important in that observers tend to attribute to it the chronic fragmentation of the Ngindo, a subject to which I shall return (see end of Chapter VIII, Special Ideology//). The basis of the Ngindo outlook is extreme cynicism. "Sex is a woman's food and drink", they say. Or again, "If you want children, send your wife down to the water-hole". A young girl whose husband had been away a year and more was described to

me as barren. When I asked how this could be known, people asked me pityingly "Has she become pregnant yet ?". Men are the same. When I asked why boy-initiates were not taught the errors of adultery, I was asked in return "Should we teach them not to eat ?". Polygynous husbands are no better than the rest. The natives remark "A man with four wives will go and cheat his neighbour who has only one". There appears to be a complete substratum of lover relationships[x] ~~(leading to a complete erotic vocabu-~~

[x] Footnote: such relationships lead to a complete erotic vocabulary including such refinements as 'kuTENDA maLOLA', meaning 'to get caught making a clumsily obvious attempt at adulterous seduction' or 'kuTENDA maTIKITIKI' , meaning 'to seduce more than one of a polygynist's co-wives'.

, a situation precipitated by infant-girl betrothal. Seeing that the custom is universal, it follows that a young man's sole outlet is adultery. The absence of homosexuality, which is regarded with horror, makes that conclusion inescapable. The lover (kiLAGI) is an institution. To lack one would be to lack prestige. Over the camp fire men dwell endlessly on the theme, enjoying the irony of the presence of duped husbands in the audience. They obviously get a kick out of the sheer subtlety of their clandestine adventures, and arouse admiration on that score. It is the threat of these multitudinous secret relationships that, more than anything else, explains the frantic insistence of Ngindo law on their obliteration.

Are Ngindo women in fact kept 'under lock and key'? To some extent they are, spending the bulk of their time busied around their own huts or fields, which are likely to be some distance from the nearest neighbours. But to prove adultery (UTWAHI) a man must have witnesses to show that the suspect was seen inside his, the complainant's, hut, or alone with his wife in the forest under

compromising circumstances. A charge based on technical grounds, without intent to seduce being shown, or on pure suspicion will fail. Dismissing such a charge, a judge remarks "This is just a matter of jealousy" (AP 8/32, 8/46). Again, quashing a subordinate court decision, the Appeal court states "It is not good to impose a fine on a man because of mere thinking (i.e. suspicion)" (AP 11/47). Ngindo frequently complain of the increased severity of the law of adultery at the coast and other such places, where they fear even to ask for water at a strange homestead. Also, they aver, the rigour of Ngindo adultery has declined. Before the Europeans came, if a man and woman happened to stand together on their own, or passed each other on a path without making room, they might be liable to prosecution. In those days the husband had an additional hold over his wife, to whom he could administer a potion extracted from the mTUMBATI tree. This would make her seriously ill if she had transgressed. Nowadays this medicine has fallen out of use because wives insist that their husbands drink it simultaneously; also the tree is Government-scheduled.[x] But the sanction of a mother's childbirth-confession remains. Theoretically, a wife should make a clean breast when asked directly by her husband about paternity. "By our law you should have asked your wife without threatening her. She would simply have told you who gave her this child" (AP 12/38).

Ngindo admit to being jealous. "A man is entitled to be jealous over his wife. It is his right" (AP 85/51.) Another court advises an unsuccessful litigant to "hunt him (the lover) and catch him" (NJ 31/46)... but not to the extent of causing bloodshed .## Though I have heard it said that a husband might retaliate with a poisoned arrow fired in stealth, I have never been able to unearth an instance,

[x] Footnote:
i.e. protected from all cutters but those who are duly licensed.

or even rumour of one. The only casualty on record is not a lover, but a wife, grazed by her husband with a poisoned arrow on a public highway. She was in the act of deserting him, and would not turn back. The murderer made his escape. Ngindo have no sympathy for the conjugal passion that leads to violence. Nor do they share the opinion of the Mbunga (peripheral-Ngindo) who think, or used to think, adultery-compensation to be degrading to the recipient. In a solitary instance the courts allude to the possibility of physical force being used. Marrying a girl off to two husbands "is a very bad offence, because men may fight over things like this" (AP 13/36). Evidently, a wronged husband's fury is not of the highest intensity. A man described to me how he was caught in the act, and then held prisoner by the husband. I asked why, being a powerful specimen, he did not break loose. "That would make him too angry", was the reply. Even in the old days, homicide would not necessarily follow a red-handed discovery; firstly because the husband would then be under a permanent taboo against copulating with his wife; secondly because the resultant feud would inhibit the payment of compensation for adultery, then much higher than at present.

Essentially, it is their status which renders husbands vigilant. "He has put me to shame", bleats a cuckold husband who had been made fun of, "I am the laughing stock of the whole settlement" (AP 85/51). Former German askaris caused offence not so much because they seduced women as by the open way they did it. An askari would send the husband off on some bogus errand, making no attempt at concealment. Ngindo feel that, even in adultery, decorum should be observed. At the time of the recent Evacuation Scheme, they were shocked at the indiscriminate methods of coastal adulterers. "Why, a man would not even bother to find out who the woman's husband

was. Just promiscuous!". Persons in authority show themselves hyper-sensitive. A former MWENYE, an elderly man at that, is reputed to have walked fifty miles at a stretch on several occasions solely in order to surprise his wives at home. In a case I observed myself, a headman who is personally devoid of jealous feelings, nevertheless made frantic demands when one of his wives was detected in adultery. Even where infidelity is condoned, it should be furtive. Speaking of an impotent husband's kinsmen doing duty in his stead, some informants chimed "They do it decently ... in secret". Cases like this show that in reality surveillance of women is superficial. It could not be otherwise in a country such as Ngindoland. Even in the old days, when women had less freedom than today, ... for one thing, women would then ~~they would~~ consort only with grown men; for another, the penalties must have acted as a deterrent, as witness this exerpt from the Ngindoland Council proceedings (1932): "If a man was caught in adultery more than once, even if he was a freeman, he had to be seized and sold or driven out without permission to frequent that place" . the scattered thicket-fields gave ample scope for lovers. Women had to go relatively long distances to draw water, and generally went alone. Adultery seems to have been rife. Likewise at the present day, women often work ~~do a lot of jobs~~ alone in the forest or at water-holes. Whole parties of them go out after bush-foods. One even sees young and comely girls travelling between settlements unescorted. Absentee husbands, particularly migrant-labourers, frankly leave their wives to the care of close kinsmen who assume full conjugal functions. Cloth will be sent to enable them to maintain the protegee. One such vicarious husband, who met with criticism from his own wife in consequence, was puzzled. "I look after these wives ... Tell me, who will do so now ? ". The court plainly defended his action, but nevertheless granted a decree to

the rebellious wife (MCH 14/45). Chronically suspicious husbands are by no means popular. One, of my acquaintance, almost had to emigrate, such was the feeling against him. Another made himself ridiculous, and finally lost his wife altogether. Severity amongst husbands is not universal. For instance a man ~~is~~ was goaded into taking court action only when a youth had been caught twice with one of his wives and once with another (LIW 51/44).

In between neighbouring lineages a system of mutual concessions comes into force. If a youth belonging to one of them is caught out, virile kinsmen of the aggrieved husband will urge him to lenient lest an 'adultery war' break out, leading to a whole series of costly and damaging disclosures. I was present at a parley when such arguments induced the complainant to lower his demand to only Shs. 8/-. As is the case with other types of dispute, only a proportion of adultery cases find their way to the Government sponsored court, or, in the past, courts. Some appear to be patched up on the spot without any group action at all. A seducer tried to silence the discoverer with a paltry forty cents, (ev.MCH 58/42). Another asked whether he should not hand over a fowl (ev. AP 29/32). In this same case, the plaintiff was found to have lured the guilty man into committing the offence. He and his wife were fined Shs. 5/- each, and got no compensation. In that same year, the Ngindoland Council found it necessary to condemn such practices. "Some people set traps so as to get money".

There is no stigma on an adulterer, who if anything tends to brag. A certain individual is remembered with awe. He was caught in adultery twice in the same day! After running away from the first encounter, leaving his clothing in the hands of his pursuers, the fellow

managed to attract the attention of a female acquaintance whom he saw cultivating. Leaving her work she came to his rescue at the edge of the field and proceeded to divest herself of her inner garment so as to cover him. Overcome by this new temptation, he was promptly caught by the second husband, who had come across to investigate. A man I knew seemed to invalidate the foregoing. He had a bad reputation, apparently for being an accomplished seducer. But I later learned that he in fact used to commit rape.

It is relevant to recapitulate the position of women in Ngindo society. I have shown that the relationship of mother is close, that of wife distant. In many respects women have a distinctly inferior status to men. "You are a woman. You live in servitude!", exclaims one litigant (NJ 7/44). And in truth a woman cannot stand on her own feet. She needs a man to defend her person and do heavy muscular work, to conduct her economic transactions, to represent her in disputes and parleys, and generally to manage her affairs. Females seldom figure as sacrificial operators, or as the spirits addressed in sacrifices; and never as lineage-heads. In public they ~~get~~ are segregated. Islam in particular discriminates against them. They have no redress for petty assault by their immediate male companions, and in small ways get cavalier treatment. They must surrender a stool to any male of consequence, step aside on a path ### (I heard a man shout "Get out of the way and let grown-up people pass!") ### , and carry loads. A woman who was lame with a sore on her foot came several miles to me for treatment. I noticed that she not only carried a bulky child on her hip, but a considerable load on her head, whilst her husband, an unusually sane and pleasant man, walked empty-handed. Outside Ngindoland, Ngindo women have a sorry reputation as drab, subservient creatures ... actually an utter misconception, though an accurate commen-

tary on their overt behaviour. Ngindo, for their part, consider outside women impossibly flighty. The division of labour (see Chapter II) has shown the enormous discrepancy between male and female tasks. The latter are by far the more onerous. Pressure is exerted on women to enter prearranged marriages, first as infants, and later as ~~leviritical~~ inherited widows. They get unequal dispensations in ownership and inheritance of property. Finally, menfolk deliberately keep them backward. Scarcely any women are literate (... one of the few exceptions coming to my notice, a woman who had picked up the Arabic script from her Preacher husband, was found perusing a letter. When her husband demanded to see it, she swallowed it! And that was the end of her literary career. ##, or fluent in Swahili##) They are rather encouraged to go in for follies like being possessed with devils.

On the other hand, women can achieve minor positions of responsibility. Cases of women acting as guardians of families are not rare (BAR 18/36, 4/38, MCH 74/43, 63/44). A girl's father says of her suitor, "He was accepted by my sister. As far as I was concerned, he did not marry". The match was upheld (AP 143/51). A paternal aunt is awarded some disputed bridewealth "because she is your (the competing claimant's) father, even though she is a woman" (LIW 48/45). Another has a nephew, who has been sent to recuperate from an illness, die on her hands. She arranges the funeral on her own initiative, merely sending word afterwards to the parents. The paternal aunt or sister of an ailing child are stated to be the persons best qualified to sacrifice for its recovery (ev.AP 65/51). Other instances of the paternal aunt's influence have been quoted earlier. Mothers-in-law expect to be obeyed by their daughters' suitors. An elderly woman receives the respectful greeting

SHIKAMO! and is treated with marked deference. Women are quick to react if they feel themselves debased."I wore bark-cloth!", says one (LIW 20/45). Bark-cloth signifies destitution nowadays. "I am not a bastard child!" is the indignant cry of another (AP 2/49). A widow who had been pushed from one ~~leviritical~~ heir to the next compared herself to "the water-ladle in a latrine. I am the plaything of all comers" (KIP 29/37). Protests another, "I am bartered like a goat!" (NJ 26/44). Although brothers are peremptory with their sisters, they may not be rude without cause. "He has insulted his sister without any offence on her part" (MCH 3/43). Although husbands may beat their wives, they should not do so without good reason. "You have done wrong to beat your wife without catching the adulterer" (NJ 26/44). In any case, female victims of assault do not take it lying down. They raise a sing-song dirge audible far up and down the valley. As will be shown a tenacious woman can get divorce with or without grounds. That its incidence should be relatively low is proof of reasonable behaviour on the part of most Ngindo husbands. Segregation of women in a sense gives them a measure of autonomy. Thus, a court holds it to be improper for a man to intervene in womens' quarrels (AP 1/39). Acute observers remark on the unobtrusive dominance of Ngindo women. A father who was fined for giving undertakings to two suitors at the same time pleaded that the girl herself wanted them both and egged him on (AP 13/36). Economically, a woman enjoys some independence. She will control the rate of consumption of produce from her own fields ... husbands state that the first inkling they get that a certain granary is empty is when the matter is reported by the appropriate wife. If a woman is given presents by her own kin, these remain hers, as distinct from joint, or her husband's personal, property. As a

craftswoman she can earn an income; and as a ritual expert. An initiatrees is a person of some prestige, queening it at the initiation lodge. In sorcery, women are thought pre-eminent, and even feared by their husbands on that account. In balance, women exert a considerable influence on the surface, and a greater one behind the scenes. To see them sitting silent and apart at a parley, one would not guess that they have had much to do with the line of argument put forward and, unless it happens to suit them, will have more to do with the outcome.

The Ngindo impose standard amounts of compensation for adultery, payable to the aggrieved husband. In the early thirties it was fixed at £15/- (Shs.), to which was later added a fine of £5/- (Shs.) payable by the woman. These figures have doubled since the war. Prior to standardisation the level fluctuated. And before that again, under the Germans, the official penalty is alleged to have been 25 lashes and three months' imprisonment, a source of grave discontent among the natives, who preferred compensation. Adultery seems to have presented a serious problem throughout. On the advent of Indirect Rule, it was thought that the answer might lie in stepping up compensation. A European official reproved the Ngindoland Council for "the lack of punishment for adultery". Three years later his successor reached the opposite conclusion. "There are few natives who can hope to pay £50/- (Shs.) or so, which is not infrequently ordered, either in cash or in kind". In the interim the Council lamented over the prevalence of the offence, advocating imprisonment for "prostitutes", a plea reiterated in 1937 ... "let him (the District Commissioner) help us and put a jail for women ... because they are getting out of hand". By this time the £15/- (Shs.) compensation had been introduced, but the £5/- (Shs.) fine was yet to come. One chronically

unfaithful wife did in fact go to jail (AP 14/39), but this was an oddity. Meanwhile officials grumbled at the continued spate of cases. One of the chief difficulties was the inconsistency of Ngindo opinion on the subject of feminine responsibility. At heart it was felt that the woman could be no more than a passive agent. This appears strikingly in a case in which a woman had been abducted for a year. Not only was normal compensation levied, but the woman was to receive a further Shs. 15/- compensation herself for the inconvenience caused to her! ... "The woman will get Shs. 15/- as her recompense" (MCH 74/42). At the same time, something drastic had to be done to counter the adultery wave and protect the institution of marriage. But where was a woman to find ready cash, unless she went off whoring ? The result is that the woman's fine devolves upon ... the husband!

As I have stated, the definition of the offence is straightforward. But borderline cases do occur. A man is presumed guilty because when the woman's husband seized his clothing, he, the suspect, never brought a counter charge of being disrobed without cause (NJ 16/44). A man and woman seen walking together on their own, and conversing in low tones, likewise. "This is not in the least customary ... she is not your kinswoman" (AP 9/43). If presents from a man are found in a wife's possession, the donor may be presumed guilty (AP 1/46). The presents included soap in this case. Should snuff alone pass hands, then this is deprecated, but not tantamount to adultery. "Do not let him get accustomed to giving things to people 's wives" (AP 11/32). The court fined this donor Shs. 5/-, and another, Shs. 2/50 (AP 19/32). Gifts are, of course, one of the mainstays of illicit courtship, a feature well illustrated by a pair of songs from the kiNGINDO devil dance ... "The

daughter of Mwichande Kindamba is a giver of water-melons. And he (her lover) said 'I am satiated with this'": and again, "Abdalla, Abdalla is no good. Yesterday he greeted and spoke with the daughter of (another) Abdalla. Abdalla is no good!" i.e. he merely spoke to the girl, without giving her anything. If a man refuses to swear an Islamic oath of innocence, he must be guilty (AP 16/38). Copulating with an unbetrothed or unmarried girl is in itself no offence, so if a wife can be shown to have been deserted by her husband, she cannot be the subject of adultery-charges. "The husband left his wife for a long time. This is nothing but his own folly" (AP 8/34). A husband who left his wife for four years, then tried to catch her in adultery, got no compensation and was divorced into the bargain (AP 12/42). It will be shown later in this section that the maximum permissible period of absence is three years. A seducer in another similar case, though free from adultery, was fined Shs. 5/-. "You have no right to go by night to people's houses" (NJ 10/45).

The Ngindo's hut is his castle. Unauthorised entry at no matter what hour may constitute adultery. This inviolability is said to have produced complications during the Evacuation. Coast dwellers, ignoring the Ngindo code whereby a seducer is expected to go to the woman's hut or at least meet her in the forest, would entice women to their own homes. Then, profiting by the ban on entry therein, they would keep them indoors for days on end whilst the husband vainly searched. To return to Ngindoland, in one case a Government headman was exonerated from blame when he proved that his reason for entering the enclosure of a hut was to recruit porters (BAR 10/39). Another intruder was let off seeing that he only took shelter from a storm, (AP 1/37). If, as occasionally happens, the woman is discovered at a hut other than her own, the owner must be

shown to have lured her thither. In 1932, the Ngindoland Council ruled ... "There is no adultery in this case, because the woman went to the accused's hut without being summoned". In one case the hut owner turned out to be an unattached woman. She was fined £3/- sks. for keeping the husband up searching all night! "If you had been a man, you would have been obliged to pay £30/- sks." (NJ 11/46). Another householder was male but blameless. The truant woman stated that she had been denied sexual intercourse for seventy days and had become desperate. The court pointed out that she should have sued for divorce, and for good measure granted a summary decree. Nevertheless, a proviso was added that she and the householder should not marry (AP 22/32).

This afterthought typifies Ngindo determination that lovers, or potential lovers, should not get recognition. The District Commissioner of the day contested this judgment, and the point has been misunderstood or overridden by later administrators. To give a more representative instance, a man seduces the wife of a medical dresser, who applies for a transfer to escape his attentions. But the seducer follows and succeeds in engineering a divorce; whereupon he marries the dresser's wife. The court, restoring the previous marriage, sent the seducer to jail for two months, a very heavy punishment by Ngindo standards (AP 8/43). In no matter what divorce-suit, the courts suspect intrigue. "There is a man who has come to an arrangement with her, we know perfectly well!" (AP 8/44). Under Islamic law there is no prohibition of this nature. Though of course, if the couple had been proven adulterers beforehand, they would not, if legally married Muslims, have lived to tell the tale. The orthodox penalty is death by stoning!

The Ngindo courts take a very severe view of persistent adulterers, whether or not the latter aim at matrimony. It is these men, and not irate husbands, who represent a danger. One threatens to "shoot arrows and set huts on fire" (LIW 62/43). Another defiant lover cries "I will hang first before I leave her!" (AP 5/39). Scandalised, the courts inflict what to them are cruel sentences. A six month term of imprisonment had to be reduced by the District Commissioner to four, by the Provincial Commissioner to three (AP 12/31). A pair of lovers made a suicide-pact (cv. AP 9/37). In particular is abduction deplored. "This is neither the law nor the custom of the tribe ... you have been subversive. You have abducted a woman and her child" (AP 14/39).

A case already cited (AP 22/32) rejects the idea that ill-treatment or neglect entitles a spouse to commit adultery. A girl pleaded in vain that her husband was impotent ... "I have yet to lie with him" (LIW 3/44). I have also shown that seduction of one's brother-in-law's wife generally leads not to adultery, but divorce-procedure. Apart from the concessions I have described, aimed at reducing the friction arising out of adultery-disputes between neighbouring groups, there are other ways in which the private infidelity of a woman concerns a wider set of people than the trio of husband, wife, and lover. Where husband and lover belong to the same lineage or are close kinsmen, there tends to be a relaxation in the demands for compensation. "It is true that I forgave adultery. I did not extort money from this my brother", says an aggrieved husband (AP 112/51). But should he wish to forgive an outside adulterer, he could not do so unless his kinsmen agreed. This applies to any kinsman discovering adultery, not only to the husband. Thus, a maternal uncle who keeps

quiet about his nephew's wife's lover gets censured. "He (the uncle) has no right to let him (the suspect) off adultery without compensation the pardon of the woman's own husband" (AP 6/33). Not only was normal compensation ~~to be paid~~ levied, but the uncle had to pay a Shs. 5/- fine as well. The converse applies only partially. That is, kinsmen of the seducer directly implicated in the offence may be penalised (LIW 43/43, 30/44, 4/45), the accessories in each case being fined Shs. 5/-; but not always. Another court decided against admitting such a charge (NJ 51/46). Otherwise, no one but the lover himself can be held legally responsible though the payment of compensation is usually a group matter since his kinsmen would not allow the culprit to get deeper into trouble for failing to pay. Or, to be more precise, they would not allow relations between the two groups to be exacerbated thereby. I found not a single case of default, even though slow instalments were sometimes necessary. However the relevant kinsmen will certainly grumble about contributing towards compensation for a second offence. When two friends agreed to allow each other access to their wives whereupon the one turned around and sued for adultery, the court clearly sided with the man who had been betrayed; but it evaded the issue on a technicality. Despite his admission of intimacy, the accused "has not been caught red-handed either inside the hut or in the forest" (AP 2/37). No criticism was levelled at the exchange of wives.

It appears to be immaterial whether or not the violated marriage is pagan or Islamic. This stands in contrast to the reported position at the coast, where interference with a pagan wife is either no offence at all, or a matter of fines, not compensation. Ngindo complained bitterly of this during the Evacuation, although, in according parity to pagan marriage, they are heterodox.

Adultery under Islamic law ("Zina"), with its stringent requirements of proof and barbarous penalties, has no relevance whatever to the Ngindo. However, being improperly alone with another man's wife (Islamic "Khalwa") would seem to correspond more closely with Ngindo adultery. Nevertheless, even a downright confessed adulterer is treated exactly as any other by the Ngindo, who likewise make no distinction in the event of an ensuing pregnancy. A false or unproven accusation of adultery is not visited with the retribution ordained for Islamic slander ("Qadf"), nor is it even punishable at all.

Where some interdependence between Ngindo and Islamic seems to occur is in the oath-taking mechanism. Called YAMINI by the Ngindo, it is thought to establish the innocence of any offender, but more especially that of an adulterer. it is administered by a Muslim Preacher, preferably in a mosque, and a false oath is seriously believed to bring sudden death. To give an instance of the power of such belief, I quote a case of a generation ago. A suspected adulterer announced his intention of swearing the oath, whereupon a kinsman begged him to desist. Doubtless the kinsman was convinced of his guilt, for he even handed over [Shs.] 10/- there and then as a contribution towards the compensation. The court agreed that the oath should be cancelled "because if he were to die, the husband of the woman gets nothing" (AP 16/36). Another suspect, who was acquitted for lack of evidence, none the less had to pay a [Shs.] 2/- fine for refusing to swear the oath (AP 3/35). In a similar case, already quoted, such refusal amounted to a presumption of guilt. YAMINI seems to have given rise to the usual embroideries, such as the sprinkling of water over the conjugal bed whilst Koranic

texts are muttered. Whether or not YAMINI is in keeping with the Islamic oath ("Li'an") is uncertain. Unlike Li'an, which automatically dissolves the swearer's marriage, YANINI leaves it undisturbed.

Divorce.

Compared with the outliers, the home-Ngindo are thought more conservative than they, less addicted to divorce (kuLEKANA). Its incidence amongst them certainly appears lower than elsewhere. From samples taken throughout Ngindoland types of marriage, on the basis of wife-categories, were found to be ...

By infant betrothal	74.2%	(the size of the sample is 364 marriages).
Mature maidens	-	
Inherited widows ~~(see p.122)~~	8.8%	
Straight widows	3.7%	
Divorcees	13.3%	
	100.0	

Note: for fuller details see table in Chapter VIII, Internal Variations.

Of the marriages so contracted 8.4% have subsequently ended in divorce. There is no articulate stigma on divorce; but a much-divorced wife, or for that matter husband, earns ill fame. Suits are brought almost invariably by the wife. When, as occasionally happens, the husband takes the initiative, it is for a specific reason. Either the wife is sick, insubordinate, or in some other way manifestly unsuitable ... to take an instance, "She makes trouble" (ev.MCH 66/42). In a husband's eyes divorce is a grave loss, an humiliating admission of defeat. Suits brought by wives on the other hand are frequently frivolous; sometimes admittedly without any foundation of grievance.

n/p .....

It is obvious from the behaviour of the courts that the primary consideration is the degree of tension between husband and wife. If the two are merely bickering, a show of inflexibility by the court may bring them together. Thus a wife accusing her husband of theft ... a tremendous insult among the Ngindo ... for which she allegedly suffered the reprisal of having the painfully irritant buffalo-bean brought into contact with her genitals, lost her petition (AP 8/37). If the tension be serious, grounds become quite secondary, and a woman will be denied her freedom only if the husband energetically resists, or if the wife looks like yielding ground. Even so, she generally gets her way in the end. Court judgments are consistently defeatist. "We cannot tie her down" (NJ 19/43). "The woman is vehemently demanding divorce" (NJ 14/44). "I do not want to provoke conflict" (NJ 30/46). "If the woman cannot keep quiet at home, it is best to leave her" (AP 109/51). "You will not live quietly within your homesteads" (AP 4/50). "There is continual trouble. So there is neither reason nor profit" (AP 1/40). "The husband has wearied of this woman's clamour" (AP 17/43). "In the end there will be danger" (AP 10/45). "They will fight or set the house on fire. It will be perilous" (AP 8/36). "This dispute started long ago and the woman persists in objecting. It is best just to leave her" (AP 11/36). "Nothing but noise all day long" (AP 15/36). Even when

n/p .....

the suit gets dismissed, a post-script frequently appears to the effect that the decision has been reversed. For instance a carping wife, described by the court as "a plain liar", secures her divorce in this manner (NJ 10/46). Another technique, now no longer open, was to peddle a suit from court to court. Thus, a suit that had been rejected at Barikiwa was successful at Muhinje Chini! In the nineteen-thirties a District Commissioner proposed that women

getting divorced without cause should be penalised, but it came to nothing. The long and the short of it is that a woman's loophole of divorce restores to infant-marriage the missing factor of choice on the bride's part. Throughout her married life, she holds in her hand the trump card of divorce.

Divorce should be granted by a Government-recognized court, but to my knowledge no ruling has been made that this should be the universal procedure. The parties merely find it more satisfactory to have a firmer guarantee of divorce than verbal agreement alone. However, the latter alternative still lies open. A woman ~~goes~~ went to court (Government) complaining that her previous divorce had been merely unofficial (ev. LIW 11/45). In other cases, extra-cameral divorce is recognized by the regular courts (AP 20/50, 89/51). Elsewhere it may be rejected (AP 9/40). In this case, the suit had not been dealt with by arbitration, but divorce ~~had~~ merely ~~been~~ taken for granted after a three-year absence of the husband. It has been shown that betrothed girls, unless very small indeed, are divorced in the ordinary way ...: a number of suits are brought by the girl's father, appearing in her stead. For purposes of divorce, there seems to be no difference between pagan and Islamic marriage, excepting in the HETO-MAHARI distinction as described earlier.

Even though grounds for divorce are not essential, the courts in principle demand them: For example "He (the husband) is not a wrongdoer. Therefore the woman will follow her husband" (MCH 55/43). The commonest grounds are failure of the husband to maintain his wife properly, or failure of a suitor to fulfil his contract. Besides feeding, clothing, sheltering, and satisfying her sexually, the

husband must show reasonable attention to his wife's well-being. A husband whose wife lay ill with her own people only went to visit her once. She got a divorce on the strength of this (AP 37/43). Desertion is almost as frequently alleged. Since the early thirties automatic divorce has been available to women abandonned by their husbands for three years and more. A woman who had been left for six years protested: "I do not want to go on living like a person who has been imprisoned". The court assented. "Without a husband, this is not justice" (AP 98/51).

n/p .....

Other valid grounds are (a) serious assault by the husband (AP 1/35, etc.). (b) senility of the husband (AP 15/35). (c) frigidity on his part. Here the courts fluctuate. In one case (AP 8/48) a wife who regarded her husband "like a brother" was refused divorce by the native court, but received it from the District Commissioner. In another (BAR 11/35), the court is of opinion that "if she has not had sexual intercourse this woman will get her divorce." (d) impotence of the husband (KIP 21/37). I have not found husbands seeking separations from barren wives. (e) lunacy of either partner (KIP 25/34, in which the wife was mad). Seeing that wives are at such a premium, this makes it certain that a husband in that state would be divorced. But occasional bouts do not constitute grounds (KIP 3/38). (f) leprosy in either of the spouses. "It is not right for a leper and a healthy woman to marry" (BAR 16/37, etc.). (g) blindness (MCH 52/42); but not other illnesses or disabilities (AP 14/41). (h) sorcery (AP 1/41). (i) sacrilege against Islamic religious ordinances (AP 144/51). This is obviously an isolated case, and concerns a strict Muslim father-in-law from outside Ngindoland. (j) a husband sending his wife to her people without due cause or explanation (BAR 5/35). (k) interference by the wife's kin (KIP 14/37, etc.).

(l) husband breaking the in-law's spouse taboo (BAR 4/35,etc).

(m) discrimination by a ~~husband~~ polygynist against one of his ~~polygynous~~ wives (MCH 63/43). In other cases resembling this last, no decree was awarded. Similar hesitation occurs over suits where the wife complains that her offspring die off (MCH 4/45 rejected, AP 11/36 granted). A single suit brought on grounds of the infidelity of the husband was initially refused, but later allowed (MCH 14/45). Ngindo hold the belief that incontinence on the part of a husband when his wife has a child in arms may injure the child. This applies even to copulation with lovers and casual acquaintances. n/p As a rule, whether or not she is in the right, a divorced wife's kinsfolk must refund to the husband the amount of bridewealth actually paid down to date. Also, all children born of the union must go to him or to his kin, irrespective of responsibility for the rupture. For each unmarried child so relinquished by the woman a fixed amount is deducted from the bridewealth to be paid back. Until quite recently this was Shs. 15/- for a boy, Shs. 20/- for a girl ... note the distinction ... but has now gone up to Shs. 20/- and Shs. 30/- respectively. Sometimes, when several children are involved, they are lumped together to cancel out a roughly commensurate sum of bridewealth. Hence two girls and two boys ~~are~~ were equated with Shs. 120/- bridewealth (AP 29/51). That is to say, the husband waived Shs. 50/- ... this was before the rise in amounts. Elsewhere it is the husband who gains. In another case of the same period three boys and two girls ~~at the old rate~~ obviated Shs. 70/- bridewealth (AP 115/51). That is, the husband gained Shs. 15/-. When the husband or his kin fail to make the necessary adjustment in bridewealth, they forfeit the child. I have found a man, now grown up and married, who lives matrilocally as a result of this.

Strictly, when divorce comes about through a husband deserting his wife for more than a stipulated period of three years, his bridewealth is forfeited as well (AP 7/31). This may also happen when he has infringed the in-law's spouse taboo (AP 16/42), or when a wife goes mad (KIP 25/34). Both in the procedure followed over bridewealth and in other consequences, this last is tantamount to her dying. When awarding to a six-years-absent husband the Shs. 10/- residue of bridewealth after the normal adjustments for children had been made, a judge observed "This is just a native concession ... the letter of the law is to lose it (bridewealth) altogether ... because you have abandoned her yourself" (AP 98/51). Another husband who left his leprous wife for fifteen years had to forego Shs. 20/- bridewealth (AP 24/41). Occasionally the outgoing husband may voluntarily surrender his right of claiming bridewealth. "He has agreed to lose it (bridewealth)" (AP 9/32). Conversely, a court specifies that an intriguing wife's brother shall not be excused any bridewealth refund. "Let him (the husband) get his full due ..." (AP 9/45).

A further source of reductions in bridewealth refund is the compensation given to a wife of long standing. The woman referred to earlier as being prolific was allowed to retain Shs. 12/- of her bridewealth on divorce (MCH 63/43). Another ~~gets~~ got Shs. 4/- for seven years of conjugal life (AP 11/40). And another Shs. 10/- for ten years (AP 207/51). And so forth. The courts are reluctant to grant reductions for a couple who have been married less than five years (AP 209, 210/51). In one case the husband himself fixed the amount at Shs. 15/- (LIW 38/45). Again, if at the time of divorce a child is too young to leave its mother, a claim can be made in respect of its nurture up to the time of transfer to the father or his kin. The amounts

vary from about 5/- for an infant to about 20/- for a child that has been left until it grew up. Examples are 6/- for a small boy, maintained for three years (KIP 23/36), 20/- for an adult daughter (LIW 57/43). If a woman has been seriously ill prior to divorce, she may merit compensation (LIW 64/42). As indicated in the discussion of lovers, the sequel to Ngindo divorce reflects the prevailing belief that the institution is a reluctant concession to unusually dominant lover-relationships. Hence, although his children maintain amicable contact with their mother, a man prefers not to live close to his ex-wife. Otherwise, on the assumption that the second husband engineered the whole thing, he would be countenancing a lover triumph. By Ngindo standards, persons found rigging divorces to suit themselves are quite heavily fined (AP 5/43). Even the most disinterested court-holder would be unwise to seek the hand of a woman whose decree has been granted in his own court. An instance came to my notice, of which rumours had spread beyond Ngindoland. People expected a show-down, but, on appeal to a superior court, whether or not the Ngindo attitude had been taken into account, the match was emphatically upheld. In this, as in other spheres, an individual is not free to act without reference to his kin. A divorce granted in the absence of the husband's elder brother had to be rescinded when the latter protested that he had not been consulted (AP 8/45). Nor may a man retain his wife after divorce (AP 10/38).

n/p

A special type of divorce, of which the procedure is none the less almost identical, is that granted to a widow who refuses to pass to her deceased husband's heir. The widow should be free to choose between possible heirs or to go her own way. In practice she is under some constraint, but an obstinate widow cannot be retained. If

she refuses point blank, automatic divorce from the heir ensues. "Because she refuses to be inherited, and the court cannot compel widow-inheritance by force. It is the choice of the woman herself" (BAR 18/37). Or again, "She will get permission to go and seek whatever husband pleases her" (AP 21/32). The heir himself should be prepared to let the widow go. "I cannot force her if she does not want me" (AP 10/40). An heir who was to have got a widow on her second transfer said to me, "I decided to let her go". But he retained her four small sons. In the event of repeated inheritance a widow is thought to be especially entitled to follow her own wishes. "Widow-inheritance three times over is not just" (AP 14/32). On one occasion a court appeared to victimise a widow, who pleaded "I am defeated. I cannot endure widow-inheritance for the third time!". For some reason she had to submit to it (MCH 65/43). But the inevitable post-script adds "The court has changed its mind. The woman is very old. He (the heir) may not have anything (i.e. bridewealth)". In another case a much-inherited widow gets an allowance of 5/- 10/- on that score (AP 76/51). The position of the non-inherited widow's children is precisely the same as in regular divorce. In response to the District Commissioner's incredulous query, the Ngindoland Council of 1930 affirmed that "If the woman does not want to be inherited, the heir must take the children, whereas the widow does not get a single one. This is indeed our ancient law followed by our ancestors". If however the heir or his kin cannot raise the cash equivalent for the children, custody will be refused (AP 28/32). The only real difference between widow-divorce and ordinary divorce is in the MALI MAUTI bridewealth-adjustment which has been described already; namely a modest allowance in the widow's favour.

n/p.....

Ngindo divorce shows great discrepancies when measured against the yardstick of Islam, in terms of which it is the husband who may summarily and without grounds divorce his wife, whereas she has the utmost difficulty in getting her freedom without his consent. Otherwise, unless the husband suffers from a specified disease rendering him physically incapable of maintaining her, or for some other specified reason fails to do so, the Islamic wife remains bound. The only loophole is if the husband has accorded to her his own absolute right of dismissal. Children are also awarded on a slightly different basis. Under Islam, they may stay with the mother until the age of about seven, then exercise an option as to which parent they will accompany, though their guardianship remains in the hands of the father. As regards property, the wife stands to get her own dowry together with any wealth she herself provided; but she does not seem to have the half-share of utensils, produce, and domestic property appropriated by the outgoing Ngindo wife. Few Ngindo appreciate the gulf between their own conduct of affairs and strict Islamic law, but they see sufficient portents to make them unwilling to embark on Islamic marriage. Many perforce had a taste of it at the time of Evacuation, when a pagan husband allegedly stood to get neither bridewealth nor children on divorce. The belief is also current that the Islamic wife must be paid out handsomely on divorce. Such ideas may not be accurate, but they are not conducive to bringing the people of Ngindoland closer within the Muslim fold.

Widow-Inheritance.

If a widow raises no objection, she passes on to the heir without formality. It is understood that her first few weeks with him should be provisional. One

or two trial periods like this are frequently necessary before she settles down. Refuting a troublesome widow's story that she was left in the lurch, a judge declares "He (the father of the heir) gave her another of his sons" (MCH 40/43). If the interval between the widow's bereavement and inheritance is excessive, she may be compensated. A widow who remained unattached for nine years eventually sued for widow-divorce. But, the heir still claiming her, she passed on to him and got 8/- compensation (MCH 8/44). Even if widow-divorce eventually supervenes, any children born in the interim, whether legitimate or not, go to the heir// (MCH 48/42). In this case the widow had been stranded for seven years and had borne two bastard children. Among the more conservative Ngindo, many more widows seem to follow widow-inheritance (maLEKWE) than refuse it. The ratio (table earlier in this Chapter) is shown to be almost three to one. Throughout Ngindoland however the two are probably nearer parity.

The heir should for preference be the deceased's younger brother or paternal parallel-cousin, but in practice includes a much wider range of kinsman including uterine kin.[x] One man claimed his grandfather's widow! She pleaded senility and was allowed her freedom (LIW 50/45). But a man's son should not inherit his widow. "You have no leave to inherit the wife of your genitor ... it is absolutely wrong ... it is the just portion of this your junior paternal uncle " (AP 1/51). Nor should a father inherit his son's widow. ~~Nor vice versa.~~ "This is a

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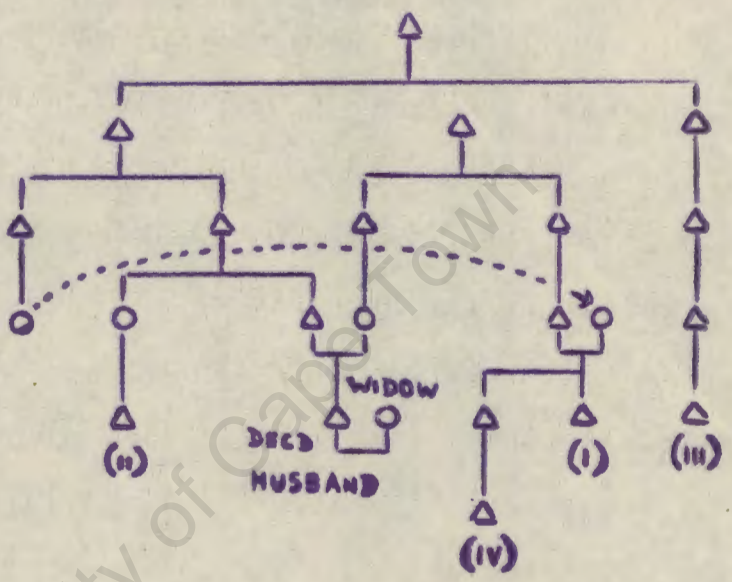
x Footnote:
Heirs at Barikiwa were found to comprise ...

65%	agnatic kin	(mostly junior parallel cousins; with a few senior parallel cousins, a few nephews, two junior full-brothers; and with one apiece of the following - servile 'nephew', servile 'cousin', father's brother).
23%	uterine kin	(half were unspecified cousins; half, classificatory sisters' sons).
12%	neutral	(i.e. unspecified kin, called 'cousins').
100%		(size of sample : 41 cases).

case of behaving like the wild beasts" (AP 28/51). Infringements are quite common, but recognized as such. A man proposed as heir of his father's widow declines in the following terms. "This woman is my mother, that is all ... it is not conceivable for me to inherit my father's wife" (NJ 6/45). In keeping with the sharp Ngindo gradation of siblings, it is also frowned upon if an elder brother becomes heir.



Here is a representative sequence of experimental widow-inheritance. The widow tries three candidates without success, ~~to~~ settling down with the fourth. None of the first three made any payment since the widow's stay with each was curtailed. (i) is the deceased's maternal cross-cousin, (ii) his paternal aunt's son, (iii) ~~another~~ a distant patrilateral parallel-cousin, and (iv) a maternal nephew (the deceased's mother's male paternal parallel-cousin's paternal grandson).

The heir need perform no suitor-labour for the widow, but has to pay both kiBANI and bridewealth (HETO), the former on an increased, the latter on a reduced, scale. In principle the heir should make good the sum outstanding in the deceased's bridewealth-agreement; but in practice

the payments of deceased and heir together generally exceed normal bridewealth levels. In the event of repeated inheritance, the downward trend of payments shows clearly. Thus in one case the original husband paid Shs. 70/-, his unspecified maternal nephew ~~###~~d-heir Shs. 40/-, and the latter's brother ~~###~~-heir only Shs. 12/-. A widow's kiBANI is seldom less than Shs. 6/-, her bridewealth seldom more than Shs. 40/-. If she has a number of children, they will generally remain with her at first, as opposed to being distributed to competing heirs. At the same time there is a feeling that an heir should not get more than one child.

One sees a distinct tendency to anticipate widow-inheritance where the husband is incapacitated or absent. When he is struck down by leprosy for instance, his wife may agree to pass on to one of his kinsmen without any additional payment or formality (AP 208/51). This also happens in the case of a senile husband whose brother steps in. "She cannot get divorce", says the court, implying that the transfer is direct (MCH 37/44); And again the same thing happens in the case of a long absent husband. It was not stated whether he was presumed dead. No additional bridewealth was mentioned (ev. AP 4/40). If an invalid's wife refuses, she cannot be coerced (AP 116/51). Somewhat the same situation arises with the wives of temporary absentees, such as migrant-labourers, or even local travellers. I have been on a journey with three brothers who took along with them the wife of a senior brother so that she might visit her kin and incidentally look after them in transit. On the way, they bathed naked before her in a pool. This is very familiar and daring behaviour for Ngindo, who are ultra-prudish as a rule.

As in the case of other unions, the widow's kin

continue to scrutinise her. I have seen them make long journeys to ascertain the sequel of an in-law's demise. They come to ensure equitable treatment for their kinswoman, not to mention canvassing for extra bridewealth. If anything the tension between the two groups is heightened. This is because the wife has got used to the deceased's mannerisms, and also because she may have adolescent children with her. These, as indicated previously, are very liable to make bad blood. One ~~step-son~~ youth who had abused his ~~foster~~ step- father pleaded "bitterness over my mother who was habitually and unmercifully beaten as a result of drunkenness from secret drinking (on the step-father's part)" (BAR 8/37). Another had to be told off for trying to impede his mother's transfer to an heir (KIP 35/37). Yet another sues his stepfather for his mother's bridewealth, which had found its way into his hands (NJ 17/46). Ngindo say, "A stepfather fears to show favouritism towards his own offspring, whilst the step-children fear to aggravate the latter by taking what is their due".

Islam has no provision for widow-inheritance, though it does not debar a woman from marrying her husband's brother once the IDDA period of waiting has expired. The Ngindo do not observe IDDA. As to the widow's children, the Islamic rule resembles that of the Ngindo in granting her initial custody of infants, who must later pass to the husband's senior surviving agnatic relative. But Islam makes this subject to the child's own option, and, of course, irrespective of the person who marries the widow. It was over a matter of widow-inheritance that the latent conflict between pagan and Islamic came to a dramatic head. This was in 1932, but I prefer to discuss it under Islam.

Stability of Marriage.

Marriage is the bridge between the multitudinous Ngindo social units. The latter can dispense with all other permanent commitments, but by marriage alone can they perpetuate themselves. Therefore, by hook or by crook, spouses must be found. When found they must be held. Stability of marriage rests on the stability of relations between the groups concerned. This proposition renders coherent a number of otherwise disparate Ngindo traits.

A stable link should be forged when the metal is still pliable. So groups try to secure marriage-partners in advance and to indoctrinate them thoroughly. This helps to explain infant-girl betrothal and its culmination, the initiation-cycle, with its tremendous emphasis on bridal submission. It is noteworthy that, whilst the male initiations have become primarily a circumcision rite, the instruction being a parody, thanks to the tender years of the initiates and to the disappearance of the naKANGA (instructor), (see middle of Chapter VI), female initiations flourish almost intact. "An Ngindo woman does not look back (i.e. homewards after going to live with her husband)" is a common saying embodying the victory of this education for marriage. Spouses being vital, they have to be procured, even if it be in a humble and uncongenial manner. Suitor-labour reflects the intense competition for brides, whose value is endorsed by the differential rates of cash equivalents for male and female children, and whose scarcity is accentuated by polygyny and revealed by the urgency of widow-inheritance. Throughout her married life, the bride's kin remain uppermost. Despite attempts by the courts to thwart overbearing fathers of brides, it is generally conceded that they and their kinsmen are the authors and arbiters of the marriage. In

widow-inheritance one finds another facet of marital continuity.

Bridewealth ratifies a union, providing each party with a material stake in its preservation. Its presence acts as a deterrent to irresponsible sabotage by the wife's kin, who must be prepared to refund it on divorce, whilst the wife will in that event part company with her offspring. One observes that, despite these obstacles, the overwhelming majority of divorce-suits originate on the wife's side. It is scarcely ever in the husband's interest to seek divorce. On the other hand, had neither the wife nor her kin anything to lose by divorce, marriage might become chronically unstable. The existing volume of cases certainly points in this direction. Bridewealth and similar payments validate the guardianship of children, who are the goal of the marriage-process. Also bridewealth, it is felt, should pass unilaterally from one group to another; not within the one; nor reciprocally, which amounts to the same thing. It has been shown that this dogma has its limitations. For instance, in cross-cousin marriage, which is both permissible and practised, bridewealth boomerangs. From the point of view of stability, however, such matches have compensatory features, being supplemented by existing bonds of kinship.

Each of the three distinctive categories of sexual prohibition discussed earlier has a bearing on marital stability. Firstly parallel-cousins, the issue of two brothers, belong to the same lineage; whilst those whose mothers are a pair of sisters involve an indirect circulatory movement of bridewealth ... Ego's father would

have paid bridewealth to the same person as Ego's wife's father, to whom Ego now pays bridewealth himself. Secondly the important in-law spouse taboo counters an obviously destructive form of adultery. Should suitors feel free to indulge their natural penchant, namely to seduce the mature and accessible womenfolk of their in-laws, chaos would result. The fact that this infringement leads to the automatic rupture of the offender's own marriage testifies to its gravity. Once the in-laws have received a slap in the face like this, felt equally by the offender's spouse, cordial relations, hence marriage, are no longer possible. Finally the junior-brother's spouse taboo prevents the person who holds executive authority in marital and other matters from interfering with the spouses of subordinates. In other words it prevents abuse of power. The immediate friction its contravention provokes has been well illustrated. As for a senior agnatic sibling, he is virtually bound to tolerate liberties taken by his juniors, whose opportunities are unlimited, and physical attractions frequently superior. If the latter are clumsy enough to be discovered, compensation will be inoperative and the repercussions localised, hence less damaging to the husband's prestige than would otherwise be the case. Younger brothers are potential heirs and make the best watchdogs for a senior-brother's wife. Cynical Ngindo attribute the bulk of adultery-disclosures to would-be or jilted lovers amongst the husband's own kinsmen! Again, a younger brother will be particularly handy in keeping an eye on susceptible suitors. Sibling differentiation of this sort corresponds with that between adjacent generations. The continuity of marriage may be assured in other ways. One is to place the onus of maintaining a marriage on kinship-groups as well as on the individual spouses. Examples of participation are group responsibility for the detection of adultery, and kinsmen

of absentees acting as vicarious husbands or suitors. One court judgment goes so far as to make the grant of divorce conditional on the woman's remarriage (NJ 3/46).

The corollary of such expedients is the suppression of lovers, who constitute a serious threat to regular marriage ... it has been shown how lineages find it necessary to go to the length of making reciprocal concessions over adultery-compensation in order to minimise dislocation. Emotionally, lovers are closer than spouses. Defiant wives and persistent seducers are brusquely handled by the courts. Known, or even potential, lovers are forbidden to marry, once ~~e~~ the woman has gained her freedom. A court will even suspect a man found beating a woman! "Do not let him get used to her" (MCH 71/43). As for open flirtation, even those Ngindo who are fortunate enough to be its target express disgust rather than approval. I observed this personally in Mbunga country, where women may both marry at a normal age and behave like human beings. Girls waved, giggled, and joked in the presence of my men; and bathed in full view of them. The latter at first sniggered nervously. Then, discussing the phenomenon among themselves, their reaction hardened. One of them exclaimed "This is not a tribe!".

Apparent inconsistencies on the part of the Ngindo courts can be ascribed to strategic withdrawal. For instance, a woman who has set her mind on divorce will get it. Obviously when this happens the judge reckons that tension will probably rise rather than diminish should the marriage be upheld. Infant-marriage as a rule achieves its object of fashioning a docile, outwardly faithful wife. In the odd case where it has manifestly failed, the marriage

has to be jettisoned. Adultery has long been an Ngindo pastime, and the prevailing attitude, excepting where the man is himself the victim, is one of mischievous complacency. A man described how he was caught and obliged to pay compensation. I supposed that he would have turned his attention to other sweethearts. "Good heavens, no!", was the rejoinder, " ... I had paid for her!" Again an irregular marriage may be upheld if it appears so imperious that the pair will be satisfied with nothing else. A girl who had eloped, neither bridewealth nor parental consent having been given, was allowed to keep her husband "because the woman gets on with him" (AP 20/32).

Ngindo social units demand stable marriages, which in turn bring stability to the social units. Each unit is strongly impelled to seek autonomy both for unconscious reasons of survival ... the Ngindo maxim in war and famine has always been the exact opposite of 'safety in numbers' ... and for prestige reasons to be discussed later (see Chapter VIII, Special Ideology). Nevertheless, units like to have a circle of allied units with whom amicable relations may be maintained. After all, it is pointless to be prestige-conscious and at the same time in a social vacuum. Marriage is the means of creating and cementing such alliances. If a unit be compared to a canoe, those units with which it has intermarried are its stabilising outriggers.

CHAPTER VI. PAGAN RITUAL AND BELIEF.

Creator.

"ChaPANGANYA made the world". Ngindo are able to make this statement without conscious detriment to their Muslim status. Those who feel it necessary to reconcile this, their old sky-god, with Allah simply make the former subordinate. He still creates, but it is at the instance of Allah that he does so. The way in which Ngindo calmly circumvent the central theme of Islam, its monotheism, shows how readily they will accept irregularities of a lesser order. KuPANGANYA means simply to fashion, as a potter fashions a vessel. The word is current among the Mwera, (they render it ~~rendered~~ "Apanganya" according to Ref.29, which gives "Anambembele" as an alternative ... literally 'Mister Please', and found also in kiNgindo), who appear to retain a more extensive cult. Among them, under the name "Achipanganya", the deity commands observances and controls manifold human activities (Ref. 66: this source gives "ku apanganya" as the verb-form); whereas in his Ngindo guise his attributes are vaguer. Say the Ngindo: "ChaPANGANYA is everywhere". Neither corporate nor specific, he is particularly associated with rain and the seasons, with fertility of both men and the earth ... in one of the episodes leading up to male circumcision, when a mock representation of child-birth is staged, participants enacting the delivery repeatedly cry "KuPANGANYA!". Nowadays no regular offerings are made to him. However, since ChaPANGANYA overlaps onto the generality of the ghosts, offerings made to the latter might accrue to him as well. Describing him as an "omnipotent being", the District Book found that he could be "approached through ancestors" (dated 1933).

His universality prevents any group from claiming a monopoly; in fact his worship rests primarily with the individual; especially if the individual be divorced from his own surroundings, hence unable to call on familiar ghosts. Prayers to ChaPANGANYA may come from travellers or from persons in distress far from home. Nothing elaborate or formal in the way of intercession is required. Even a muttered verbal message may reach him. A man told me how, when lost in the forest during a famine and faint with hunger, he made a despairing appeal to ChaPANGANYA. Immediately afterwards his eye fell on a wild-bee nest to which he owed his survival.

> The one Ngindo observance which, although not thought exclusive to him, relates mainly to ChaPANGANYA is a curious archaic invocation, uttered first in an easterly then a westerly direction//, usually accompanied by the blowing forth of saliva or water from the mouth. Its formula ... "ku NDABO, ukuLABA uPILE ! ku NDONDE, ku-WELO uKWIWILA iKALI !" ... is cryptic, but might be interpreted: "In the east, (the sun) being early it has arisen ! In the west, (the sun's) death has killed its strength! ".[x]

Ngindo construe the rite as a blessing designed to show gratitude for and perpetuate the normal march of the universe. As the originator of cosmic forces, ChaPANGANYA's foremost rôle would be that of sun-god. Though Ngindo may not be aware of the extent of the ChaPANGANYA cult ... presumably it figures among the Yao (kiMwera and kiYAO are the most intimately allied of all the 'Yao' linguistic group) ... its abstract quality precludes it from defining any of the conscious sub-groups within the Ngindo, or even the Ngindo as a whole. Underlying nature and the world, ChaPANGANYA remains a transcendant principle. He supplements the gaps in their scheme of causation left by humans, ghosts, demons;

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[x] Footnote:
inset passages like this contain straight descriptions of the rites.

even by Allah himself.

Birth.

Ngindo notions of procreation have been outlined (see Chapter IV). They do not rest on mystical considerations, excepting insofar as conception implies chance. Nor is copulation accompanied by ritual, though its prohibition may be of ritual significance in other enterprises (kuIYOTO, to break a sexual taboo). It is with the start of pregnancy that ritual becomes important. An expectant mother must observe numerous taboos. She may not touch the flesh of certain animals thought to have relevant peculiarities ... zebra because its neigh is supposed to resemble a wailing infant, and its hairless vulva that of humans; wildebeest because its parturition takes so long (Ngindo actually believe that the calf emerges partially, nibbles at the grass, then recedes//, only to part company with the mother at a second or third attempt); kudu because it is reputed to bury its young up to the neck for the first few days; eland because it secretes copious fluid during gestation; the KIKURURU (duiker?) because it becomes so sluggish during that period; and so forth. A pregnant woman is liable to bring contamination. Should she skirt a planted field, she is bound to pick an ear of grain and give it to the owner lest the crop suffer. Should she come into proximity with a sick man, his condition will deteriorate. She may by no means take part in harvesting. On the other hand the rice-paddies are a danger to her. If she enters them her child will ail, just as the ripe heads of rice topple and droop. On first pregnancy, a wife must undergo a further instalment of her instruction, modelled on that she has received during initiation.

Called maUNGOYO, this is a group occasion. Women assemble at her hut early in the morning, each bearing

a gift in kind. Males may also go. Seated in the doorway of their hut, man and wife (the latter, according to the District Book, naked; but not at the ceremony I attended, as far as could be seen) receive private guidance from an experienced woman summoned for the purpose. Towards midday the expert and her assistants collect a small fee (about a shilling), supplemented by grain; whilst the remainder of the pooled offerings is distributed to the donors. Attendance runs to perhaps fifty people, including female kinsfolk of both spouses along with odd neighbours. It is primarily a settlement affair, rarely drawing outside residents.

Two midwives officiate at birth ... the District Book states that one supports, the other receives, spitting water onto the babe, which should cry out if sturdy. Only after an interval when the umbilical cord has been severed and the placenta buried, may the husband enter the hut. // It is the midwives ~~and it is they~~ who, a few days later, conduct the coming-out ceremony (kuPIYA MWANA, bringing forth the child), of which the scale and timing are roughly commensurate with the one just described. The sex of the infant is immaterial.

The midwives prepare a liquid leaf-potion, whilst the father or his agnatic kinsman hammers out a bark-cloth sling to carry the child. Imbibing some of the medicine the chief midwife ('midwife') blows through the interstices of the millet-stalk door onto the head and hindquarters of the child, held within by its mother who then opens the door, gives the child to the midwife, shuts herself in, and repeats the rite in the reverse direction. Then she is free to emerge ... prior to this her contacts have been

limited to visits by female attendants and her husband. Meanwhile the midwife spits an east-west blessing over the child in the same manner as for the sky-god. Seated on mats, participants now prepare root and bark medicine, which is brewed up together with the residue of the leaf-mixture; also with castor-beans. The roots are then ground to a paste, to which flour is added. This the midwives scoop into a miniature earthen vessel. They use only their little-fingers to convey it, as do the father and mother who must jointly wave this vessel over a small fire. Initially the paste is smeared from side to side of the vessel in the shape of a cross, a symbol commonly adopted by pagan Ngindo; later, liquid is added to produce gruel-consistency. Next the parents, still using their little-fingers, must in turn flick the substance over the child from behind, once over each shoulder, and feeding it a morsel. Repeating the process, the midwife administers the remainder of the porridge, finishing off any left over herself (to illustrate the lack of gravity characteristic of even the most august Ngindo rites, a small boy mischievously helped himself to some of the ready-processed flour mixture. Onlookers guffawed, but made no protest). The strands of bark floating in the medicine, some pale, some dark, are then plaited into twine and fastened around the child's neck, waist, ankles, and wrists. Mixing in red (mTUMBATI wood), white (flour), and black (soot) powders with the oil from the castor-beans, the midwife pours it down the child's throat from cupped leaves (picked green from the mTOGO) and annoints its whole body, upon which is smeared a diametrical pattern of red, black, and white passing over its head and around its middle and between its

Birth and Death : infantile coming-out(above), and pagan burial (below) : note juvenile brother of deceased inside grave whilst corpse is laid in niche.

legs, with daubs on knees and elbows. Finally, to the accompaniment of a monologue by the midwife, who intones the child's descent-name, castor-~~nuts~~ beans are cracked over its head, ears, and anus. So the midwives and mother, thoroughly and with formality, wash each other (stated by the District Book to be called "Machwiku") with water impregnated by the milky nTOGO - sap and stored in jars set a stone's throw away. They daub each other's faces with flour, guiding the child's hand as if it were doing so itself. Taking the sling into which has been rubbed the oil left over, one of the midwives pretends to make off with the child, but is rudely recalled by her companion, dressed as a man. With mock reluctance the child is then transferred to its mother, who stands with averted gaze. After this pantomime the fee is paid to the midwives (usually Shs. 2/- for the senior one), food distributed, and the company at liberty to disperse.

Such is the procedure for a normal birth. If the child be still-born or fatally miscarried, the midwives simply dispose of the corpse, whilst the mother must abstain from sexual intercourse for forty days. Formerly the interval was half that length of time; but Islam has been responsible for its prolongation. Its purpose is stated by the District Book to be to allow the breast-milk to dry up. Death of a mother in childbirth or confinement necessitates strict precautions. Called MaPINGA (or NKOBA, a euphemism actually meaning spear), the deceased must, if undelivered, have her foetus cut out and buried separately. Twins, though difficult to rear, are not unwelcome, the last to be born having seniority over the first. What is regarded as ill-omened, however, is the cutting of the upper teeth before the lower (Ref.55).

Theoretically parents put a stop to intimacy throughout the weaning-period of some three years. But even a generation ago the District Book found this to be "not strictly observed at the present day". Evidently the correct course for parents to follow is to consult the herbalist responsible for the child's welfare, getting him to annul the effect of medecines previously effective and replace them with new ones. The child should be able to walk by then and to recognise its close kinsmen. Infringement of the taboo, whether committed by husband or adulterer, is thought to bring disaster to the child. As for the effect of outside infidelity on the part of the husband, opinion is divided. The District Book states it to be harmless.

Approximately a month after birth, a shaving-ceremony must be performed (kuCHEKULA mwANA, shaving the child). Presumably this is what is meant by the District Book when it speaks of the child being "set to ground".

> A few close kin gather at the mother's hut shortly after dawn ... kuCHEKULA appears more intimate than either of the preceding rites, especially if the child be an addition to an already established family. Again a paid female expert supervises the proceedings. She starts by rubbing flour, placed on green leaves, over the child, whose head is wetted (in one case the mother did this by squirting her own milk) and shaven by the father, using a knife. The child is made to grasp the haft of the knife, as if it were doing the job itself. Participants sit on mats spread in front of the hut. The fallen hair and nail-parings remain in the mother's keeping. The child is also made to sit on the ground, scattered beforehand with cassava-flour, and presented

with a sifting-trayful of bean and sorghum seed, which it has to be assisted to pick up and place to its mouth. Finally the father shaves his wife's head too.

Initiation.

From infancy onwards the life of an Ngindo boy or girl is one of real freedom; for the boys especially, being less subject to work and discipline than the girls. The life of neither is touched by specific ritual until the time of initiation, which nowadays affects boys well before, girls somewhat after, puberty. The rites, led by the specialist 'Circumcisor' and 'Initiatrix' (both called aNYAGO), are elaborate and prolonged. They take place almost annually in every settlement, i.e. even if a man's home-settlement skips a year, initiations will be proceeding in several others roundabout. Hence their scale, in any one example, is limited. Although boys and girls 'come-out'[x] together, seldom are more than a dozen initiated at one session. Nevertheless, attendance may be considerable. It is not unusual to see two or three hundred people at the climax of a 'Finale'.

Owing to the extreme complexity of the rites, I not only follow the convention, already adopted, of insetting the purely descriptive passages; but also I now give a preliminary outline-sketch. The principle of the Ngindo 'Initiations' is that the boy-initiates should undergo the first part of their seclusion apart from the secluded girl-initiates; though towards the

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Footnote x.

I use this phrase to indicate the concluding few rites marking the initiates' release from seclusion; by 'climax', I mean, more specifically, the culminating event in this sub-series; by 'Finale', on the other hand, I mean the whole series embracing both 'coming-out' and 'climax', together with the events leading up to them.

end of the cycle the sexes progressively increase the volume of their mutual contacts until ultimately both boys and girls join in a single Finale at a common forest 'Lodge'. In a given settlement the boys, seldom more than half a dozen, enter seclusion well in advance of the girls, their entry marked by ritual circumcision. The operation is preceded by a night and half a day, packed with ceremonies. The boys must then go for a month or more to recuperate at a 'bush-camp', where they receive instruction.

Only when the boys are nearly healed do the girls, not more than two or three together, enter their seclusion. Each [of these] even[ts] takes place at the hut of a particular parent or guardian and entails a morning of comparatively simple rites. The actual seclusion lasts only a few days, whereupon the Lodge is built ready. Almost immediately the girls are transferred to it, and begin a full week of instruction, partly public before the concourse of people at the Lodge, partly private in the adjacent forest. A paid female specialist, whom I call Initiatrix (aNYAGO wa kuHUNDA or 'teaching aNYAGO'), supervises the whole proceedings.

Only when the girl-initiates' activities at the Lodge have been in progress for several days do the boy-initiates make their appearance there, having first fired and abandoned their bush-camp. So the two together, for the concluding events of the cycle, find themselves based on the same Lodge. The rites pertaining to each sex are still for the most part distinct one from the other, though they may be similar in content, or held simultaneously in the general vicinity of the Lodge; for instance, both boys and girls pass through the rite of lustration, but on different days. In the closing phases of the Finale, and in the initiates' ritual 'escape' from the

Lodge, boys and girls mingle.

'Initiation', among the Ngindo, happens to mark the 'marriage' of adolescent betrothed-girl initiates to their mature suitors. This does not imply that they should be married to the boy-initiates with whom they come together at the Lodge. In point of fact, these boys are much younger than they, and therefore totally ineligible for marriage. Though formerly he did exist, there is nowadays no male counterpart of the Initiatrix.

So it is male circumcision that sets the initiation-cycle in motion. Early in the dry-season, once the staple-crop has been reaped, the Ngindo hold their circumcision-dances. Of these and their sequel I propose to give a fairly full account, seeing that attempts at abbreviation, unless so drastic as to omit all detail, merely result in confusion.

> The opening move is the ritual shaving of the boys' heads (kuCHEKULA bALI, 'shaving the initiates'). This occurs well before sundown, usually at a spot in the forest not far from the hut selected as the venue of the first dance of all.[x] Singing and feasting accompany the rite, which has the alternative name kuKAJULA manGICHI, meaning 'to break open the nGICHI-fruits'. All except the initiates themselves partake of the flour-porridge and poultry-relish prepared over open hearths at the scene of the shaving. The Circumcisor (aNYAGO wa uKIMULA, 'circumcising aNyago') will not even have arrived at this

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Footnote x.
Occasionally the formalities described here may be dispensed with, though they must accompany the shaving of the next growth of hair just before the boys' return from the bush-camp seclusion. A curtailed ceremony may be held at the selected hut itself; that is, if the initiates be few, or economy essential. Certain of the Chobo always follow this procedure.

stage; so any of the party, which includes females, may act as barber. Whilst he is at work, the onlookers sing ...

NakaCHANJALI, liTEMA, kuCHEKULA ka HIMBAni.[x]
It is sharp, the razor, to shave in the Himba-grass.

An alternative song, applicable if the hair is first cut into furrows, goes like this ...

MaHARANGA, maHARANGA. MaLILA ga YABO.
Farewell, farewell. Scattering of Yao.

On completion of the rite, the company returns to the selected hut, where the ordinary evening meal is taken at about dusk.

The allusion to nGICHI-fruits indicates that the boys are about to enter the forest ... these fruits are one of the stock bush-foods gathered in time of famine. Again, HIMBA-grass has a sharp edge which lacerates the skin of passers-by. Besides underlining the idea of departure for the forest, the song therefore hints at the sharpness of the Circumcisor's knife. The last of the three songs seems to embody a similar notion of departure, utilising the divided patterns of the half-shaven hair to predict a solitary period to come ... parties of Yao travellers have the reputation of splitting up on arrival at a camping-place in order to reconnoitre individually for lodging and provisions.

As darkness falls, the next phase begins, namely a dance and sing-song at the selected hut, followed by a procession into the forest to meet the newly-arrived Circumcisor.

The initial dance goes by the name kuSHINDA maKUMBI, which appears to mean 'entering the initiation'. Its song is ...

TuSHINDE, ana KAPUNDI[xx], tuSHINDE.
Let us enter, Mr. Circumcisor, let us enter.

Footnote x.
I underline all songs in this section, so that they may stand out clearly from the text.

[xx] See footnote overleaf.

The dance now develops into a general mêlée, with the initiates as onlookers. Several traditional songs may punctuate its course, which is thought too boisterous for the youngsters, especially a paired dance called TINGATINGA, in which the adult males indulge in wild antics. Examples of the songs are ...

1. uKWACHU gwITU gwaiPAMBIKA maNGOWAKOWA ,
Our Tamarind-tree has yielded profusely,

kaBI KOWA --- GwaiPAMBIKA.
indeed profusely ... It has yielded fruit.

2. Ka PAKO ka mwHOLO
From a crevice in the mHORO-tree

kaPIYA bANA ba waHUNGO.
it brings forth infant children

3. NaMBUGO , namBUGO. LuHAMI, kuGELEKA
The wind, the wind. We emigrate, leaving behind

maJUMBA. GakaHUKAga KUNGWA ... NamBUGO.
the huts. Weevil-powder forms ... The wind.

This general dance has the designation kiMBONDO ("Chombongo", according to the District Book), by which the entire circumcision is sometimes known. The song with which it is primarily associated goes ...

KIMWA lilino maKUMBI.
Circumcising to-day at the initiation.

Gama gaRILALAga --- MaKUMBI.
What you cried for ... It is the initiation.

Here I must pause to explain the songs thus far. By 'explanation', unless the context specifies otherwise, I mean the one advanced by Ngindo informants. The translations, also provided by native informants, frequently appear loose. However, for this the archaic, irregular verses are themselves mainly to blame. The first song, beginning 'tuSHINDE ...', is straightforward. Of the

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Footnotexx.
I use the name Kapundi throughout as a random example.

grouped songs, No.I is a fertility thanks-giving, with particular reference to the present initiates ... the Tamarind-tree has an exceptionally abundant yield of edible berries. No.2. has the same general connotation, being a reference to the vagina ... the mHORO-tree, which is itself a favourite site for sacrificial offerings, tends to have small, bevelled cavities in the trunk and limbs. No.3, on the other hand, returns to the parting-theme. The wind denotes change or movement, blowing across the forests. The whole 'rite de passage' concept is expressed as a migration ... just as the abandoned homesteads fall into disrepair, so the initiates' boyhood crumbles and fades from their memory. The last song, in giving a forthright statement of the fate in store for the initiates, differs from most of the later songs and episodes, which avoid any direct forecast calculated to alarm the boys unduly. This contrast will presently become evident. Perhaps the Ngindo feel that an initial avowal is essential to secure supernatural aid for the enterprise, whereas thenceforth it can safely be veiled.

Earlier that day a clearing, or 'arena', has been made in the nearby forest, complete with a brushwood shelter (kiTUNDA)[x] for the Circumcisor and his aides. Thither the initiates must now be taken, but their progress is a slow one, interrupted by numerous halts for further kiMBONDO dancing (also known as liHEHERA), and for the ritual events I next describe ...

Footnote x.

Whilst the initiates themselves are not allowed inside it, there is nothing sacrosanct about this shelter. It is made of the boughs of any tree that comes handy; and all the Circumcisor's retinue, which includes women, are at liberty to use it. Other helpers wander in and out at will. On conclusion of the rite, it is left to wither. My own impression, on first seeing it, was its similarity to the sort of dwellings aborigines might erect.

Towards the end of the dance in the courtyard of the selected hut, men who will later attend the boys in seclusion hoist them up onto their shoulders and continue dancing until the whole group moves off in the direction of the arena, only setting them to ground when the drums are put down en route and when one of the itinerant dances ensues. At some point on the path, actors daubed with flour, notably in a cruciform pattern across the back, fling themselves down prostrate so as to obstruct the way. After pointing them out to the initiates as miPINGUI (evil omens on a journey), the adults reassure the frightened boys and ~~mxm~~ bear them onwards. Next, others actors, their faces white with flour, place themselves in ambush. When the initiates pass by, they rush out of the shadows, shouting ...

KuIKITA, kuIKITA! kuIKITA, kuIKITA! --- BEKU!
Cutting, cutting! Cutting, cutting! ... Gape!

The cry is supposed to be that of the mKUMBA (usually liKUMBA), or 'Ground Hornbill' (scientific name "Bucorvus Cafer")[x], from which this item derives its name 'miKUMBA' (alternative plural form). Once again the adults hurry on, calming the boys ... "UWANGI!", they exclaim, or "Falsehood!". They vow that it is nothing but birds after all.

Here, like the procession, I shall have to halt and recapitulate. The purpose of the miPINGUI omens, like that of the rite which follows it, appears to be to administer a mild shock to the initiates, who must without delay be comforted. This 'warning-relief' motif persists throughout the circumcision group of rites, designed to wear down the

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Footnote x.

All specialised animal identifications are by the kindness of Mr. C.J.P. Ionides, Senior Game Ranger.

initiates' nerve and energy, though without inducing serious panic. Informants say that the goal of the process is to produce a lethargic condition. This was important in the days when the initiates were post-adolescent and quite capable of showing fight, if desperate, and when large numbers were circumcised at a time, leading to an increased risk of disorder. Ngindo travellers greatly fear bad omens, in the shape of a number of commonplace petty happenings or encounters. Usually, when confronted by such an omen, they will turn back. In the present instance, the 'omen' is passed off as a blessing in disguise ... "It is the Circumcøsor who has died!", cry the adults. As for the ground-hornbill, a creature very evocative of the forested background of Ngindoland, it has the added peculiarity of a crimson comb or facial-marks. This the Ngindo associate with blood, whence their response "BEKÛ!", an ideophone referring to the pale opening and gory closure of a fresh wound. Here, of course, it is the Circumcisor's incision they have in mind.

The procession goes forward until, at the approaches to the arena, it finds its way barred by the Circumcisor and his party. Three 'doors' (each known as liKOMO), comprising rough archways of sticks, have been erected at close intervals; and through these the initiates and their escort must pass with appropriate ritual actions,

> The first meeting with the Circumcisor has the name kaHIBILA maSHINDE, or 'barring the entrance'. The escort halts and signs ...
>
> BakaPITA kû KuJUWA KAPUNDI
> Where will they pass? The Circumcisor is known
>
> aGALWIKE. NGONDO baLEKALE
> To be ruthless. Let them wage war
>
> na chUBO ---- ~~KxmIKA~~ lelo
> KamPITA ~~kwa~~ !
> with the nail ---- So they pass him now!

The Circumcisor should now receive gifts of flour

(though these need not be presented until the following morning), with the vocal acknowledgment ...

KaCHUNGA. nJIGALE. nJIGALE. KaCHUNGA!
I am in charge. I have closed. I have closed. I am boss!

At the same time he marshalls the boys before him, taking from each a piece of millet-stalk as a sign of his candidature. So the procession advances to the second gate. Here the Circumcisor sings another song ...

NaNYUMBU , lili, naNYUMBU.
The gnu (i.e. tail-switch), now, the 'tail'.

AnGANA kaPITA . aJIGILE.
It prevents one from passing. It has closed.

aJIGELILE . KaCHUNGA
It has closed securely. It is in charge.

Between this and the third gate, actors daubed with flour mount overhanging branches. Once the cortège comes into view they chatter and prance. The escort ~~signs~~ sings ...

MaTUMBILI gaLINGA bALI.
The monkeys (bend down to) look at the initiates.

But once again, apprehensions are dismissed by the adults, who press on to the third gate, where the Circumcisor sings ...

nDABALA a TUMBWI NGONDO . Anda NGONDO ,
The shrew has begun hostilities. If there is war,

NGONDO ju --- PELYAPELYA!
I shall make war too ... Make haste!

The way is then clear to the arena, which is the scene of a night-long dance, led alternately by the Circumcisor or one of his assistants. Such is the mystical importance of this dancing, that everyone participates, even elders whose dignity normally inhibits them. The associated songs are a medley, many of them impromptu. As for the initiates, they watch and doze at fires burning at the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~

perimeter.[x]

The meaning of the song greeting the Circumcisor is again a warning, forthwith brushed aside. The Circumcisor, describes as "ruthless" and, by implication, waging "war with the nail" (i.e. the knife used for the operation), blocks the road; yet the boys brusquely circumvent him ... "So they pass him now!" . Exacting his tribute of flour, on the other hand, the Circumcisor openly assets his power ... "I am in charge!" ... and at the second gate attributes his authority to the symbolic tail-switches. The episode of the monkeys repeats the theme of warning and relief; for such behaviour on the part of monkeys commonly reveals the presence of some dangerous animal below; similarly, therefore the boys are on their guard for a crisis ahead. The song sung at the third gate teaches precisely the same lesson. The nDABALA (Four Toed Elephant Shrew, "Petrodomus Schwanni") has the peculiarity of possessing a very long snout, here likened to the penis. Should he fight, he is liable to get the tip severed, a clear allusion to circumcision, more especially since the Circumcisor suggests retaliation ... "I shall make war too". Yet, directly after intimidation, comes the reassuring "Make haste!"

The period from dawn to well past noon, on the next day, witnesses an almost continuous series of rites,

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Footnote x.

Western-Ndonde informants mentioned two other nocturnal episodes, (i)"Asali" (kiSwahili for 'honey') and (ii) "kuZimua Moto" (kiSwahili for 'kindling fire'). Of these the first may be simply the medecine administered to the boys ... one of its ingredients is known to be honey. The second appears to be ritual fire-making by friction, an element I may have missed. I know that fires at the bush-camp have to be lighted by this method. On the other hand the western-Ndondé may well have borrowed alien ideas from other peoples roundabout. Ngindo do not attach great importance to the mystical attributes of fire.

culminating in the act of circumcision.

At first light, in the arena (where all the pantomimes are played), grotesque actors emerge one after the other from behind the kiTUNDA-shelter and caper frantically before the seated initiates, each finally lolling onto the ground and allowing a mixture of flour and water to dribble from his mouth. The name of the rite is nKWATE, a word of obscure meaning. The drums meanwhile beat a rhythm which supposedly represents the phrase ...

KaMBENGA mKURUBUNJU .
(the fluff of) the hare peels off the scalp.

The onlookers then join in a general dance, in which the initiates are borne shoulder-high ... dancing of this type, together with singing, links all the ceremonies that are to come. Returning to the previous evening's events, another rite marking the presentation of flour to the Circumcisor has the name namBALABALE. In it the Circumcisor uses some of the flour to draw a trellis-pattern (luBALA) on the ground just beside the entrance to his shelter, singing as he does so...

NamBALABALE, namBALABALE! TOME, TOME !
The sacrifice, the sacrifice! Blessing, blessing!

On either side of the 'trellis' he plants an nTOGO spray. In a companion rite, once agreement has been reached in the parley fixing the amount of flour due to him, the Circumcisor feeds medicine to the boys, with the song ...

Anda bALI beni ngumbeyi, NUBULILE.
If these are all the initiates, tell me.

KAPUNDI nKINGAge
Let the Circumcisor give them medicine.

nKWATE is essentially terrifying, and intended to be so; but its frenzy ends in farce and the comical pursuit of the actor by onlookers, thus conforming to the general pre-circumcision psychological build-up (or rather,

"break-down") I have diagnosed. The allusion to the "hare" is supposed to be a double commentary on the creature's habits. Firstly, its downy fur resembles the beginnings of pubic hair; secondly, its tendency to moult duplicates the removal of the foreskin; and again, a bald pate or "scalp" looks like the hairless skin of an initiate. Women appeared to predominate in the audience of nKWATE, and I noticed a woman actually shouldering an initiate in the subsequent dance.

During the earlier part of the morning, interspersed with dancing, comes a whole series of episodes which, for convenience of presentation, I shall group into threes. The first three are liPANYA (rat), kiNYANYA (irritant-fur of the buffalo-bean), and kiTUMBO (foetus).

> In liPANYA, the initiates are seated on the ground with their legs stretched out in front of them, each boy clasped by a Sponsor (aROMBO)[x] sitting directly behind ... in nearly all cases where the initiates are sedentary they get support of this kind, whereas if moving from place to place they must be carried. Taking one of his gnu-tails, the Circumcisor places it between the legs of each boy in turn. Half-burying it in the dust, he prods for it with a stick; then suddenly makes the boy snatch it out, guiding his hand. The accompanying song is ...

BiliBULIGE		, ana	kamwALI .
You have killed it,		Mr. Initiate .	
Lyangali	maTUMBO	---	LiPANYA .
It has no	entrails	---	The rat .

Footnote x.
These attendants or Sponsors (plur akaROMBO) comprise any interested kinsmen of the initiates in that same settlement, excepting their own fathers. I have even found affines acting as Sponsors. Their numbers are considerable, since later in the cycle and especially at the bush-camp, it becomes necessary for them to work in shifts. Men of all ages are eligible, though a responsible person should conduct the bush-camp initiation and the later public rites.

Finally, the gnu-tail is passed around the boys' limbs. The second of these charades, kiNYANYA, is a pantomime staged for the initiates' benefit. An actor[x] from amongst the Circumcisor's entourage pretends to be afflicted with buffalo-bean hairs. He scratches and grimaces, writing onto the ground The spectators sing ...

'KiNYANYA .	---	KamwALI kiNYANYA chaNYANYite .
The buffalo-bean	---	It has hurt this initiate.

KiTUMBO, the last of this trio, is a burlesque enactment of childbirth. An actor, dressed as a woman, comes ponderously out of the kiTUNDA shelter, as if pregnant. No sooner does he reach the seated initiates than he drops his staff and bowl and collapses with convulsions into the arms of bystanders, moaning that his last hour has come. However, the Circumcisor acts the part of midwife, and soon the sufferer is all smiles, cuddling a mock-baby. The onlookers' song is ...

KwaBENGA ana kamwALI kiTUMBO	---	KwaBENGA
The foetus pains the maiden	---	It pains her.

LiPANYA echoes faithfully the message of warning and relief, linked with a certain element reminiscent of the coming ordeal. In searching for the imaginary rat, the Circumcisor obviously tries to induce fear in the boys; but, by adding that "it has no entrails", assures them that it is not alive, and that therefore their fears are groundless ... the participation of the boys themselves would seem to indicate compliance on their part.[xx] The placing of the gnu-tail between the legs likens it to the penis, and the "killing" of the rat portends circumcision. Likewise the actor's contortions in kiNYANYA bring a note of menace, which is soon drowned in the laughter of the

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Footnote x

Relatively important roles like this are played by men from the Circumcisor's own retinue; whereas minor ones, such as 'monkeys', 'omens', etc., can be undertaken by recruits from amongst the boys' sponsors.

Footnote xx.

The same feature occurs in other Ngindo rites ... for instance in the head-shaving ceremony for an infant child ('ku$HEKULA mwANA').

audience ... his behaviour mimics that of an initiate when the incision is made. Again, kiTUMBO embodies the same blend of alarm and ridicule, comparing the pain of labour to that of circumcision. It has the moral that the girl's first uncomprehending terror was needless, and that once the ordeal is past she is happier than ever before. It may also be designed to convey sexual instruction; but personally I consider this incidental. At any rate, the boys are too young to grasp its meaning. There is also a play on the word "maiden"[x].

At some time or another during the morning, the boys must be subjected to a form of instruction known as NYIMBO (literally 'songs'). It is a long litany lasting the best part of an hour. Even adult Ngindo can comprehend very little of it. However, parts could be interpreted, and of these I shall give a sample, along with their behaviour-context.

Seated in front of the Circumcisor with bowed heads, the boys have to listen in silence throughout. Between each strophe, the Circumcisor touches them on the head with the plume of his tail-switch. Here is one of the short strophes ...

Ana KAPUNDI nanga iMBWA .
Mr. Circumcisor keeps dogs.

UmwaPITA ni mBIGITI.
If he goes out he puts on a collar.

And here is the beginning of a long one ...

maGUTO kana KAPUNDI lili .
(There is) wailing for Mr. Circumcisor now.

BaKINDA bANA ba jABE .
He circumcises the children of other people.

uGONO maNDENGUTENGU . KuBUJA
(They go to) sleep with the legs apart. They return

Footnote x.
This same word, or a close variant of it, can mean 'novice entering initiation', 'secluded initiate under instruction', 'fully-fledged initiate' (as on page 276b), and more colloquially 'maiden', as here.

mwenye nTULO . MaHUNDE gaTOA
In the rainy-season. The clouds pile up

jime . KunGALAGACHA maCHIMBA ,
in masses . Though I grasp the knife ,

nakiBA naGANJA gwABE --- Ahi! , etc.,
(Nevertheless) I was his friend --- Ah! , etc.,

Doubtless in the past, when the language was current and when the initiates were mature men, NYIMBO-instruction was a cogent means of passing on advice and information. Now, on the contrary, its didactic value is limited. The short song refers to the practice of placing a wooden block between the legs of newly-circumcised boys to prevent chafing and aggravation of the wound ... the block resembles that fastened around a dog's neck to keep it from straying. As for the ~~khe~~ fragment from the longer song, it is disjointed, but the points it makes are that the Circumcisor causes the initiates to set up a "wailing" (at the time of operation), and later to "sleep with the legs apart" (in order that their wounds may heal). Furthermore he keeps them away from home until "the rainy-season" ... an exaggeration, judging by the length of the present-day seclusion period. Finally, the Circumcisor protests that he means no harm to the initiate in taking a knife to him ... for "I was his friend".

A very considerable repertoire of songs has been evolved to match the continuous dancing that links the individual rites I describe. Much of its subject matter is simply topical, as is the case with dances staged for entertainment alone or for other purposes than initiation. However, many of the songs have a bearing on circumcision, as the following two examples show ...

> The people dance a circular, follow-my-leader pattern around the perimeter of the arena. Mostly they dance clockwise, but occasionally, at the instance of the Circumcisor himself, and with great tumult, reverse the direction. Both men and women

Male circumcision: (above) 'bushpig' dance, and (below) treatment after operation : note tears running down.

gallop round willy-nilly.[x] The three drummers sit to one side on a sort of railing. Seldom are the dancers silent. One song after another is volunteered by the Circumcisor or any enterprising person, taken up as a refrain, repeated perhaps a dozen times with suitable variations, then discarded in favour of the next impromptu item. Examples are ...

1. KiBOKO cha ana KOFIA-MBAYA ---
The whip of Mr. "Bad-Hat" ---

KaTANDIKA luHANGALA, gale .
And he spreads out prostrate, flat on the stomach.

2. aHULUKA mwa kaJOMBO. aHUMBILA ma kaCHENGA,
He descends the nYOMBO-tree. He climbs the nCHENGA-tree

luKONGONO luMWE luMWE.
placing each leg separately.

The first song, somewhat adulterated by kiSwahili, celebrates an historic event, namely the floggings administered by "Kofia Mbaya", the very first German officer to penetrate Ngindoland. Just as the recipient of a flogging cannot lie on his raw back, so the newly-circumcised initiate has to sleep in an unusual posture. The second song has the same connotation, with the added assertion that circumcision does not impair a man's virility. How this is conveyed is through the juxtaposition of the nYOMBO and nCHENGA-trees, both of which provide equally good bark for cloth and rope, i.e. one's potential before the operation is exactly the same as after it. The deliberate movements of a climber are ingeniously bracketed with the painful walk of the newly-circumcised.

The second group of three rites follows the same

Footnote x.

The only category of persons excluded from the arena is uncircumcised males. If the Circumcisor detects one, the which he is reputed to be able to do by instinct, he chases him away with a great show of ferocity.

lines as the first. They are liGULUBE (bushpig), BWANDA (a type of bird), and kiCHANGO (divination).

In liGULUBE, the Circumcisor impersonates the animal, grovelling on all fours, grunting, and gobbling realistically. He even thrusts his face hard into the dust. The audience sings this commentary ...

nGULUBE[x] ujwo , akamwALI, nGULUBE ujwo.
The bushpig is here, initiates, the bushpig comes.

nGULUBE kuMBOJAMBOJA . KAJULA
The bushpig routs about. He breaks open

manGICHI . KuMEMENA mBELENJE.
the nGICHI-fruits. He chews (the roots of) burnt tufts of grass.

In BWANDA, the initiates sit in the centre of the arena whilst a throng of actors rush around them in a dance. The actors, their faces and bodies daubed with flour in imitation of the piebald markings of the bird, sing ...

BWANDA gwITU , a MABU --- nTOGALELA[xx] !
Your BWANDA-birds, mothers --- May you prosper !

Just as kiTUMBO reflects and rails at the basic situation of childbirth, kiCHANGO pokes fun at an essential element of Ngindo life, namely divination. An actor, dressed in rags like a senile elder, and with flour on his chin to counterfeit the white stubble of age, goes through the motions of divination, at first prophesying disaster, but later descending to buffoonery. After his monologue the company sings one or other, or both, of the following songs ...

Footnote x. Normally liGULUBE. Variations like this are not uncommon. The language is poetic, being emotive and rhetorical, it disregards ordinary usages. Much of it is cryptic.

Footnote xx. The stem of this word appears to be connected with that of the universally favoured plant-symbol, the nTOGO-tree. I noticed the similarity after leaving Ngindoland, so could not verify the relationship. However, nothing could be more apt than to describe nTOGO as 'the tree of prosperity'.

I. NgoLONDOLE. NiENDE ku luPUNGUTI --- NgoLONDOLE.
He divined. Let me go to the forest --- He divined.

2. KiCHANGO lili . uTANDI uKABA --- KiCHANGO.
Now for divination. The 'uTANDI' is late - Divining.

LiGULUBE, besides inducing initial dismay and subsequent mirth, reintroduces the seclusion theme; for the initiates, like the bushpig, will now take to the forest and live, at any rate partially, on bush-foods. The same idea is present in the BWANDA rite, with its cosmetic flour disguise. BWANDA - birds (Helmet Shrike, "Prionops Poliocephala") fly only in swarms. Just so, the initiates, instead of returning singly to their homes, will go in a group to the forest. The song, from which the motif of shock or pain is absent, is addressed to the womenfolk. The first of the kiCHANGO songs puts the matter beyond doubt ... "Let me go to the forest". The kiCHANGO pantomime, though irreverent, touches on the grim business of explaining misfortune. It also gives the actor ample scope for hinting at what is to come. Divination is practised mainly by old men, often in some deserted spot where secrecy may be assured, i.e. in the forest.

The allusion to the "uTANDI" contained in the second of the songs associated with the foregoing rite, ushers in the decisive event of the Ngindo circumcision ritual. uTANDI (no other known connotation besides the ritual one) is the formal dedication of flour, which may then be utilised for additional ritualistic purposes.

> First, flour is piled into wicker containers in firm cones, whereupon the Circumcisor and assistants perform a gyrating dance, a container in each hand. Their object is to spill as little as possible. Each bowl-full, having been whirled around in this fashion, is placed at the foot

of a tree (any species) standing at the edge of the arena. At the same time the dancers sing a dedicatory song ...

uTANDI lili, TANDI ju. TANDA
Now for the uTANDI, uTANDI. A lake

ULA. KAPUNDI ɮaLUBWI
(is a sign of) rain. The Circumcisor has decreed

uTANDI . TANDA ULA.
the uTANDI-sacrifice. A lake (is a sign of) rain.

Gnu-tails, [x] 'male' and 'female', are jointly blessed by the application of dedicated flour to the handles. And the Circumcisor, holding aloft the principal male gnu-tail, advances to the selected tree, which he apostrophises at length, sometimes confidentially leaning against its bark, sometimes leaping back to dance in time to the drummers, who stand ready to strike up. Eventually he takes handfuls of flour, one for each initiate, and hurls them at the trunk. Should the flour stick in a compact blob, then the boy in question will heal quickly. Rice-flour, because it is more adhesive, serves this purpose instead of the usual sorghum.

uTANDI is not only the focus of Ngindo initiation ritual; it also depicts, more graphically than anything else I saw in Ngindoland, the all-pervasive contrast and harmony of field and forest. Though hinging around the agricultural flour-symbol, it pays extraordinary deference to the forest tree-symbol. Its song chants the inevitability of the circumcision-ordeal ... a lake cannot be filled without rain, and blood cannot flow without cutting. These two paired images are identified with one another because they both express the quality of being liquid. Note that the Circumcisor openly asserts his authority in the emphatic '(he) has decreed uTANDI". Actually, the song has to be repeated

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Footnote x. See the forthcoming discussion of tail-switches on page 283.b.

so as to incorporate not only the Circumcisor, but all of his assistants; for each man must be mentioned by name. The formula in itself would therefore appear essential to the success of the enterprise. The Ngindo construe the whole, song and dance and bombardment together, as a general invocation to the ghosts; and they treat it with the utmost gravity.

The flour, sacralised by means of uTANDI, provides the main ingredient for two out of three subsequent rites. These are mbeLEMBA, in which it is applied externally to the initiates' skin, and nuMIKO, in which it enters their systems as food. The third rite, with which these two are linked, has the name NTENDE, from the NTENDE-medicine fed to the boys before and after their ritual meal.

> The Circumcisor and assistants perform mbeLEMBA by smearing flour from the uTANDI-sacrifice onto the initiates' limbs and bodies in the form of intersecting bands. At the same time they sing ...
>
> KuLEMBA lili, kuLEMBA. a MANYI MBUNDA.
> Now to striate, to striate. The Zebra knows.
>
> a LEMA namo kiNGOTWA --- KuLEMBA.
> He is stripy right down to his hooves - Striating.
>
> Almost simultaneously, a fowl, having been made to drink some of the medicine destined for the initiates, is ceremonially slaughtered over the luBALE flour-pattern. The bird is beheaded and allowed to run free, since its movements may then be studied as omens. Once inert, it can be plucked and cooked forthwith, the feathers being placed alongside the luBALE-pattern; one or two are also stuck into ~~in~~ the knu-tails. Only males are eligible for this work, though of course females are still present. Next, each initiate

must drink the NTENDE-medicine, a thick concoction of honey dipped out of a bottle with a small splayed stick. Still holding the bottle, the Circumcisor dances around the seated boys, with the song ...

BanGWILE NTENDE gwANGU nenga - NeTE kaLAGILA ?
They have drunk my medicine --- Did I command ?

KuLEKA NTENDE gwANGU nenga - NeTE kaLAGILA ?
To leave my medicine --- Did I command ?

By now the nuMIKO meal, composed of sacrificial-flour porridge with the sacrificial-fowl for relish, has been prepared. Whilst the initiates eat, a whole throng presses around them. Led by the Circumcisor, they sing ...

GaPILE, lili gaPILE --- GakaGABILA.
It is ripe, now it has matured -- Give each a share.

" , maGALI gABE --- " .
" , their flour --- " .

" , kk, ga jIKA jBBE --- " .
" , the affairs of (each one) on his own - " .

" , ga nakamwALI ---- " .
" , the affairs of the initiates ---- " .

A second dose of NTENDE follows the meal.

By the annointment of the boys with flour in mbeLEMBA, the adults seek to imbue them with its sacred properties. The song alludes to circumcision through a play on the word kiNGOTWA, which has the alternative meaning 'knuckle' or 'crook of the finger', here likened to the immature penis of an initiate. As the 'decoy-image' connecting "striation" with the apparently disparate notion of circumcision, the zebra is chosen not only because it is stripy, but because it is alleged to be the only creature with stripes the full length of its legs to the phallic 'hooves'. Incidentally, most Ngindo shun zebra-meat on the grounds that the stripes allegedly show right down into the flesh. To their minds, therefore, the quality of stripiness is all the more vivid.

Another association of ideas contained in the same simile is the frequent use of kuLEMBA in every-day speech to mean 'cutting into strips', i.e. the Circumcisor will also cut.

Turning to the medicinal and food rites, notice the combination of the two in the administration of medicine to the sacrificial-fowl, which is in turn eaten by the boys. The medicine, the object of which is stated to be "making the initiates' hearts soft", comprises honey with or without the Circumcisor's special drugs.[x] The concomitant song stresses the voluntary nature of the coming operation. The Circumcisor implies that the boys drink his medicine without being ordered or forbidden to do so. Thereby he disclaims responsibility for any mishap arising out of his treatment ... in former days, a bungling Circumcisor was distinctly liable to assault at the hands of the initiates' impatient kinsmen! In his song accompanying the ritual meal, he announces that the final act of his drama is at hand. The word gaPILE (from kuPILA or kuPERA) generally has an idiomatic reference to quarrelling or petty feud, i.e. coming to a head. Therefore the initiates can expect some violence, "each one on his own". Though still concealed, the inference grows very clear.

There remain only one or two formalities before the real business of the day begins. First, in a rite known as kuCHEGEKA (to contribute), a cash collection is raised. Then the Circumcisor, girded for action, gives the womenfolk a final message of reassurance.

The collection, destined for the Circumcisor's

Footnote x.
It is said that Circumcisors formerly used a mixture of roots and other substances, but that they have been compelled to abandon it in favour of plain honey ... out of deference to the wishes of sophisticated clients, allegedly including Indian traders from other areas.

pocket, takes the form of a sing-song, centred around the seated boys, upon whose heads the presented coins are laid before being pooled in a common heap. This permits donors to wish luck to a particular initiate. The company sings ...

mBAGE, mBAGE. Echu nGEMILAge. TuJENDE ku LUCHI.
Give, give. Now you must explain. Let us go to the water-hole.

Now the Circumcisor loses no time in making himself ready. Divesting himself of all unnecessary accoutrements,[x] he appears briefly before the assembled womenfolk, singing ...

KaLINGI maLUNGA[xx] --- NguNYAGO.
Do not say it is feud --- It is the initiation.

nGANI MAGAJIKE[xxx] --- "
Refuse to tremble --- "

Promptly, he rushes off into the forest to intercept the boys, who have already been carried away on the shoulders of their Sponsors.

The reference to a "water-hole" in the Collection-song means 'a place away from the homesteads', i.e. the place of circumcision ... the spot selected always lies deeper in the forest. In fact, the words "ku PUNGUTI" ('in the forest') sometimes replace "kuLUCHI" in the song itself. The Circumcisor's last message is a plea for tolerance, unmixed with menace.

The stage is now set for the operation. Another

Footnote x.
Ordinarily he cuts a barbaric figure, festooned with charms and ornaments, his gnu-hair headdress nodding, his ankle-bells sounding in unison at each step with a jingling crunch.

Footnote xx.
MaLUNGA means petty skirmishing between small kinship-groups. It is not so serious as luKANU (major feud) or NGONDO (widespread conflict or war).

Footnote xxx.
This is a good example of the archaic speech, employed. Nowadays the verb kuBAGAJIKA is never heard, having been altogether displaced by kuLEMDEMA.

clearing will have been prepared earlier that day, under the supervision of the Circumcisor. Lying a few hundred yards away in a clump of thicket, or other place affording privacy, it has the shape of a dumb-bell, with the two bays at the extremities connected by a narrow passage. Thus, the whole hide-out is invisible from outside, and the one bay invisible from the other. At the outer entrance to the first bay stands a rough 'gate', below which medicines have been dug. This is the scene of the actual operation (uKIMULA). The second bay receives the initiates immediately afterwards, when a balm needs to be applied.

One of the initiates, usually the eldest, has been chosen as the leader (mwALI wa kiOKA)[x], and he must be circumcised before the rest. Boys awaiting their turn are trotted erratically about, lest they should see what is in store; and the drummers back at the arena raise a deafening noise to smother any outcry. No one expects the boys to behave stoically, though some do so admirably. Only circumcised males may witness the operation, and thenceforth until the end of their seclusion the boys must avoid all females. As the first incision is made, someone, if need be the Circumcisor himself, mutters the FATIHA Koranic blessing. A conventional knife is used, and the initiate first put to ground on a long coiled chain of medicinal roots, from which expensive amulets (nGEGETA) may later be manufactured. The method of first-aid is to prop the boy's penis on a tiny forked twig (luHEGA) of the nTOGO-tree[xx] and to put on a fibrous rink soaked in medicine. If the Circumcisor is afflicted with a certain sort of Ndonde devil, it is thought

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Footnote x. The title is said to derive from an archaic verb, ku-OKA, meaning 'to commit an offence'. Apparently this boy counts as an 'offender' because he suffers first.

Footnote xx. The nTOGO-tree is credited with the peculiarity of appearing to dry up in its outer fringe of twigs, only to put forth fresh leaf. By the operation of sympathetic magic, therefore, the flow of blood should be staunched, although the vigour of the damaged organ will remain unimpaired. Though I cannot vouch for this, I believe the nTOGO-tree to be evergreen.

(Inset)

beneficial if he spits on the wound; but not otherwise. Should an initiate make a breakaway, he is pursued forthwith, the Circumcisor joining in the chase, and undergoes the operation at the place and moment of capture ... it is feared that an escapee might in despair hang himself. Directly the last boy has been circumcised, a deputation bearing nTOGO sprigs dashes back to the arena to bring the tidings in a conventionalised song ...

KABAKABA	kuPULA	. MwANA	gwINU
You have been slow	to pound(grain).		Your child

akamwALI	---	MaJUMBA.
(is) a fully-fledged initiate	---	The homesteads.

Also, one of the Sponsors announces the new Islamic name[x] bestowed on each boy as a mark of his altered status. To the sounds of the same 'kaMBENGA mKURUBUNJU' drum-beat that greeted the dawn, the Circumcisor, after heading a final burst of dancing, makes his departure; and the company is free to disperse.

The lengthy preamble to Ngindo circumcision can be regarded as anaesthetic in its effect on the initiates, rendered drowsy by repeated doses of 'warning-relief', and soothing in its effect on the audience, who are given hint after hint, guarantee after guarantee ... the sinister aspects of the rites would never frighten a grown person. It also secures ghostly support. The farewell song appears to be an exhortation to the womenfolk to return to their normal duties. More especially is it urgent that they should pound grain to provide the secluded boys with rations; hence the refrain "(back to the) Homesteads!".

For a month or more, whilst they recuperate, the

Footnote x.

Sometimes the boy will take the name of one of his Sponsors. Even in pre-Islamic days, a fresh name would replace the nick-name of childhood (liHINA lya uKEKE).

boys now live in the forest.

The very first night they spend with their Sponsors in the open. But the next day, somewhere in the same vicinity, their bush-camp (liKOKA) is built for them, a slab-sided cube made of millet-stalks. Their activities appear trifling enough. They undergo minor ordeals, practise hunting, and learn 7 aphorisms, mostly in bastard kiSwahili. Examples of the latter are ...

1. UsiFUNUE NYAMANDA la MAMA.
Do not uncover your mother's wicker-bowl.

2. UsiKALIE kiTANDA cha BABA ;
Do not sit on your father's bed ,

Only incidental elements remain couched in the vernacular.[x] Every sunrise, for instance, often in bitterly cold weather, the boys must crouch naked with their rumps pointing to the east, so that the first rays of sunlight may fall on their exposed genitals. The appropriate song is ...

TuFULAMI uPEPO na nTERA.
Let us bend forward (to get) the breeze and medicine.

The boys may neither wash nor cut their hair. On the approaches to their camp they construct a 'gate', on the cross-piece of which hang fragments of root in token of the various songs they are learning. Though circumcised males may visit the boys, they have to halt at the entrance-way and answer riddles, a form of pass-word. The Circumcisor may call on them once or twice, as a routine precaution, but he is not bound to do so unless complications have arisen. At some time after

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Footnote x.-
The boys, at their age, will know little kiSwahili. The use of that language may therefore be a means of familiarising ~~the boys~~ them with it.

the start of the bush-camp phase, the adults at home consume beer, brewed specially in the boys' honour. It has the name 'kiBIKA li?', which means "When did you put (the offering)?', i.e. 'When did you sacrifice ?'.

The first two out of the three songs quoted warn the boys against prying into their parents' affairs. Should a boy enter his father's sanctum, he might make unseemly discoveries, such as the tokens given him by lovers; should he enter his mother's, he might set eyes on her menstrual cloths or other tabooed objects. The third song is obscure.

I could manage only the occasional visit to these bush-camps; so the instruction (NGUNGU)[x] they afford may be less sketchy than I have indicated. However, there can be no doubt that it has fallen into atrophy, a decline that can be attributed partly to the drop in age of the initiates, but mostly to the disappearance of the specialist 'Initiator' (naKANGA)[xx]. To prove this, one has only to point to the contrast between the apathetic bush-camp routine on the one hand, directed by casual Sponsors, and on the other, the extraordinarily intensive pageantry marking the boys' entry into, and the girls' release from, seclusion, under the direction of the specialist Circumcisor and Initiatrix respectively. Again, in the specialist's absence, I had occasion to witness the immediate

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Footnote x. This is the same word as 'dry-season', when indeed the boys' seclusion does take place.

Footnote xx. Originally, it would seem, the Initiator carried as much weight and responsibility as the Initiatrix, whose commanding position will be fully apparent in the forthcoming description of the Finale. Some vestiges of the Initiator's office do linger; but the only 'Initiator' I saw at work was obviously nothing more than a glorified Sponsor. His prestige could in no way compare with that of the Initiatrix at that same Lodge, although the boys happened to outnumber the girls.

Seclusion : (above)boy-initiates at their bush-camp ... the chief Sponsor, Cell-head to one of the boys(though only a cognatic relative), stands behind them : (below) girl-initiates, completely enveloped in bark-cloth, about to be deposited at the seclusion-hut ... note the nTOGO-leaves strewn on the roof-thatching.

decay of the ceremonies. Unable to hire an Initiatrix, certain female elders of Barikiwa decided to handle the complex feminine ritual of the Finale on their own ... the result was a laughable muddle.

When the boys have sufficiently recovered, it is the turn of the girls to enter seclusion. This entails a morning's ritual of a comparatively simple kind, held at the hut of a particular parent or guardian. It goes by the name kuCHIPIRA[x].

During the earlier part of the morning the women-folk take the girl-initiates aside into the adjacent forest and perform feminine rites which are supposed to be secret[xx], though the songs are plainly audible from the hut at which the people have assembled. Their return is heralded by a party of skipping women waving nTOGO sprigs which, after dashing around the chosen hut with much horseplay, they thrust into the overhanging thatch. Other leaves from the same type of tree, dipped into a ladle of water, are taken off to the girls for some ritual purpose. Eventually, carried pick-a-back, and enveloped in bark-cloth, the girls themselves come into view. Still muffled, they are deposited under the eaves of the hut,

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Footnote:x
The name is almost identical with that for stilt-dancing (miCHIPIRA). The two have no obvious connection, unless the pick-a-back progress of the girls be associated with that of a stilt-dancer. The verb kuCHIPIRA has no ~~intrinsic~~ other meaning that I know of. There is an inclusive name, luBIKU (probably 'putting'), for female seclusion and its sequel. Allegedly the Ikemba and Ndonde call their equivalent entry-dance 'kaLINGE nanGWIKWI' or 'kuLEKELERA'.

Footnote xx.
I never recorded the words of this group of songs, but I did notice that the prevailing melody, a very distinctive one, recurred once or twice later in the initiation-cycle, and also at the first-pregnancy rite (maUNGOYO).

whereupon a dance ensues. Both sexes join in, singing special songs, and holding up bowls of flour in their hands. This same flour, contributed by those that attend the rite, later constitutes a feast, served with poultry-relish. At midday, when the company starts to disperse, the girls are hustled indoors.

Once again, one is struck by the prominence accorded to the twin symbols of flour and the nTOGO-tree. The bark-cloth covering for each initiate must be made for her by her suitor. Note that the flour-bearing dancers thereby repeat part of the uTANDI-blessing before male circumcision. Both men and women participate, moving in the somewhat uncommon advance-retreat pattern, otherwise found only on the traditional nDENGERA-dance. Beer may be drunk the following day at that same hut,[x] but by no means always.

No sooner are the girls in seclusion than the male organisers of the initiation-cycle, namely the heads the lineage-cells in question, set about building the Lodge; but first they must determine whether the site they propose is auspicious.

A conventional offering of sacrificial flour must be left overnight at the selected spot. Should it remain undisturbed, a cry of rejoicing goes up ...

Ye, ye, ye!	---	KuCHILE.
Hurrah!	---	The dawn has broken.

And the work of building the long shed-like

Footnote x.

If more than two or three girls are to be initiated together, separate kuCHIPIRA sessions may well be held for one or more of them in different parts of one settlement or in neighbouring settlements. Since the strict-seclusion period is so short, the sessions are bound to come within a couple of days of each other. Even in the case of boy-initiates, separate circumcision dances may take place. Then the boys will come together either at the bush-camp or at the Lodge. Since few parents can afford it, this rarely happens.

brushwood Lodge (liWIGII) goes forward. The flour-offering (uGWALI gu kuBIKIRA, 'flour that is put out'), removed during the actual construction, is afterwards carefully replaced in a central position.x The builders must be male, and more specifically, those that build the shelter (kiJUMBA) for the Initiatrix must be the girl-initiates' suitors.xx The ~~XXXXXXX~~ kiJUMBA, a replica of the Circumcisor's shelter, stands in front of the Lodge, with the dance-arena in between. Builders do not have to observe the taboo on sexual intercourse incumbent on the initiates' parents, nor do they cut any special trees. On no account, however, should the mTUMBATI-treexxx be used. Medicines should be buried in the wings, and sometimes in the centre, of the Lodge. In addition, the type of tail-switch used in the liFUGA devil-dance may be dragged the full length of the Lodge, and then suspended from one of the centre-supports.

Although makeshift, the Lodge requires a considerable labour-force for its erection. Quite deep in cross-section and spacious vertically, it may extend thirty

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Footnote x.
A special recess in the rear-wall of the Lodge accommodates it. Not until the end of the cycle is it removed and ritually eaten by the elders.

Footnote xx.
In this context they are called "waKWE LUME", the identical word fused in the past for 'maternal uncles'.

Footnote xxx.
As mentioned elsewhere, on the grounds that its red sap resembles blood, this tree lies under a universal taboo. It may therefore be thought highly injurious to girl-initiates, being analogous with menstrual blood.

or forty yards laterally. The process of finding a site is known as kuLINGA ('to measure' or 'to examine'); and of building, as kuCHENGA ('to build').

With both boys and girls in seclusion, and with the Lodge standing ready to receive them, what I call the 'Finale' begins. Though I observed several Finales in all their public phases, time did not permit coverage up to the same standard as I achieved in the circumcision-rite ..., the latter lasts less than 24 hours, the Finale more than a week! Admittedly the Finale episodes are less crowded, and many of them inaccessible to the male observer; but a thorough description, even of those that could legitimately be investigated, would prove immense. The Finale can be divided into two overlapping sections, each known by the name of a special brew of beer. The first is kiLOBA and the second ruPIYO.[x] Now, the brewing of beer normally takes four days, including the day of drinking; and the consumption of kiLOBA falls on the same day as does the start of ruPIYO; so the two together occupy seven days. The sequence of rites appears somewhat elastic, but I follow the order generally accepted as correct.

The first big public event, maPINDA (bark-cloths), marks the arrival of the girls at the Lodge.

(INSET)

On the first and second days of the kiLOBA brew, the girls will have undergone several secret rites in the forest nearby. The first of these, kuLYE uGWALI (a

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Footnote x.
KiLOBA is possibly the diminutive of liLOBA, 'flower', or NOBA, 'beads'. RuPIYO appears to mean 'bringing forth', from the verb kuPIYA, c.f. 'kuPIYA mwANA', the rite of bringing a child from the hut.

euphemism meaning 'eating porridge') [x] entails the ritual plucking of the girls' body-hair. Flour must first be rubbed onto the vagina. Later, participants share a meal with poultry-relish. Allegedly, [xx] they sing no songs, but simply yodel. The rite takes place in the afternoon, and before nightfall the girls are back in the living-huts set aside for their seclusion. That same night, at the Lodge, adults of both sexes dance the miHINDU ('half-processed grain'). Its theme-song is ...

NgaHINDULA miHINDU na nKULU.
And she pounded miHINDU-grain with senior kinsfolk.

The dancers carry containers of flour, the which is later distributed to the girls' parents. Preparations for maPINDA occupy much of the next day. Males, and in particular the girl-initiates' suitors, ceremonially strip bark and beat it into cloth. The work goes on in the forest, where a meal of porridge with poultry-relish [xxx] is taken. That evening, after dark, the maPINDA-dance commences at the Lodge, to the refrain ...

nKOTiti kû maPINDA genya ?
Where did you find these bark-cloths ?

nKOTiti kû ? KuCHINGULA
Where did you find them ? Peeling off bark

kwiyeto ka maKEMBA --- KuCHINGULA.
behind in the valley --- Peeling off bark.

Beforehand, some show is made of hiding the cloths

Footnote x.
Participants do of course eat a meal, but only as an adjunct to the depilation-rite. An alternative name is kuCHOPA. The word means 'to soak grain for brewing', but the allusion to pubic hair cannot be missed ... the saturated grain always starts to germinate, creating a hairy effect.

Footnote xx.
My sources of information were males who had eavesdropped at a distance, or had observed the ceremonies disguised as women, or from vantage-points in trees.

Footnote xxx.
This type of relish is a great luxury. In the ordinary way, Ngindo do not taste it from one month's end to the next.

øn the trees or undergrowth nearby, but they are soon located and triumphantly waved by the dancers, in the manner of tail-switches. Finally they are handed over to female relatives of the girl-initiates, who may then approach, swathed in the same cloths. Before retiring to sleep in a shelter behind the Lodge, they witness the secret feminine nDANDIKE-rite. nDANDIKE takes place near the ki-JUMBA-shelter, hence under the gaze of the inmates of the Lodge, which houses the public at large. However, some of the women form a screen to hide other who dance naked, jointly grasping a single outside bark-cloth.

Their sung commentary is ...

nDANDIKE jiTU lililli, nDANDIKE ǰiTU - TuKINALAge
Spread out our (clothing) now, spread it out ... Let us play.

As enjoined in the kuLYE uGWALI rite, all adult Ngindo women practise depilation, a feature which achieves great prominence throughout the remainder of the rites. Normally, before plucking the hairs, the women massage the skin with ash, here replaced by symbolic flour. In keeping with the custom, the miHINDU-song is said to be an obscure reference to pubic hair, and more specifically the next growth of hair to sprout during the Finale itself. With this growth, or 'residue', is compared the residual miHINDU grain that has to be lightly pounded and added to a brew of beer before it matures. The "senior kinsfolk" are, of course, the dancers themselves, who will indeed supervise the "pounding", i.e. elimination of the extra hair. Why the maPINDA bark-cloths should jokingly be hidden is not clear, unless it be a device to rid them of their strongly male associations ... the 'finders' can then pretend that the cloths simply appeared, and no one is any the wiser as to their origin. Certainly, this interpretation would seem to be supported by the words of the song: "Where

did you find them ?". The choice of the word ku-CHINGULA, 'to peel the inner bark away from the outer', a subsidiary phase of bark-cloth manufacture, would appear to derive from its association with 'plucking', i.e. of pubic hairs. As for the phrase "behind in the valley", this may be obscene, or alternatively a straightforward narration of the fact that the cloths must be beaten close to water so that the ritual meal can be cooked expeditiously. MaƁINDA has the alternative name miLANGU, meaning 'hammers', from the mallets used to beat the bark-cloth. The purpose of the subsequent nDANDIKE-rite would appear to be the introduction of the topic of sexual intercourse by means of the conveniently inocuous bark-cloth symbol ... a lover, meeting his mistress covertly in the forest, will tell her to "spread out" her garment. She is then naked, and they have somewhere to lie. The verb kuKINA, besides its usual force of juvenile play, can also be used of lovers' caresses.

In the morning of the third day the girls attend a private female ceremony, kiJOMOJOMO; and in the evening the Initiatrix herself arrives, greeted by a rite known as kiBWILILI.

> KiJOMOJOMO is one of several almost identical rites interspersed throughout the cycle. Held in the forest away from the Lodge, it consists of nude dancing, in which the adults display to the initiates their hairless vulvae. Its characteristic song is...
>
> KiJOMOJOMO. nTILI maKOKO lili -- JOMWA changani.
> The food-vestiges. Now you shun the taboos -- Finish altogether.
>
> The summons to the Initiatrix will have originated at the time when the Lodge-site was chosen ... the same conference of lineage-cell representatives must decide on the Initiatrix to be approached, the

provisional date of her arrival, and the delegation to be sent. The latter, a party of males, take with them the kiUKA[x], an offering of flour wrapped in cloth and fastened with nTOGO-twigs in a special intricate knot. The offering is then hooked onto an nTOGO stick and never once set to ground until the home of the Initiatrix is reached. En route, the bearer must refrain from addressing strangers. On meeting the Initiatrix, the delegates set up a yodelling, and watch to see if she will make the gesture of compliance; that is, if she will sit on the ground with her legs and arms rigid in front. should she respond in this fashion, they place the kiUKA-offering on her knees. Otherwise, they know that their mission has failed. On accepting the token, the Initiatrix orders an assistant to hang it up somewhere; later, she opens it in order to count the castor-oil beans[xx] laid on top of the flour, one for each initiate. Finally, she retires the knot and makes arrangements to travel. On approaching the Lodge, after nightfall on this third day of the kiLOBA brew, she is greeted by a throng of dancers, who sing ...

BakanGEMA ku ? BaJIKITA --- KiBWALILI!
Where did they call you ? They agreed to it --- The uninvited arrival!

Installing herself at the kiJUMBA-shelter, the

Footnote x.
The kiUKA-flour rests on a flat wicker bowl, kiUPIRO, by which name the offering may also be known. Note that the same term applies to the blobs of flour thrown by the Circumcisor during the uTANDI-rite, and to the sacrificial-flour placed out at the Lodge-site. The stem would appear to be that of the verb kuHUPA or kuHUPIRA , meaning 'to reward'.

Footnote xx.
The castor-oil bean is associated with child-birth and fertility. It enters largely into the rite of bringing a new-born babe out of the hut (kuPIYA mwANA).

Instruction : (above)NYIMBO-instruction given to a boy-initiate before circumcision : (below) girl-initiates receiving HUNDIRO-instruction shortly before the day of the ~~finale~~ climax (the Initiatrix sits in the centre-foreground with her back to the camera) ... note the half-demolished iHONGWE exhibits in the background.

Initiatrix gives the girl-initiates the very first instalment of Instruction (HUNDO or HUNDIRO), in the shape of a sung discourse. It begins ...

Chingi nDUMBWI niki ? WANGI aKULU
What have these people started ? Your elder sister

bINU . Nga baTABITA kiUKA .
is a liar. And they fastened the kiUKA-flour.

BaHICHILA kunDOLA nenga. Ne kaHUNDI manITU.
They came to take me away. I taught your sisters.

aWAWA bINU liKOKO . aMAMA bINU liKOKO .
Your father (is) taboo. Your mother (is) taboo.

aHACHA bINU liKOKO . Etc.
Your brother (is) taboo. Etc.,

So the initiates, formally transferred into the hands of the Initiatrix, spend the night in her Shelter.

The kiJOMOJOMO-rite crudely emphasises the virtue of depilation.[x] Its song apparently repeats the idea of miHINDU, namely the elimination of any pubic hair to sprout in the interim. The "food-vestiges" therefore signify hair, which they must "finish altogether". The reference to "taboos" allegedly ~~xxxxxx~~ echoes the practice followed at any meal taken by the girl-initiates, who must stay mute until the Initiatrix feeds each of them with a lump of porridge, i.e. only then are they free to eat and converse. Just so, it will be at the Initiatrix's bidding that they remove the surplus hair. The somewhat elaborate protocol of her advent, reflecting the importance of, and competition for, experts of repute, is celebrated at first in the kiBWILILI-song, and later in the HUNDO-instruction. The allusion to an "uninvited arrival" arises from the wordless invitation and acceptance. Once welcomed, the Initiatrix loses no time in asserting her superiority over the authorities to whom the girls have heretofore been subordinate ... some are "liars", and the rest "taboo".

Footnote x. Ngindo consider large genital-organs to be a major attraction in a woman. Their taste for fatness is further satisfied by the dimpled appearance of the skin after extraction of the hairs. The elderly women, therefore, tend to be sensitive on this point, and order the younger women away before making their display.

For the next two or three days, attention remains focussed on the girl-initiates, who undergo a series of rites, some hidden away in the forest, some open to the public at the Lodge, always the scene of brewing activity, if none other. Since few of these rites could adequately be observed, I shall pass over them rapidly.

The secret female rites include (i) maHIKI, (ii) maGULUBE, (iii) luKUMBU, (iv) nGALAGALE, (v) nDIBELILE, (vi) miKURU, (vii) maNYAGO ga naNTULWE[x]; and the public ones, (viii) nDWIKO, (ix) kiBEGEJA, (x) kiBANGALALA, (xi) kuGONGALERA, (xii) luBOPO, (xiii) maHULU[xx], (xiv) mBIMBYI, (xv) kiNDINDI RONGORA, (xvi) maBUNDE, (xvii) miKANDO, (xviii) kuPUTULA nGONGOLE, (xix) iHONGWE, (xx) kuHUTA uGWALI, (xxi) ~~mKE~~ nJWELENGA (or 'kanJEKU kwa aLAMU'), and (xxii) TINDI.

Most of these repeat the elements already introduced. For instance, (i) has the meaning 'small pointed sticks' or 'stubble', an obvious reference to sprouting pubic hair. Some, namely (ix) and (xix), are didactic. The former includes a horrifying sketch of the consequences of theft where the owner has set a poisonous snake to guard his property. The latter conveys a pageant of the seasons through such symbols as the sun, moon, and stars, made of straw and shown at dead of night, along with weird bogeymen and mysteries. Some of the rites are simply sacrificial, as instance (x) and (xi). Many incorporate the ubiquitous flour and nTOGO symbols; this is true of (xii) and (xiii), amongst others. In (xv) a friction-drum is

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Footnote x. The District Book mentions a "Kululiti ~~Rxixx~~ Rairuru" phase, of which I have no knowledge.

Footnote xx. Meaning 'tortoises', this is the dance referred to in the caption to the photographs on page 283c.

sounded, the only occasion on which I heard Ngindo use the instrument. (ii) should not, of course, be confused with the liGULUBE-rite in male circumcision.

Rites that warrant special scrutiny are the last three, for they have a direct bearing on the marital aspect. Most important of all, say the Ngindo, is (xx); for it clinches the marriage of the girl-initiates to their respective suitors.

> KuHUTA uGWALI means 'dragging flour', and this is what the participants do. A number of them, including the girl-initiates, huddle in the arena by night. Each of the initiates sits between the knees of a man representing her suitor, her head covered with a piece of bark-cloth. Those sitting on the fringes of the seated group are then daubed with flour, and the Initiatrix leans over to remove the coverings. She does not touch the cloths, but carefully lifts them off with a knife. As each girl is revealed, the womenfolk break into a yodelling chorus. Then, with the crook of her little finger, each of the initiates, helped by her male companion, drags a small container of flour from a position beside her knee to as far behind her as she can reach. Finally, flour-bowls are waved over those crouching in the centre of the group, whereupon the girls rise and rub each other down with flour, starting ~~with~~ at the breasts.

The act of grasping an object with the little-finger in this manner appears to be connected with copulation or conception ... it recurs in the rite marking a baby's exit from the hut of birth, when the mother and her spouse jointly wave a container of medicine over a

fire. Discard-ing of the girls' bark-cloths foreshadows their release from seclusion. (xxi) strengthens the bond between girl and suitor. Its alternative name means "Shaving by the In-law', and again a representative from among the suitor's close kin performs the rite. (xxii) constitutes a departure from the home-Ngindo norm, and applies only to members of certain clans which profess Ndonde descent. For those who observe it, however (and their numbers are appreciable), it marks the transition to full wifely status, for it temporarily releases a girl-initiate from seclusion to join her suitor, and the couple may then cohabit without taking any precautions, returning only for the climax of the Finale. In its true Ndonde setting, the release of TINDI would extend for a year or more; whence home-Ngindo jibes to the effect that Ndonde girls often come to the initiation with babies on their backs. Here, it becomes a pure formality; for the girl, if she is not to miss the concluding rites, must be back within a day or two.

Instruction of the girl-initiates by the Initiatrix proceeds in between, and occasionally during, these rites. The bulk of it takes place in private; but the final instalment, generally falling on the third day of the ruPIYO brew, is semi-public.

> No great distance behind the Lodge, the Initiatrix and her assistants harangue the girls for the best part of a morning. Males, though they are at liberty to come and listen, take no great interest in the performance. Most of the homilies, delivered in a sing-song, punctuated by the tinkle of ankle-bells and

castanets, concern the disguises[x] and figurines used in the iHONGWE nocturnal mysteries. Each item is produced in turn, explained in song, annointed with sacrificial beer, and then destroyed ... in the background, several women busily dismantle the bigger exhibits.

Doubtless the function of this illustrated teaching is not only to stress the lessons of iHONGWE and guard its secrets, but also to demonstrate to the girls, now on the verge of a joyous emergence to womanhood, that the sinister shadow of iHONGWE is past, no more substantial than the grass and clay models now prosaically demolished in broad daylight before their eyes. By contrast with that addressed to the boy-initiates before circumcision, the content of HUNDO is readily assimilable. The girls, sexually precocious, are fully able to absorb the messages of song, dance, lecture, and charade. They might even be thought sophisticated; yet the Initiatrix gains a remarkable ascendancy over them. Maintaining a completely expressionless front, they sit through days and nights of physical and mental shock, eyes downcast, hands clenched. With grossly suggestive pranks, male onlookers strive to penetrate their trance; to no avail.

So far, the girl-initiates have monopolised the proceedings at the Lodge. But, shortly before the completion of the feminine rites I have mentioned, the boy-initiates will have made their appearance. As a rule, they reach the Lodge on the third day of the ruPIYO brew.

First, still at their bush-camp the preceding evening, the boys must be ritually shaven (nJEKUI) in exactly

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Footnote x.

At a loss for words to describe the fantastic appearande of the Governor, in full regalia with cocked-hat and feathers, an Ngindo racconteur hit on the word 'kiNYAGO', namely one of these same disguises!

the same way as before circumcision. Then, after dark, they are shut inside the liKOKA-hut, which is fired. The boys have to 'escape' through a fresh exit, and run pell-mell deeper into the forest, until the conflagration passes out of sight behind them. They spend that night out in the open. Their precipitate departure from the bush-camp is known as nDIPITIPI (Bush Coucal, "Centropus Senegalensis"), for what reason I could never discover. The following day, still in the care of their Sponsor-kinsmen, they unobtrusively repair to the Lodge; but their ritual advent awaits sundown, when they undergo the NULA mock-ordeal. NULA takes place in a shelter not far behind the Lodge. Whilst actors, simulating with bellows and shreiks the presence of some monster in the obscurity of this shelter, hammer with metal on stone like a smith at his forge, each boy in turn, clad in a bark loin-cloth, is forced to enter, in the belief that the ghoul will "pierce a second anus!". But all that he actually finds within is a hide spread out on the ground. Forthwith he is chased out of the other side by actors brandishing 'whips', made of nTOGO-bark fibres and studded with bells. And straight afterwards he witnesses the NIRA gwa naNG'OMBE mystery[x], a creature traced in flour on the

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Footnote x.

Similar drawings are reported from the Nyasaland Yao (Ref.79c). Reproductions of the Yao designs scarcely resemble NIRA gwa naNG'OMBE at all. However, one of the most important, "Cing'undang'unda", apparently occurs among the southern-Ndonde under the title chiNG'UNDANG'UNDA luBALA (see Chapter X); but this may be due to direct Yao influence, seeing that Yao Circumcisors frequently operate on southern-Ndonde boys. Incidentally, "Cing'undang'unda" is shown as being conical in form, hence very similar to one of the Ngindo mystery-charade (iHONGWE) straw costumes. the name of which is not known to me. One observes of'

> ground beside one of the wings of the Lodge, and erased directly the rite is complete. Thence the boys continue to the front of the Lodge where, for the first time since circumcision, they behold their female relatives, who must now identify them by feel, laid out in a row on the ground. The rite, nTANGEnTANGE (meaning obscure), leads to a brief dance of triumph when each of the boys has been located and daubed with flour; but soon they are whisked back into seclusion, not to leave it again till their final exit in company with the girls ... who, at this instant, lie dormant in the kiJUMBA-shelter only a few yards away.

The strict seclusion of the bush-camp has vanished in the dramatic blaze of nDIPITIPI; and the boys' entry to the Lodge has for them been equally dramatic. Apart from its function as a transition-ordeal, NULA remains a puzzle. Perhaps the hide-symbol shown to the initiates may serve to support the view that the NIRA gwa naNG'OMBE monster is a cattle-emblem; but pastoralism is too remote from the Ngindo of to-day for the theory to carry any real weight. The purpose of nTANGEnTANGE would seem to be threefold. To the womenfolk it gives advance ~~xpx~~ proof of the boys' survival; to the boys it gives a foretaste of full release, thereby heightening the sense of abrupt rescue

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Footnote (cont.)

Ngindo-Yao similarities in names. "Mwesi" (moon), a drawn symbol among the Yao, seems to correspond with MWEI (also moon), a straw-model among the Ngindo; likewise Yao "lyuwa" (sun) for Ngindo liCHUBA. Again the Yao "Songo", said to be a mythical snake, tallies with Ngindo HONGWE (of which kiHONGWE, plural iHONGWE, is the probable diminutive form). NIRA gwa naNG'OMBE (possibly NIRA gwANA NG'OMBE) is cryptic in meaning; but the name certainly seems to suggest cattle... the Ngindo use the kiSwahili word "ng'ombe", 'cow' or 'beast'. The pictorial monster itself, of which I caught only a glimpse by firelight, appears as a crude four-footed animal. Though the Ngindo have no known cattle associations, their most recent tribal conquerors, the Ngoni, were semi-pastoral.

from the vacuum of the bush-camp; and to the public at large it gives barely a glimpse of the boys, whose appearance on the day of liberation will still be a novelty. So both boy- and girl-initiates, though strictly segregated and performing independent rites, come to be based on the self-same Lodge whence, very shortly, they will graduate together.

Henceforth both sexes[x] participate in a series of rites of identical content, held in the vicinity of the Lodge, though seldom simultaneously, and, with the exception of the climax, never jointly. The rites include preliminary lustration, annointment with flour, final cleansing, adornment, triumphal parade, and 'coming-out'.[xx]

Preliminary lustration (nJOGO, 'bathing'), for the boys something of an ordeal as well since it takes place in a near-freezing dawn, is the ritual ducking of the initiates at a pool or waterhole.[xxx] It falls on the penultimate day of the ruPIYO brew. Once again, the nTOGO forest-symbol stands well to the fore. For instance, the boys have to pass through an archway of its branches before entering the water, where they are splashed with switches cut from it. After drying the initiates at bonfires,

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Footnote x.
Actually the boys have one further rite peculiar to themselves, mhWACHA kuLABA ('be sure not to be late'), which I never personally observed.

Footnote xx.
I did not have the time to translate or analyse the songs appropriate to these rites, so must omit them.

Footnote xxx.
Certain lineages do not allow total immersion of their members, but wash them from vessels instead. The taboo is said to have arisen from the accidental death of an initiate through drowning.

Initiation Finale: (above) girl-initiates being carried shoulder-high in the liHEGERE parade: (below) boy-initiates arrayed in finery prior to liHEGERE ... note the gnu-tail held by the leading boy.

the escorts perform itinerant dances all the way back to the Lodge. Whereas the male and female nJOGO-rites run concurrently at different points, the flour-annointment rite (mbeLEMBA)[x] for each sex falls on a different day ... that of the girls on the morning of the fourth day of XXXX ruPIYO, immediately before the climax, that of the boys on the preceding evening. In each case the initiates are daubed with flour all over the xxxxx torso, the girls in dots made with the fingers, the boys in fan-shapes applied with the five-pointed leaf-stem of the mPINDIMBI-tree[xx]. Final cleansing (kuJOYA bALI, 'cleansing the initiates') takes place behind the Lodge on the fourth and final day of the ruPIYO phase. The initiates, those of each sex grouped a seemly distance apart and standing on mats, are stripped, rubbed down with water, clad in splendid raiment (nGWINDE, 'may you dress'), and annointed on the forehead and both cheeks with dabs of sim-sim oil to which seed-grains are made to adhere. The Initiatrix embraces each girl, and her male counterpart, should he by way of exception be appointed, touches brows with each boy. Next, girls and boys in turn, their faces muffledm mount the shoulders of male attendants, who dance in procession behind the Lodge. The leading boy-initiate, preceded by a man carrying a fowl, grasps

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Footnote x.

Not to be confused with the male-circumcision rite of like name.

Footnote xx.

"Vitex species" (identification by Mr. P.R.O. Bally of the Coryndon Museum, Nairobi). It has edible-fruits, serves as a hive-platform, and its pale wood provides Muslim prayer-boards. Its alternative name, mHURU, means 'solitary'.

in his hand a gnu-tail. Finally the dancers bear all the initiates together round to the front of the Lodge, where a great gathering awaits them, the elders sitting down to their ruPIYO beer, the dense mass of younger folk jostling in a tumultuous dance. This is liHEGERE ('yodelling' or 'rejoicing'). Afterwards the boys are set to earth and made to straddle a row of beer and flour bowls, placed alternately; whence they are carried onwards and deposited on mats spread before the centre-section of the Lodge, where the girl-initiates are already seated. Both must then sip some of the beer. This is ~~KHKX~~ kuPIYA ('bringing forth').

The purificatory rites beginning with nJOGO form a fitting crescendo to the climax of liHEGERE[x], blending all the earlier fertility-themes symbolised by flour, beer, seed, tail-switches, and the nTOGO-tree. So the boys and girls, resplendent, the centre of excitement, sit happily together. But their final departure from the Lodge awaits the following morning, known as ~~EXXXXX~~ NALA, the term generally applied to the morrow of a beer-party.

Footnote x.

As an accompaniment to the revelry, the Ngindo sometimes stage acrobatic dances, such as maHEBE (tumbling), miCHIPIRA (stilt), kiNYEPE (masked), maKINDANGA (stamping), or liKOMBORA (aerial). The more regular and sedate nDENGERA, is also thought appropriate. Other diversions, such as naLILI, mark the occasion. NaLILI represents the fulfilment of some wager, made by an individual in return for the goodwill of the ghosts. Thus a man whose son has safely passed through the ceremonies may give some promised forfeit in public, as a token of his gratitude. I saw such a one yoke his wife in a cloth harness, and lead a procession from end to end of the Lodge.

Throughout the preceding week of ceremonies, the Lodge will at no time have been deserted; for the work entailed in brewing, done on the spot, goes on continually. Though there is a constant come-and-go, the families immediately concerned with brewing and victualling stake claims to certain sections of the Lodge, which is accordingly subdivided into doors, one for each initiate... since the building is open-fronted, these 'doors' are of course imaginary. Opposite each, stand the brewing-jars, together forming an imposing rank. Visiting kinsfolk from other settlements who arrive early in the week take up residence in the Lodge, behind which a number of makeshift shelters spring up to house the overflow. In fact the Lodge, an independent mushroom-'settlement' in the forest, becomes the centre of a flourishing community life. So that, even in the lulls, people still throng it. Attendance is so general that scarcely any selectivity emerges. The initiates' kin, including affines, may come from a radius of 50 miles, if only for the 'coming-out' event. On that day, the turn-out swells to impressive dimensions, exceeding anything else in the whole Ngindo calendar.

Its sequel, therefore, appears modest by comparison. Next morning, after a final word of instruction, the Initiatrix allows her charges to escape from the Lodge; whilst the boys follow suit.

> Early in the morning, the Initiatrix gives the girl-initiates a final instalment of Instruction. Away behind the Lodge, she explains to them in song the significance of the one remaining model-exhibit, nGAKA (Pangolin or Scaly Ant-Eater, "Smutsia Temmincki"), a spiky clay ball or egg the size of a bowling-wood. At the same time a small fork of nTOGO, draped with beads, is planted upright in the ground. Over it are poured

> libations of a thin flour-and-beer paste, which is also applied to the girls' lips. Finally the nGAKA, on being broken assunder into several pieces, reveals an assortment of different seeds in its hollow centre. Whilst exuberant males skewer the segments on their knives and gallop wildly with them round the arena, the female on-lookers, who help to finish the distasteful beer-mixture, appropriate the seed. Immediately afterwards, boy-/and girl-initiates join in a skipping parade from one end of the Lodge to the other. Near the centre, in its brushwood rear-wall, an aperture has been cut ready. Through it the initiates now scamper (kuPOJOLA liWIGII, 'piercing the Lodge') without a backward glance, running away as hard as they can.

Although I lack the confirmation of the songs and native comment thereon, nGAKA appeared to me obviously vaginal; and its spikes or hairs, made of bamboo splinters stuck into the clay at a sloping angle, obviously pubic. The fertility seed-symbol within would seem consistent with such a view. Doubtless the egg-like object is supposed to resemble the Pangolin when curled up into a protective ball, though the hairs call to mind, rather, the quills of a porcupine. The skipping brings an echo of the girls' entry into seclusion, and the 'escape' an echo of the boys' exit from the bush-camp.

So the initiates are free to return to their homes, they/ boys to their parents, who support them until they are grown men, the girls to their suitors, who now rank as full husbands. In the past, whilst the procedure for girls seems to have followed much the same lines as at present, no male could be circumcised until fully grown. The prime reason for the drop in age of male initiates appears to be economy. The female expert is retained because of the paramountcy of

inculcating wifely, as opposed to other forms of discipline; whereas that of the boys, it is felt, can safely be left to everyday informal agencies. This change might seem to indicate that the function of former 'initiations' might have been more emphatically marital; that is to say, both the betrothed spouses might conceivably have had their 'initiation' at the same Lodge, becoming 'married' in the process. But, excepting in one or two isolated instances, thanks to the husband being unusually tardy in getting circumcised, this does not seem to have been the case. In those days, so it is said, youths could not even set about making conquests; for only middle-aged men were considered by the women to be sexually eligible. At any rate, a girl's initiation is now evidently decisive in determining her status in wedlock. The suitor, or at least his representative among the prospective in-laws, attends, sharing in symbolic acts of connubial union. It is incumbent on him to bear a proportion of the costs involved, over and above the payment of bride-wealth instalments. For instance, he has to furnish a length of MEREKANI-cloth (here called mhYATA) for his betrothed's kiBANGALALA-rite, and a kiTAMBI-robe (here called kiUTA) for her final parade.

As for fellow-initiates, whether male or female, they appear to maintain little or no solidarity in later life, apart from neighbourly companionship. They are bound by no permanent relationship arising out of their joint initiation. On the other hand, the fact that boys and girls 'come-out' together[x] makes the Ngindo initiations something more than the promotion of a particular social segment to a fresh social grade. In

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Footnote x.

There is nothing to prevent a session being held exclusively for boy-, or exclusively for girl-, initiates. Where the situation occurs, however, it is merely because no initiates of the opposite sex are available. As an ideal, Ngindo prefer to merge the two together.

microcosm, these boys and girls, a complete stratum in themselves, are the survival of Ngindo society. For theirs is the most important single advance in the perpetuation-cycle. Small wonder that the Ngindo should sum up their whole pagan religion in the phrase: "It is the initiation".

Regarding my interpretation of the nTOGO-tree as an 'indirect' forest-symbol, I realise that this may be wide of the mark as a 'direct' association of symbol and thing symbolised. In point of fact, the fertility-content of nTOGO may provide its specific symbolism; more especially in view of the universality of the Ngindo flour-cult, with which it so frequently dovetails. Nor am I unaware of the implications of the latter as an index of a cultivating-tradition. These inferences must be set against my own 'hunch' of an aboriginal-tradition. I argue, on grounds set out elsewhere in this thesis and on a total appraisal of Ngindo society, that the forest is supremely important, and that such symbols as the nTOGO, whatever their secondary associations, are an unconscious recognition of this fact. Further, the now-preponderant cultivation-symbols may, in my view, have been borrowed wholesale. Ngindo themselves are singularly inarticulate on such matters. I could never elicit a satisfactory native explanation of the nTOGO-cult.

It is open to serious doubt whether the home-Ngindo consistently practised male circumcision, say, a hundred years ago. Yet the complexity of present ritual points to a lengthy evolution. Ngindoland does not boast above a dozen Circumcisors of repute. Their proficiency finds its outward mark in the possession of a medicinally potent gnu-tail (mKIRA), obtained either through inheritance or through experience with an established Circumcisor .... agnatic succession is by no means the rule in the transference of this skill. At the end of the season, or in a blank

year, liKWATA dances are held to release the operators from chastity, and to restore the tails' power[x]. Formerly, in a given locality, several seasons would be allowed to pass, so that the combined celebration might be the more impressive. Nowadays, for prestige reasons (see the end of Chapter VIII, 'Special Ideology'), the rites have disintegrated. Thus neighbouring Cell-groups may hold competing female-seclusion, or even male-circumcision, dances. However, I have yet to hear of such ambitions resulting in two Finales in one and the same settlement!

Owing to the scarcity of Circumcisors and the multiplicity of dances, each operator becomes ambulant directly the season opens; in fact is said to depend on the gratuities of flour for his subsistence throughout the rest of the year ... his haul from a single dance may be as much as fifty pounds weight. A reputable Circumcisor appears to average about ten sessions per season, earning a cash-fee of at least Shs. 2/- for each boy circumcised. I heard that one Circumcisor was demanding Shs. 5/-, which

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Footnote x.

Regarding the Yao and Konde (or Ngonde) tail-switches (Ref.79a), prima facie they seem to resemble closely the Ngindo ones, about which I know too little to make a thorough comparison. For instance, I was not aware that medicines could be incorporated in the tail-handle itself; though judging from illustrations of the Yao material, some of the Ngindo 'tails' are of sufficient size to accommodate medicine. Again, though I heard in passing that tails could be male or female, no further detail on this point was forthcoming. As far as I know, the Ngindo favour gnu-tails to the exclusion of all others, whereas the Yao use those of lion, buffalo, zebra, and sable-antelope as well. However, even among the Yao, it appears that for initiation purposes it is the gnu-tail which is essential. Their other types of tail serve other purposes, such as raiding and war, in which I have not heard that the Ngindo used tail-emblems. Yao tails may be 'fed' with blood, especially that of the first of a group of boy-initiates to be circumcised. I have not found Ngindo doctoring tails in this way, though they do so in the case of other objects, such as therapeutic bracelets. Besides being a very prominent symbol at the Ngindo initiations, the 'tail' is a stock-in-trade for all types of Ngindo dance-leaders.

Initiation: gnu-tail and flour symbols in female seclusion (above), with girls bedaubed prior to the 'tortoise' dance : and in male circumcision (below) during the UTANDI sacrifice made to a tree.

some informants reckoned exorbitant. Since his work is almost continuous for a period of several weeks, the Circumcisor is expected to refrain from copulation throughout; as indeed should the parents of initiates during the seclusion phase, though few comply. Certain Circumcisors have dual functions. Three brothers, for instance, all of them trained operators formerly living in the Ndapata and Muhinje areas, but since evacuated, are also qualified as Muslim Preachers. So, during the rainy-season, they concentrate on preaching.

The Initiatrix adheres to much the same routine as the Circumcisor. Likewise in demand, and likewise the owner of a gnu-tail or tails, her income is roughly on the same scale. She is the arbiter and repository of custom, the essence of traditional inertia. It was an Initiatrix, encountered on safari in a remote spot, walking empty-handed whilst a male attendant carried her gnu-tail behind, who greeted me in the old-fashioned style by kneeling down on the ground, a thing I never saw Ngindo do before or since. Surprisingly, it does not matter if she happens to be pregnant at the time of assuming duty, provided she is well enough to dance. The way in which these women dominate the proceedings at crowded Lodges indicates the importance Ngindo accord to their function of indoctrinating the girls. Generally they are elderly, though two very competent ones I met could not yet have reached their forties. Circumcisors, who tend to be younger, are if anything more plentiful ... a fair indication of the extraordinarily high status enjoyed by the Initiatrix.

The Ngindo initiations, though unique as an organised cycle and corpus of ritual episodes, bear

astonishing resemblances of detail to those of the Yao and Makonde, both of whom speak related tongues (i.e. related to each other, and to kiNGINDO). The Yao ceremonies (Ref.62), though they embody the alien "Lupanda" pole, show multiple parallels in both terminology and procedure. Circumcision, with its prominent tail-symbol and "Masebe" dance (the Ngindo call it maHEBE, and perform it later in the sequence), shows the same outline. The cries of the initiates are drowned by drumming in the same manner, and the "Mlombwe" Sponsor (c.f. aROMBO in kiNgindo) steers each boy ("W_ali" for kiNgindo bALI) through the bush-camp ("Ndagala", same word in kiNgindo), which must be burned down. Later, the Yao initiates are washed ("Koga Nambango"[x] for kiN_gindo nJOGO), and so forth.

The Makonde rites show like affinities (Ref.27). Here, though such alien features as 'sacred fire' occur, certain resemblances are even more striking. On the way to the arena, male-initiates, borne shoulder-high, meet the Circumcisor's party, complete with 'tail' ("Mcila" for kiNg/gindo mKIRA), lying prone in the path ("Kuwadiwili ndila", i.e. the miPINGUI 'omens' of the Ngindo). They sing about the "Mtawala shrew" (nDABALA elephant-shrew) ... the Makonde source equates the rite with pubic hair, whereas the Ngindo connotation is definitely phallic. As for the bushpig-charade, found in each, the very imagery of the songs is identical. Compare kiMakonde ...

" Nanguluwe watutula pahi
"Mister wildpig, rooting about in the ground beneath.

ulembelaci ulembe minhoko " (Ref.27).
What do you want ? You look for wild roots"

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[x] footnote.

This same word, in the form NAMBANGONAMBANGO, is used in the same sense by the southern - Ndonde.

with kiMagingo ...

nGULUBE ujwo , akamwALI , nGULUBE ujwo .
The bushpig is here, initiates, the bushpig comes.

nGULUBE kuMBOJAMBOJA . KAJULA
The bushpig routs about. He breaks open

manGICHI . KuMEMENA mBELENJE
the nGICHI-fruits. He chews (the roots of) burnt tufts of grass.

One must conclude that very considerable cross-fertilisation has taken place.

Subsistence Rites.

Most Ngindo adult occupations dispense with ritual. However the success of certain enterprises is thought to depend on the performance of mystical acts.

Perhaps the most significant from the group aspect are those marking the harvest season.

Called kuBOPA kiBULE (meaning obscure), they fall at the time when the sorghum is ripe and ready to be cut. Only women may conduct them. They dance and form a procession, bearing heads of grain which they leave at a cross-roads (maLEKANO) as an offering. I never witnessed this ceremony but it evidently remains an intra-settlement affair. The Rufiji District Book (Ref.60) embroiders by making it common to the Mwera, Matumbi, Zaramo, and others. It also insists that the "Wahekemba" (Ikemba) hold it when the crop sprouts, the "Wa'ndonde" (Ndonde) and "Wachoo" (Chobo) when it flowers, and the Magingo at both junctures. Local informants reject this differentiation, as they do the further assertions that the women dance naked after nightfall, that they eat the raw grain (though passers-by are at liberty to do so later), that they perform pantomimes of cultivation (though they may hollow out water-melons as symbols), and that they place ash in a cracked pot out in the forest (this is done at another time and for another purpose, i.e. burial. The Rufiji District Book may also have confused harvest-/with initiation-rites, which occur only a short while afterwards). Copulation is taboo a day before, and two days after, planting; and before the grain is mature miLIMBU beer may be drunk ... presumably the same beer to which I heard the Ndonde of south-east Ngindoland refer. They dedicate heads of millet, putting them aside in the hut, later to be made into beer. Others they place at the deserted intersection of two paths. A similar party, mBUJITE NG'UNDA (you have returned from the fields), comes directly after the harvest. The District Book adds that

in the event of drought or crop-failure the NDENGERA dance, to be described presently, might prove efficacious. These are the only collective attempts to safeguard the main food-supply by mystical means. Individuals may do so with MBANDIRO medɨcine, obtainable from herbalists who either treat the seed-grain before planting or furnish a substance to be buried at the corners of the field. Huts are erected without formality, excepting perhaps the summoning of a herbalist to guard against snakes and other intruders.

Crafts, especially those intimately connected with the forest, demand a certain amount of ceremonial. Pottery, the clay for which at Barikiwa is to be had only from deposits in the forest, lies under the sway of a priestess. She takes appropriate action should accidents or losses occur. I could not discover how she sacrifices; apparently she does so at home in private; but all clay-miners must observe sexual and other restrictions, either fashioning a toy pot at the entrance-way, or spitting on an nTOGO leaf and casting it into the pit. It is noteworthy that the remainder of the technique should be carried on informally at the homesteads until, once again in the forest, the pots are fired. Then they have to be treated with a protective medɨcine (NTERA gwa kuHIMULIRA, medɨcine for extinguishing); whilst chance visitors at the bonfire get a pot gratis, a throwback to the days of witch-burning when a sorceress's salvation might lie in redemption by a stranger, whence her anxiety to attract strangers thither.[x]

n/p.....

Beekeeping, most developed of the bush-crafts, requires an annual offering made at the lineage level or by even smaller groups. Uniformity by no means obtains, but a specimen rite as performed by a given lineage-core will

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x ...lest she should find herself accused at some later date and facing death on a similar bonfire.

serve as example, besides giving an idea of the form taken by other multi-purpose offerings to the spirits. The officiator fixes a day ~~is fixed~~ in advance, and informs all ~~every~~ neighbouring relatives ~~informed~~. They stand under no compulsion to attend. As a rule not more than a dozen people are present, women and children included. After clearing a space ~~an arena~~ beneath an mHWINDIRA tree,[x] the officiator sees to it that honey-combs are put ready ... the combs must come from a honey-bee nest or from the type of wild-bee known as kiSOMA ("TRIGONA species GRIBODOI. Magretti." Identification by Mr. Yarrow of the British Museum.) The old-style bark container (kiJULA) must be used to harvest it, although now largely superseded by the ~~hide~~ NGUPILI, made of hide. Separating out a small quantity of liquid honey, placed in two diminutive receptacles said to symbolise male and female, the officiator ~~puts them side by side along with~~ lays them on green leaves beside other condiments such as tobacco and salt, ~~resting on green leaves.~~ The small cups are likewise made of bark and called i//JULA (plur); the honey, kiHUNA (probably "little harvest"); and the officiator himself, anaHOTA, ~~the normal~~ a word normally meaning 'elder', ~~but applying equally to a youthful officiator.~~ The residue of the honey, though forming part of the sacrifice and susceptible of omens, remains outside the ~~arena~~ cleared space. Around it towards sundown the participants gather, whereupon the officiator, seated on the ground and rubbing his hands together, addresses ~~a~~ the ancestral spirit or spirits associated with the thicket-area in question (such a manual gesture also occurs in the local

(INSET)

Footnote: x

It belongs to the Combretum species (identified by Mr. Bally, Coryndon Museum, Nairobi), is worked by bees, serves as a hive-platform, and provides building-poles. A tree more commonly used for sacrifices is the mHORO (Caesalpinia crista, Ref.90a). In this use it is not confined to the Ngindo; nor by its sacralisation does it imply the presence of ghosts in the tree itself. mHORO sheds its leaves at night, say the natives, who endow it mystically. I do not know if the leaves actually fall by dark, but this is why it is chosen; not because of specific haunting. It is taboo to place hives in mHORO's branches.

Islamic services). The Ngindo tongue should be used so that the spirit, frequently belonging to the pre-Swahili era, may understand the words. There is no precise formula for framing the apostrophe, but the content stays constant from year to year. It is a plea for blessing and for a season rich in honey. In particular is aid implored to avert encounters with dangerous animals. The audience, likewise seated, keeps quiet throughout but goes through the same motions. The company then disperses whilst the offering, left out uncovered overnight, becomes the object of anxious scrutiny the following morning. If the honey is seen to be untouched ... the selected spot lies well away from the homesteads and human interference ... the omen is judged favourable, the honey consumed there and then by the supplicants, and the season pronounced open. If on the contrary the offering has been pilfered or sullied, all activity must cease pending the verdict of ~~tribal practitioners~~ ritual experts whose job it is to diagnose the cause of displeasure and suggest means for its removal. In the case of consistently bad omens (UHEMBE iTAKANA, 'the ~~flour~~ ... UHEMBE is an archaic word now denoting all forms of offering) ### has been refused, operators do not abandon the harvest but proceed gingerly, mostly by daylight, and constantly on the watch for accident. As for impatient persons neglecting to wait for the sacrifice, they are subject to no penalties; but thought to do so at their own peril. ~~Hives~~ Neither honey from hives in or near cultivations ~~do not~~ counts for nor wild-honey of any description (by 'wild-honey' I mean honey from a source other than a man-made hive) the purposes of ~~this taboo; nor does wild-honey of any description.~~ the taboo on consuming honey before the local sacrifice has been held. No great accretion of observances surrounds the sacrifice, nor is anyone debarred from exercising priestly function; if need be, a woman may deputise. Both officiator and honey-gatherers are however debarred from sexual intercourse immediately before or during the night of the sacrifice. ~~copulating either on the eve of the placing or on that of the inspection.~~ No sacrificial honey may be eaten beforehand, or even licked from the fingers. The officiator, bare-

(INSET).

headed, strips down to a loin-cloth before assuming his role. In a year of dearth the sacrifice may remain in abeyance. On the other hand individuals may in normal times make subsequent token offerings according to their fancy. Rain is not regarded as a legitimate agency of the spirits. In the event of a threatening downpour, a temporary shelter might be erected; but the beemen would not ordinarily choose anything save a clear evening. No more do they consider falling leaves as omens. Harm to no matter what ingredient of the offering entails a gloomy interpretation; and especially to the liquid honey.

(Insert)

This is a sample to show how bush-craftsmen operate. Discussion of the fuller implications of their efforts at appeasement must await general treatment of Ngindo views on death and the hereafter. What impresses one most about such rites as these, performed once a season if that frequently, is their brevity and lack of vital importance. At no other point in the complicated technique of bee-keeping does ritual come into focus, and the sanctions governing this bulk-propitiation just described are weak enough. Again, the inherent risks of forest-utilisation, and especially bee-keeping, evoke a meagre ritual response. Possibly the dearth of ritual may be due to the industry's recent growth from an esoteric into a widespread activity. Beekeeping is the most comprehensive, lucrative, and intricate of the forest crafts, tending to embrace the rest, which are consequently devoid of ritual. However I have heard tell of a 'rubber sacrifice', now a dead letter. Before setting out on patrol, certain of the (mostly alien) African Game-Scouts have been rumoured to stage 'elephant sacrifices' for the benefit of local Ngindo spirits.

Sickness.

Ngindo may meet the problem of sickness (UTAMWE), like other misfortunes, with common-sense methods. Knowledge of herbal remedies, some of demonstrable efficacy ~~such as aperients~~, such as aperients, is extensive ~~both in exponents and content.~~ ; and the number of its exponents large. For this reason practitioners with a wide following or repute are rare. In addition, since their activities almost inevitably go with services less legitimate in the eyes of Government, such as divination, they are at pains to keep anonymous. One hears only by devious means that so-and-so knows medicines, whilst the individual in question will as like as not refuse to admit to any skill. Very often it is only one category of medicine that is known. One herbalist may have snake -, another lion -, medicine. It is doubtful whether any standard Ngindo repertoire exists, excepting in broad outline. Different doctors will have different remedies for the same complaint; or may even use the same remedy for different complaints. A great many cures act through conventional bodily consumption or application. For instance the roots of the Tamarind tree (mKWACHU) may be eaten for fever, whilst a man who has been blinded by the caustic latex of tree-Euphorbia (NG'HONGANGWEA) can get relief if a suckling mother squirts milk in his eye. Again, a patient may wear a medicinally-treated object, such as charm-beads (luWAMBO), which may also denote a pledge made in time of distress that sacrificial beer will be brewed once the crisis is past. Pieces of root may form a bracelet; especially those roots laid beneath a boy-initiate during actual circumcision. Such roots will protect a sick man from the danger ~~This~~ of pollution by touching a pregnant woman and, as a necklace, give strength to a mother after childbirth. By extension, such adjuncts of humans or animals as the dust of their footprints may be doctored; though this is preventive rather than curative, aimed at man-eaters and adulterers (the District Book, apparently in error, calls this "Uhembe";

Pagan Ritual and Belief : (above) close kin of the deceased drink sacrificial beer at an NCHOPI feast: (below)piles of stones at a cross-roads for disease.

it adds that the counter-medicine goes by the name "Mahako"). Not seldom, straightforward prescriptions may combine with obscurer ones. Thus the type of sores known as UTUNO may be treated with a balm heated by means of hot pebbles, which are later deposited at the side of a path in the hope that passers-by will catch, and thereby remove, the infection.[x] A fair sample of a practitioner's mixed methods is this: "A child born at the beginning of the rains is seen to tremble and ail when confronted by a butterfly with oculis-markings on its wings. So the practitioner blows a blessing over the child both east and west. Then he gives it a potion containing the diet of these butterflies". Even where resort is had to the mystical, the concept of substantial medicine (nTERA, a word with plant associations; luTERA means a small pointed stick) is inseparable from Ngindo therapy. And in turn the mystical can never altogether be disentangled from the tangible. Thus, though a herbalist goes out to search for known roots or leaves with known properties, he allows his search to be governed by all manner of 'irrational' criteria such as omens. Since their scope is petty, and their approach clandestine, herbalists have a negligible social significance. Most are elderly, and many female. Patients or their representatives simply go privately to their huts.

Footnote: x

The District Book states that these heaps of stones commemorate persons who died in transit. It calls the practice "Mlau ayeka" (solitary death ?) or "Mzimu" (usually meaning mask or spirit). But I have not found this to be borne out. The similar placing out of ash and potsherds is attributed by the Rufiji District Book (Ref.60) to harvest customs, and by the Mahenge one (Ref.56) to rheumatic treatment or alternatively to formal reconciliation between estranged spouses. My information is however that it denotes miscarriage ... the pot from which the mother is washed has to be discarded in this way. More commonly it is local Islamic burial that is responsible for the phenomenon.

Where such a practitioner (amiTELA, cf. nTERA, or aGANGA) dabbles in divination (kiSANGO), he goes deeper than the physical causes of an ailment and automatically opens up the whole field of the occult. The commonest method employed is that of studying the positions of pieces of wood, or of a horn, in a calabash. Again, the diviner may simply rub his hands (kuIYOGOLA) whilst intoning prayers or the names of suspects. When his palms cleave suddenly together, this marks the decisive utterance he makes. His diagnosis may fall into one of four categories. The disease arises from the action of either natural causes, ghosts, devils, or sorcerers. I shall deal with the latter, ~~which is~~ who are presumed if other theories fail, first.

Ngindo sorcerers (this term appears preferable to the more generalised "witch") operate by stealth and under the cover of darkness. Their methods draw only partially on the supernatural. Thus a sorcerer is not thought capable of molesting a person living further away than a night's return walking-distance; sturdier males have a somewhat wider radius than females; females are thought less predictable than males, who will seldom resort to sorcery without good cause. So much so, that straight poisoning, of which the Ngindo have an advanced

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Footnote: x. (see overleaf)
Ngindo make no claim to the control of were-animals, though neighbouring tribes such as Mwera and Makonde are known to do so. The confidence shown by certain Ngindo elements in their immunity from attack by lions has no bearing on sorcery ... those stated by the District Book to be living around the "Livea" area of Nyera (eastern Ngindoland) a generation ago were probably under Mwera influence. Ngindo do however fear reincarnation in the form of a carnivorous monster. Should a corpse be slow to enter rigor mortis, this is a danger-signal.

knowledge, may quite often be the explanation of so-called ~~'bewitching'~~ 'sorcery'. Nevertheless these nocturnal errands surpass reality in a number of particulars. Firstly the sorcerer glides along, leaving no footprint. By levitation also he surmounts otherwise impassable obstacles, such as swollen rivers. Should he encounter a wild beast[x] he will come to no harm; or if he does, it is a serious portent for the whole community; should he encounter a human, the latter's vision will be impaired by magic. Male, as opposed to female, sorcerers can discharge two roots fastened together which fly like bullets towards their target. Striking home with an audible report into the victim's entrails, they cause him to waste slowly away. The District Book has it that even lightning might be harnessed by sorcery, though I have not heard this confirmed.

It is by NDUMBA or miCHENGO (~~witchcraft-substance~~ 'medicines') that the sorcerer gains his ends. A substantial medicine compounded from roots and leaves, in dry pellets or mixed with oil, it is either fed to the sleeping victim or administered through incisions made in the skin ... it is by magic that the intruder has entered his hut and rendered him soporific; or that the victim himself has been induced to rise in a somnambulistic state and open the door; or that he has been spirited away for occult purposes, to be returned to his bed none the wiser before dawn. The medicine may also be buried in a pathway, whereupon it will penetrate the system through the soles of the feet, more especially if they bear an open sore. The result in every case is illness or accident, which eventually proves fatal. The rate of killing depends on the type of medicine. One of them brings death in a matter of hours. But the decline usually takes a more gradual

[x] See footnote on previous page.

course. Though essentially private and unorganised, sorcery is thought to entail cannibalistic feasts held in the forest by night, when the sorcerers dance naked, feeding on exhumed bodies, which in addition provide ingredients for lethal medicines. A variant on this theme is the macabre notion of the rescuscitated body of a victim, so mutilated as to leave only the head and trunk immobilised in a forest lair. There the sorcerer keeps it alive on the entrails of later victims. But when the sorcerer dies in his turn, the ravenous monster (NDONDOCHI) sets up such a ghastly wailing that humans shun that locality in terror. Weule recorded a similar belief among the Makua in 1906, under the name "Itondocha" (Ref.97). The extraordinary value placed by the Ngindo on survival is illustrated by their comments on the NDONDOCHI. Far from accusing the sorcerer of inflicting a more diabolical torment than death itself, they declare: "He has pity, keeping it alive".

Women, because their animosities are keener and because the vagina affords an ideal place of concealment for the tell-tale medicine, excel in this sphere. The medicine is inherently potent. So that a man who, when emigrating, feels drowsy under his load, may be sure that his wife has tucked her medicine away somewhere inside it. Belief in the malevolence of women is universal; even among children. A youngish man told me: "When I was a small boy, I was warned that a certain woman was a bad sorceress. One day I took a small hoe and was busy digging near a path all by myself when she passed by. Halting, she started laughing at me, so that I stood erect and looked at her. Then she left the path and came and grasped me by the arm. I was very afraid, but tore myself loose and ran back home as hard as I could.

I did not mention the incident to anyone, not even my father or paternal uncle. This was because I was young and foolish. Some time later, when I had grown up a little, I saw the woman at a beer-party and asked her why she had laid hold of me. She replied that she was only playing. But I did not believe her". Sorcery may be capricious, almost motiveless. A sorceress may decide to kill an inoffensive person merely because of refusal to give a pinch of snuff. Transference of the medicine or its secret, likewise capricious, may be through hereditary sequence, hence operative from an early age. A mere girl can be a dangerous sorceress.

Sorcery is everywhere, threatening the survival of both the individual and society. Ngindo therefore rigorously suppress it. Originally, homicidal suspects were put to ordeal and summarily burnt ... if besides surrendering their medicine they revealed the whereabouts of NDONDOCHI monsters (which could not in the ordinary way be seen by mortals unversed in medicine), these would be burnt as well. Nowadays, since superimposed Western law, taking the attitude that no such thing exists, frowns not only on 'witchcraft' but also on its antidotes including divination, an uneasy compromise prevails. Even the courts hesitate. Mostly they do as they are told and repudiate sorcery in toto ... "This is a case from the past. I do not want to hear it. Even in other courts I have not yet heard tell of a case like this" (NJ 20/46). But it is clear where their sympathies lie. A man neglecting his ailing grandchildren is censured thus: "He did not see his way to arranging divination for them or seeking medicine. He just sat" (MCH 5/45). Although Ngindo blame the 'Europeans' for leaving them defenceless in the face

of unbridled sorcery ... they cite instances of sorcerers openly boasting at beer-parties of having NDONDOCHI monsters hidden nearby ... they can in practice proceed fairly openly with its elimination. The method they use n/p is ordeal, usually embodied in or backed by medecine; for it is believed that a sorcerer, once exposed and given a taste of superior 'white medecine', will fear to transgress again. On a second offence, the practitioner responsible for unmasking the sorcerer, whose hair-clippings and nail-parings he retains, would then make an end of him. The sanction of an Islamic oath may be added. To extract a confession, torture may be employed, either by suspension aloft with ropes or by pressing wooden blocks on the skull. The District Book adds "Kilambito" in which a hot hoe-blade is placed on the tongue of one of the accused's kinsmen, and "Utumba" in which stones must be removed from scalding water. The traditional mode of identification was luGUMBA. Here the suspect's ear was punctured by a metal spike. If blood flowed or the spike bent, guilt was established. But this has since been replaced by an importation called luKUTA. LuKUTA (I have also heard it termed MTANGAWIZI) is a drug which causes a sorcerer to lose control of his faculties and, unless given an antidote, ultimately to die. The fee charged for initial dosage may be Shs. 2/-, and for the remedy Shs. 5/- or higher, depending on the symptoms! ... an innocent party will vomit immediately, probably through manipulation on the part of the doctor who gives a stronger brew than the stomach will tolerate. Its secret appears to belong to a narrow circle, one of whom must be summoned specially from afar, and to differ from the 'Mwahi' poison of the Yao and others (Mwahi comes from a specific tree, is incurable, and generally fed to substitute fowls). Mahenge is thought to have been the original home of luKUTA. Indeed Ngindo tend to

regard the whole science of sorcery as a novelty. Some of them hold sorcery-medicine to have been in the first place a deterrent to lions and in the possession of a man called Liheyi, who later perverted his power. So it became a force destructive to humans.

What is its social function ? Its largely haphazard nature obscures its coherence as an instrument of retaliation by otherwise impotent parties. More than anything else it mirrors the anarchic penchant of the Ngindo, whose tranquil outward behaviour can be equated with censored volition, and vicious sorcery with the uneasy subconscious. Even a mother, say the Ngindo, may kill her son. Certain lines of tension do however crystallise in this medium, more especially those between in-laws ... besides being anti-social in general, sorcery weakens those very joins in the social edifice which the Ngindo are most determined to preserve, namely marriages. Almost every recorded case involving sorcery-accusations concerns spouses, often polygynous ones.x One ~~polygynous~~ co-wife tells another: "Your husband has branded you as a sorceress" (AP 9/35): and another, "This business of sorcery (medicine), I saw it in a calabash" (BAR 17/39). Monogamists have the same trouble (AP 1/33, 5/35). The only ordeal sessions I could observe directly implicated actual spouses or close in-laws. A man whom I was treating for a hideous sore eventually tired of my ministrations and subjected his wives to luKUTA instead. All three fell into paroxysms! Thanks to my perseverance he recovered, but not before several months had passed. Nevertheless luKUTA took the credit. Another of my neighbours took like action over his daughter, who had been troubled by an issue of blood ever since she married.

x Footnote:
The available court-cases do not exceed a dozen; but to these can be added several personally observed instances, along with a great many statements of native opinion.

Suspicion fell on her husband and his agnatic kin; though her father and one or two of his agnatic relatives drank the potion too as a gesture. In the outcome it was the husband's paternal uncle who was affected. The latter stoutly denied responsibility, declaring that he merely became sluggish and could not take snuff steadily. But his guilt was regarded as patent ... it was common knowledge that he had vainly attempted to seduce the afflicted woman. As for his own mother and sister, both widows living nearby, they flatly refused to drink the medicine, clear proof of their complicity. LuKUTA sessions are major public events. The only other ~~regular~~ consistent outline I could discern in sorcery was its bolstering of political office. Unpopular or incompetent headmen might owe their positions to occult sanctions, thereby silencing both rivals and criticism.[x] As for Europeans and senior African officials, they are thought immune; otherwise, Ngindo point out, how do they survive ? Above all, sorcery affords a concrete explanation of disease, and one which permits sufferers to hit back.

n/p

Sorcery is not the only alleged bringer of disease. A sick man may equally well be possessed of a devil. Devils, which fall into three distinct categories, may cause all kinds of bodily complaints; but more especially those in which the patient suffers from fits or mental aberration. Death seldom arises out of the action of a devil, unless his wishes be disregarded flagrantly. Once diviners have diagnosed a devil and specified its type the appropriate dance of exorcism must be held. The dances ~~They~~ are ~~the~~ maNDIRU or kiKWETEKWETE (NCHIPIRA, MBUNGE, or MZUKA Devil), liPUGA (maHOKA devil; not the same as maHOKA ghosts), and kiNGINDO (MBEPO devil). The devils may also

[x] ~~Footnote:~~ To give an instance, a once efficient and popular headman, who had now degenerated into a chronic drunkard, still kept his disgruntled followers in check through his reputation as a sorcerer.

be known by ideophones, recalling the cries uttered by those possessed; thus "Kihoya", mentioned by the Ngindo-land Council in 1938. Each devil-dance has different songs, steps, drum-beats, and medecines; but in principle the dances coincide.

> Starting at nightfall, the dancers ~~they~~ are at first static, clustering around the patient or patients, worked into a frenzy by singing (kuJIMBA), clapping (kuGOMBA iKUI), castanets (ANJE), ankle-bells (UJOGOJO), and medecine (NDABUKO, i.e. bait). By this means the devil, who can flit in and out of his fleshly abode, is summoned thither and further localised in the head-region ... whence the expression 'raising up a devil'. Then the patient, invested with a conspicuous turban, is set in motion whilst the onlookers and exorcists join in a non-stop dance which lasts till dawn or well into the next day; finally the devil is expelled. /// In the kiNGINGO, further identifiable by the inclusion of its peculiar rope-percussion drum (MCHONDO) along with the usual trio, and by the gyrating movement of each dancer, actual flagellation with millet-stalks marks the finale. Once chased off, the devil can return only in a mild form, if at all.

The nexus between devils and ghosts does not appear consistent. Invisible and ubiquitous, excepting for the anchor of a human host, the devil is less forest-bound than the ghost; and less personified. Whilst it is felt that a devil must in some way be a ghost, no territorial offering would be made to him in his capacity of devil, nor would he warrant a personal ancestral name. Conversely the ghost, though he might inflict disease or misfortune, would not inhabit the victim's body or speak with the victim's voice ... the crazed wanderings of

epileptics may be attributed to a devil; likewise the consumption of sweetmeats and medicines during the patient's traumatic state induced by the dance, of which the songs frequently allude to the devil as the patient's 'wife' or 'husband'. The answer to the anomaly lies in the alien quality of the devil-concept, imported as late as the present century. The devil had therefore to be grafted onto the existing framework of ghosts. A devil cannot enter two people at the same time, though one human may harbour several different devils. Each however will respond only to the requisite type of dance. Sorcerers have no power against devils, nor can they molest a person already possessed by one. Devils generally enter women; doubtless because of their susceptibility to hysteria. Though I saw plenty of female patients, I never saw a male one. Some appear frauds, prompted by exhibitionism, especially where they grow accustomed to demanding luxuries in the name of devils. Nevertheless, spouses and kinsfolk take them seriously, despite the expense of exorcism. Devil-dances need the paid services of specialists in medicine, singing, dancing, and drumming. They bring together an attendance of as much as a hundred people and, next to the initiations, provide the entertainment highlights of the dry-season. Even in a large settlement such dances seldom come around more than once a month.

Sickness or mishap may be the automatic result of the contravention of fixed taboos. Should a person have contact with the totem-object associated with the descent-name group to which he or she belongs, serious skin irritation, or even leprosy, may supervene. The same applies to a host of more generalised prohibitions; for instance to certain ~~unrelated~~ broad categories of people ... a

practising Circumcisor or Initiatrees must remain chaste; a pregnant woman keep multiple avoidances; a suitor never carry a grinding-stone; a herbalist gather only from plants growing in pairs; and so forth. Still less specific are such taboos as those on multiple hive-placing, on travellers (who must turn back if they meet cackling guinea-fowl, a chameleon with its foot raised, a motionless bird-snake, etc.), or on cooking in a new, untreated pot. Besides defining subordinate Ngindo groups, the totality of such beliefs, being for the most part peculiar to the 'tribe', contributes powerfully to the moulding of the broader abstraction Ngindo.

Death.

As the culmination of disease, death may be attributed to identical causes. Nowadays Islamic burial is somewhat more prevalent than pagan, but the latter remains optional. In certain circumstances Islamic burial may not legitimately be performed, so that the pagan rite becomes essential; for instance when the casualty is through suicide, man-eater, lunacy, epilepsy, or other violence. Young children are not generally thought eligible for Islamic burial. I suspect that the professedly pagan rite of today owes something to Islam.

> The corpse must first be washed. If the deceased be female this will be done by women, who seldom participate in the actual burial. Then, still at the homesteads and hidden inside a hut, it will be placed ready in a matting or barkcloth shroud (or in real cloth if finance allows; which is seldom, for a ceremony of any pretensions would be Islamic). Meanwhile the grave will have been dug in the forest. In the mid-morning on a bier improvised from a bed-

stead, which is first dipped thrice to the ground, the shielded body will be borne thither by a male burial party, all the members of which assist in piling home the earth. The atmosphere is jocular rather than melancholy. Close relatives of the deceased have to enter the grave when the body is laid to rest, slightly crouched in a recess dug in the side of the pit. The shroud must be split near the ear. After roofing-over the main cavity at that same level with poles, grass, and a roll of bark (the tree stripped for that purpose should not be left standing), the mourners shovel in the soil, the first clods of which have been carefully kneeded and laid around the corpse's head. There is no accompanying litany or ritual gesture whatsoever. The grave, of which the hump protrudes about a foot, will be swept even, and perhaps temporarily marked with a couple of corner stakes. Also a spray of kiULULU leaves may be placed on top as a charm to ward off hyenas. Should the grave be desecrated, it will then be certain that the deed is a sorcerer's handiwork.

A bereaved father does not go to the grave, and the mother must wear a bark-rope necklace (UNDWA) throughout a month's period of mourning (under Islamic influence sometimes extended to forty days), during which she may not copulate. The only occasion on which a male wears this insignia is if his wife dies in childbirth, when both he and the funeral attendants must perform elaborate rites of purification. In the normal course, the day after burial, the mourners' heads are shaved. I have not witnessed this event, but it would seem to be followed by the "Limbumbulu" feast mentioned by the District Book;

which adds that obituary fowls should be sent to absent relatives, who respond in like manner. Release from mourning (kuTOPELA UNDWA, or kuTEMERA UNDWA, weighing down or cutting the necklace) is marked by the formal loosening of the UNDWA by the mourner's husband, who thereupon hides it away.

A full season or more later is held the commemorative feast of NCHOPI. It may be staged by each of a number of survivors, should they be living far apart. On the other hand two or more deceased relatives may be telescoped into a single feast. Beer is brewed, of which a sample gets offered sacrificially. It is this offering that must be consumed privately, apart from the other guests, by close kin of the deceased. Thenceforth the party resembles any other. A couple of seasons later again, an identical feast takes place. It goes by the name NGURULA iBIGA (swilling out the pots; probably those used to bathe the corpse ?).

When a person dies, he or she becomes a ghost (liHOKA, the same word as for praying-mantis; the sex of the deceased, or mode of burial, is immaterial). Exactly how this happens is not known to the Ngindo, though the practice of splitting the shroud would seem to facilitate egress. Nevertheless there is nothing to stop a man, whose body has been consumed entirely by a lion, from turning into a ghost. Ngindo recognise that even a properly buried corpse will rot, eventually returning to earth. Ghosts, differentiated by the names they bore in their lifetimes, can act individually; but at the same time belong to the merged totality of ghosts (one rarely hears the word used except in the plural, maHOKA) associated with a particular stretch of forest. Further than that they cannot be localised. Nor can they be seen or apprehended

by any physical sense. Even medicine is powerless to do this ... note that the Majimaji doctors spuriously claimed to be able to recall the ancestors (see Chapter IX, War and the West). Even the siting of graves in the relevant area is not imperative; graves, as the Ngindo say, quickly 'die'. It would suffice that the ghost in question had lived there. Once the NCHOPI and NGURULA iBIGA rituals are past, the grave arouses no further interest ... the District Book states that libations of beer are poured over it twice, presumably at these two junctures. n/p Ghosts have the power to both withold and inflict harm. In particular they control the behaviour and movements of wild beasts, which are the agents utilised to show acceptance or otherwise of offerings. Ngindo attach no special import to dreams, or to the appearance of the dead in them; though their constant recurrence would lead to fear of impending trouble. Although based on the forests with which they were familiar as mortals, ghosts are also ubiquitous. They can be placated by distant emigrants, and injure them if neglected.[x] How one can reconcile this with their impotence should a person under their tutelage be forest-bound elsewhere in Ngindoland is by postulating their reluctance to encroach on the spheres of other Ngindo ghosts. The practice of placing offerings at the foot of trees need not imply their occupation by one or more ghosts. It is tree-types, not individual trees, that serve this purpose. A selected tree symbolises the forest, home of the ghosts who, despite their blessing, hence indirect control, of the crops, are felt to be divorced from the fields. An informant put it this way; "When insect-pests arrive, it is nothing to do with the ghosts. What they can do is to send wild beasts to prey

x Even the prayer of a man away working at one of the labour-centres may be heard by the home ghosts.

on our domestic animals". Since it is the ghosts who, more than devils or sorcerers, belong to Ngindo tradition, the fact of their forest orientation is ~~very~~ to me suggestive of an overall aboriginal background. ~~Perhaps~~ The known Ngindo aborigines (Hamba and Ikemba ... see Chapter VIII under 'Internal Variations') seem to have ~~farming is of no greater antiquity than the sorcerers, of whom the known Ngindo aborigines (Hamba and Ikemba: see Chapter VIII, Internal Variations) seem to have been unaware.~~ been unaware of either sorcery or devils.

The way in which the ghosts may be approached is through sacrifice, combined with beer-drinking, or dances, or both.

> The method of sacrifice exactly duplicates that described in connection with beekeeping, only that the offering itself usually comprises powdery sorghum-flour piled up to form a cone resting in a small wicker container. Should the cone remain intact till morning, signifying ghostly approval, it may be converted into part of the ensuing brew. Flour is not the only edible substance offered; beer and fowls can be used, the latter not slaughtered but simply dedicated over and against a future celebration. Even cloth may be set aside in this way.

Parties directed towards the ghosts go by the collective name of mHORO, from the name of the sacrificial tree-site. When outside Ngindoland, and in a place devoid of the tree, Ngindo will procure an mHORO branch which can be used even if it has withered. Despite the taboo, I noticed that my guide did not hesitate to climb it and break off twigs when I was collecting a flowering specimen of mHORO. Even the funereal NCHOPI counts as mHORO. Every season, shortly after the harvest, members of each residential lineage-group or "Cell" throw a combined beer-party called CHAGI, having

the connotation of abundance both of beer and of the seasonal yield it celebrates. Cells such as these operate as units in a multitude of activities, but CHAGI is the sole publicly frequented event devoted to the expression of their interest and solidarity as cells.

(insert)

The concomitant dance to mHORO is the NDENGERA which, by contrast with the remaining four in vogue, comes down from the earliest Ngindo traditions. Of the three devil-dances already described, both liPUGA and kiNGINDO appear to be of Ndwewe (outlier Ngindo) inspiration; whilst the maNDIRU probably derives from the "Mbunge" dance of the Matumbi or Zaramo. This leaves the newest of all, the lively kiMBETEMBETE. KiMBETEMBETE, seemingly an original improvisation on the part of native-Ngindo dancers known to living informants, has no specific function beyond entertainment. It is immensely popular among the young. The NDENGERA, on the other hand, must be either a ritual event in itself or coupled with such an event. It may be danced on any occasion of general rejoicing, or on one honouring the ghosts. It not seldom enhances the initiation-finale. Distinctive in detail, NDENGERA has one obvious peculiarity as a dance, namely an advance-retreat pattern in place of the circular one characteristic of the rest.

n/p

Significant ghosts are those whose memories happen to remain green. Distant ancestors, unless famous or infamous in some respect, carry little weight. Amongst the drab, neutral Ngindo next to no one achieves this distinction. Seldom do Ngindo remember names beyond the fourth or fifth ascending generation. Generally speaking, it is agnatically related ghosts who count; but this by no means holds universally. For, to be relevant, the ghost must be one of the original inhabitants of a given thicket or woodland. So, should

immigrants have settled there and intermarried with the older stock, their issue will be making offerings to uterine kin. This is an extremely common situation for Ngindoland. By and large the ghosts sustain and prosper the living, whose principal fund of confidence reposes in ghostly benevolence. Only when neglected, or angered by the infringement of taboos, do they in turn neglect their proteges; who in their turn give proof of their familiarity by the almost casual deference they pay. Sacrifices, informal and poorly attended, almost surreptitious, might be missed altogether by the superficial observer. It is the very intimacy of the relationship between dead and living, mediating between immense environment and puny man, that permits forest and people to reach such harmony.

Conclusion.

With the partial exception of the initiations, Ngindo ritual is so decentralised that extensive local variation is only to be expected. Mostly that variation does not extend beyond minor details, but here and there a genuine anomaly arises. The most notable coming to my attention was that of the MBUNDA 'prophet-cult' of Barikiwa. Here, something over a hundred years ago, a semi-legendary figure, childless and of uncertain origin (unless there is any truth in the theory that he was one of the Hamba savages; this would explain his ability to communicate with the inhabitants), established himself as a ~~wizard~~ doctor. To his medicines, contained in an ivory horn, was attributed the immunity of Choboland (the sector of Ngindoland centred around Barikiwa) from both wild beasts and raiders. This Mbunda died at Barikiwa, where he was buried along with a local associate,

Rupiyo. Thenceforth, around the two adjacent graves, sprang up a regular annual offering, towards which most of the rooted descent-name groups thereabouts contribute grain for sacrificial beer, brewed before planting, and again before harvesting. Some laxity has crept in, but the Barikiwa folk still collectively turn to Mbunda when in distress. A ceremony which, though not anomalous in the sense of the MBUNDA cult, fits into none of the categories I have so far employed is NGWACHO, a mechanism for the public recognition of a private obligation and for the public expiation of a private wrong.[x] If in emergency one person has aided another, descending to theft in order to do so, the recipient may at a later date broadcast his benefactor's generosity in the presence of an assembly, especially the throng at an initiation-lodge. Donor sits silent whilst recipient dances before him, chanting his gratitude in an impromptu song. NGWACHO exonerates the donor from blame or legal action for the offence in question.

Apart from the splash of initiation, the incidence of pagan ritual among the Ngindo can only be described as slight. The great majority of tribal activities proceed without ceremonial of any description. So that one is tempted to regard Islam as filling a ritual hiatus. Attendance at all but the initiations is moderate, or downright scanty, and of heterogeneous composition. This last may in part be assigned to the fact that most rites entail the public dispensing of beer, which etiquette demands should be open to all comers (see Chapter VIII, Special Ideology). In the way of symbols, only flour and the nTOGO-leaf (Landolphia species. Identification by Mr. Bally of the Coryndon Museum, Nairobi) achieve real prominence. Why the

x It accompanies one or other of the major ritual events.

latter should have been singled out remains obscure, unless it be that its plentiful, non-adhesive, white sap portends abundance ... it may serve as a stomach and eye remedy. Though very prevalent, the tree is neither as imposing nor as useful as many others; nor is it under any taboo. Only certain of its manifold ritual functions can be explained in terms of its attributes as a plant. A girl-initiate will be washed in water impregnated with milky nTOGO-sap in order that she may become pale-skinned, hence more alluring to her groom. A boy-initiate will have his penis propped on a dry nTOGO twig directly after circumcision so as to staunch the flow of blood (the tree is supposed to have the characteristic of withering at the extremities, only to put forth fresh leaf). Flour and the nTOGO, apparently standing for field and forest respectively, portray the essential polarity of Ngindo life.

CHAPTER VII. ISLAM.

Islam, professed by the overwhelming majority of home-Ngindo, might be termed the official religion of Ngindoland. Here and there an elder remains obstinately pagan; but he is the eccentric, individually powerless to swim against the Islamic tide, let alone contain it within a collectively-built dam wall of paganism. Typical was a neighbour of mine who, when Islam had yet to secure mass adherence, had been struck by lightning; soured at being rendered deaf and a cripple in consequence, he personally stays outside the fold; though his entire family circle conform. I never found a young or middle-aged male[x] Ngindo who was not a Muslim. In practice, it will be seen, the currents flow side by side. Together they form a single stream which is neither Muslim nor pagan, but a distinctively Ngindo blend of the two. How this blend came to be made is set out in detail elsewhere (see Chapter IX, War and the West). In brief, fifty years ago, the slow nineteenth century encroachment of the Faith incidental to contact with coastal slavers and merchants suddenly crystallised. The catalyst was the Majimaji revolt which dragooned into existence a uniform, if unorthodox, Ngindo following. Nowadays scarcely a settlement is without its resident Muslim Preacher (mwALIMU), often with his mosque, either established (mSIKITI) or temporary (kiBANDA).

Ritual.

Whilst the level of observance is generally low, a sufficient body of Islamic ceremonial has grown up to impress upon the mass its religious orientation, if

Footnote.

x The formal induction of women occurs rather later than is the case with men, usually past adolescence, and is frequently neglected. However, wives conform with their husbands' practice.

not wholly embrace it in the actuality of performance. So it is the spectacular events rather than the quotidian routine that receive emphasis. Daily prayers ("Salah" or "Salat")[x] are to my knowledge conducted only at certain major mosques. Outside these centres no one, not even a Preacher, keeps up a full and regular observance. Even at a permanently-manned mosque attendance is negligible. At Liwale-boma for instance the everyday turnout does not exceed a dozen. Nevertheless the worshippers' activities do not go unnoticed. Local residents who attend only on feast-days, and even outsiders, are aware of the necessity for these services and derive comfort from the fact that they are held. Also, thanks to occasional visits, a good many know their content. The latter, though I was unable to make any detailed comparison, seems to correspond tolerably well with coastal (i.e. regular) practice. Yet I have heard it said that the Arabic pronunciation and other details leave something to be desired ... one informant, an old ex-slave who did his religious apprenticeship at the coast before the Majimaji rebellion, dismissed it as "throwing stones at God"! Though private prayers may be offered by unusually devout persons, it is unknown for an individual Ngindo to pray consistently in his own home. The first service, ALFAJIRI ("Fajr") or ASUBUHI la KATENI, takes place before dawn; the second, DHUHURI ("Zuhr"), at midday; the third, ALASIRI ("Asr") or LAHASURI, at about 3 p.m. sun-time;

Footnote x:

' In this Chapter I use double inverted-commas ("..") to indicate the Arabic equivalents of local Islamic terms. Note that alien kiSwahili has to be employed to describe imported, essentially alien, Islam. For instance, the Ngindo call the five prescribed sessions of daily prayer IBADA or SWALA TANO.

Islamic Baptism (above), performed during the course of pagan initiation: Islamic Feast(below)at the close of Ramadan; Preacher at right; Mosque in the background.

the fourth, MAGHARIBI ("Maghrib"), at sundown; and the fifth, INSHA ("Isha"), a couple of hours later. Here is an example of how the prayers are conducted.

"

First, outside the mosque, the worshippers wash the arms, legs, and head (kuTAWAZA)x" ~~apparently the lesser-ablution, "Wudhu"; Ngindo do not perform the complete "Ghusl" lustration excepting at baptism)~~, doing each motion thrice. Next the MUADHANA ("Muezzin") summons the others to enter. He bellows his lines in a sing-song, standing to the left of the doorway" and facing the KIBURA ("Qibla", i.e. the niche jutting in the direction of Mecca). To begin with, he holds his hands beside his ears; after that, he makes the approved gesture ("Munajat") of supplication, holding out the palms of his hands, then rubbing them down over his face and chest. Shoeless, but with proper clothing and headgear, he then steps off with the right foot and enters the mosque, followed by the rest of the congregation complete with IMAMU ("Imam" prayer-leader or officiating Preacher). Whilst awaiting the arrival of stragglers, the Muezzin may recite a few short Koranic SURA-s. He does so by memory", as does the Preacher for the most part, unless he chooses special sermons or passages. Delivery is in a high chanting voice with occasional melodies, something like Christian psalms; and wholly in Arabic. Private entreaty of this sort goes by the name DUA. Taking over, the Preacher recites whilst the others sit silent on their mats. Then they stand in line for other prayers and at a signal from the Preacher, who raises a hand beside

x Footnote:
KuTAWAZA is apparently the lesser ablution, "Wudhu". Ngindo do not perform the complete "Ghusl" lustration excepting at baptism.

his ear, all bow forward with the palms resting on the knees, a movement called RUKUI; whence to the double prostration (kuSUJUDI), touching the forehead twice on the ground. Between each obeissance all intone together the praise known as TAHAYATU; and after the second one join in the FATIHA or FATEYI (short blessing). Rising to their feet, with arms folded, they chorus the ALAUMAHIDINA prayer, holding their hands out in front palm upwards. After a second full prostration ("Rakat" or RAKA), they say the ASHAHADA creed, the Preacher continuing to recite, shaking his head from left to right the while. He goes on to give a further reading, kuVUTA URADI, during which the others sit at their ease. Terminating with a final blessing, he shakes each man present by the right hand (women do not attend, though it is known that they may do so at the coast) and the company disperses. The time from start to finish is something under an hour.

Such is the account given by a 'lay' worshipper, which I consider more representative than that of a Preacher who will immediately put on a display of erudition if interrogated. Since the great majority of Preachers are coast-trained, it follows that coastal models should be used. The ceremonial appears complex to an observer unfamiliar with Arabic, hence difficult to record. In addition, a good deal is missed through the observer being denied access to the mosque itself. Doubtless permission would be granted, but I never judged it advisable to press for it. There is a certain atmosphere of tension about an Islamic rite, perhaps only because those taking part are more sophisticated than at the pagan counterparts. The use of Arabic throughout tallies with the situation

described by Trimingham among the Sudanese, to most of whom "the Qur'an is a closed book; they are not taught the meaning of the language because the chanting itself is a meritorious work" (Ref. 94). It is safe to say that not a single Ngindo is fluent in either classical or modern Arabic, and that very few have more than a general notion of the significance of the words they use. Essentially, preaching amounts to a phonetic 'tour de force'. Verbal dexterity is the Preacher's cardinal virtue. By way of exception kiSwahili may serve as the vehicle for a short homily ... only a few of the available Koranic texts and commentaries have Swahili translations. As for the vernacular, Ngindo laugh at the idea that it might be a medium for prayers. Clearly they regard the correct rendering of the original Arabic as efficacious in securing the welfare of the community as a whole; whence their reluctance to let secular commitments interrupt the religious duties of Preachers, who warrant exemption on that score rather than by virtue of their inherent status. Yet, even within the precincts of a mosque during a service, worshippers do not hesitate to exchange remarks in either Swahili or the vernacular, often in a facetious vein. I have heard late-comers addressed by those within in the broadest possible terms. Again, at a festival where the congregation had overflowed onto improvised banana-leaf mats spread outside the mosque, I noticed small children laughably mimic the prostrations; no one thought to rebuke them.

Standardisation of the various Muslim services is such that the specimen just quoted (it referred to the early-morning prayers) may be taken as typical of the remaining daily, or even festive, ones. Variation may occur in the Koranic extracts chosen, and in the number

of RAKAs made, but the outline and procedure remain much the same. Strictly, Friday warrants a more elaborate ritual than other days. In a special mid-morning service, the lengthier than usual HOTUBA ("Khutba", a type of sermon) should be pronounced. However, even the principal mosques fall short in this respect. At the somewhat cosmopolitan settlement of Liwale-boma, a Somali trader initiated Friday prayers as an experiment some years ago, but with his departure the attempt ceased. Some few Ngindo, considering that Friday should be a day of rest, abstain from cultivation work whenever it comes around. It is thought especially inauspicious to harvest on a Friday. But I found more than one instance of 'Native Court' sessions being held on that day (AP 1/36, BAR 7/39). Note that these Friday prayers officially rank as only "Nafl", meaning voluntary, so that their omission is pardonable. The overall trend of Ngindo Muslims over the past two generations has been towards greater orthodoxy. If gradual, the swing has been definite. Thus, at the inception of British rule, Ngindoland contained no established mosques, nor were any public religious observances made excepting at the close of Ramadan.

The latter still provides the biggest event in the local Islamic calendar. Preceded by the usual lunar month of daylight fasting, it is heralded by a tumult of cheering when, on the thirtieth evening, the sickle moon rises. The fast (kuFUNGA RAMADHANI) includes abstinence from copulation or quenching the thirst until darkness falls. Thereafter meals may be taken; known as FUTARI ("Iftar"), they entail considerable fraternisation between neighbours. Observance is very mixed. Relatively few Ngindo fast year by year. Many conform perhaps one year in three. So that in any given year the number of fasters is probably about half the total adult population ... a

wife will generally follow suit if her husband fasts. Since Ramadan creeps from one season to the other, the degree of temptation varies over a decade or so. At one time Ramadan may conveniently cover the lean period towards the end of the rains when neither heavy work nor abundant food offer. At another, the harvest and beer-drinking should be in full swing ... it is taboo to drink beer at any time during Ramadan. Fasting (SAUMU or "Saum") is one of the five bounden duties of Muslims; the others being prayer ("Salat"); profession of faith ("Tashahhud", "Shahadat", or "Kalima"); alms-giving ("Zakat"); pilgrimage ("Hajj"); and an implied sixth, the Way of God or Holy War ("Jihad"). Only a small nucleus of Ngindo enthusiasts take fasting seriously, performing real feats of endurance ... I had one or two porters who persisted despite the Koranic relaxations extended to travellers. Especial credit attaches to a person who, after fasting throughout Ramadan and partaking of the feast on the first day of the following month, resumes his fast for a further six days thereafter (SITA SWALA). At other times in the year pious individuals commonly fast for odd days or weeks of their own choosing (kuFUNGA SUNNA, i.e. fast by custom, as opposed to obligatory kuFUNGA FARADHI or "Farz"). As for pilgrimage (HIJI), no Ngindo has ever to my knowledge visited Mecca, though some of the rare wartime conscripts did attend the big religious festivals at Cairo and other centres. The concept of Jihad likewise has no real application here. Even the vaguely Islamicised Majimaji movement lacked any clear philosophy of divine conflict (see Chapter IX, War and the West).

Elsewhere in East Africa, Muslims are supposed to perform arduous prayers during Ramadan ... the nightly

"Tarawih" requires twenty Rakats ... but few if any Ngindo do this. They leave their devotions till the day of release, known as IDI ya FITRI ("Idu-l-fitr" or "Idu's-Saghir"), on the eve of which copulation should be avoided. Instead, a wife should formally cleanse her husband (kuKANDA).

> Shortly after dawn parties of fasters, dressed in their gaudiest finery and chanting ALAHU AKBARU(the TAKBIRA or "Takbir": also semi-ribald songs such as those beginning FATUMA binti RASULI and FATUBA LIMANIKANA TAHAZIBU), converge on the mosque whence the Preacher issues forth to greet them. Both sexes figure in these processions though the womenfolk, who bring up the rear, take no further part save by chanting ### (I heard the refrain "Fatuma daughter of the Prophet") ### in the nearby huts where they take shelter; and by helping to prepare the victuals of which, still segregated indoors, they get a share. Next, whilst the leading personalities discuss expenses, participants wash ... many bring containers along with them, especially kettles. Once the congregation is settled, the officiating Preacher advances in slow time, preceded by a Deputy bearing staff (MKONGOJO), rosary (TASUBIRI or "Tasbih"), and volume of Koranic commentary (HOTUBA). This Deputy plays a considerable part in the service, making the opening address, and interpolating at various junctures. At the end of his monologue inside the mosque, and in answer to his salute-like signal, the congregation rises with folded arms (kuFUNGA SWALI), repeating phrases after him. There follow two or more RAKAs. Then, mounting a small pulpit ("Mimbar"), comprising a cloth-covered stool placed in the "Mihrab" niche, the turbanned Preacher reads three longish passages from his book, descending to the ground between

each. On conclusion he pronounces blessing (FATIHA) and thanksgiving (SHUKRUNI), in which all join. He may add a short discourse (ELIMU), either in Arabic or Swahili. So, with handshaking all round, the service ends, giving place to a slow bouncing dance with grunting chant (DHIKIRI or "Dikhr", also known as DUWARA), spilling out of the mosque into the open air. The Preachers join in, though one of them may leave to visit the womenfolk and give a short sermon. The topics likely to arise in it are stated to be fasting, alms, beer, adultery, bribery (MALI ya RIBA), falsehood, slander (MISENGE NYANO), and orphans (TIMA). Finally the menfolk squat down to a feast spread out on mats, first drinking water and thin gruel. Even onlookers who failed to fast are made welcome.

This is an over-simplified account of the procedure, based on my own observation, filled out with odd comments and explanations. Actually the monologues, responses, and motions involve greater complexity. The whole takes up the best part of two hours.

Though in practice the main festival, Ngindo acknowledge this IDI ya FITRI to be secondary in importance to the IDI ya MFUNGUO TATU ("Id al-Adha", "Id al-Qurban", "Idu'l Kabir", "Bairam", "Baqr'-id", etc., also known as the 'Feast of Sacrifice'). As its name implies, this feast occurs in the third month ("Dhu'l Hijja"). Its connotation of sacrifice ... a goat should be slaughtered ... seems lost on the Ngindo, who simply hold a service and feast very closely modelled on that of FITRI. They hold that it commemorates the birth of the Prophet ... individual worshippers shout SALAAM MTUME MUHAMAD! and other such interjections ... but there seems some doubt as to whether it is not the later MAULIDI festival which marks

that event (Jones, Ref. 39, records that in India the "Bara Wafat" or "Rabi'u'l-Awwal", held in the third month, does fulfil this function; but it falls on the twelfth day, not the tenth as with IDI ya MFUNGUO TATU). The form of litany followed in the Feast of Sacrifice approximates very closely to that of Ramadan. Each section terminates with the word AMIIN, and I heard the names IBRAHIM (Abraham), MUSA (Moses), and ISSA (Jesus). It is only the hard core of Muslims who attend the Feast of Sacrifice. Consequently its scale is smaller than that of FITRI, where well over a hundred people may be seen. The only other festival regularly held in Ngindo-land is MAULIDI, which falls at any time during the sixth month and comprises a lengthy outburst of rejoicing interspersed with prayer. I have not observed MAULIDI. It takes place only at ~~nowhere outside~~ Liwale-boma, where an open-air platform is erected, and the surrounding area decked with cloth and ornaments. Possibly it corresponds with the "Mawlid an-Nabi" mentioned by Trimmingham (Ref.94) as hailing the birth of the Prophet. According to certain local Preachers MAULIDI is simply a type of service adaptable to several needs. In addition to featuring in this occasion, they say, it may serve as a rite for moving house or shaving the hair of a new-born infant; but such alternatives as these are evidently non-Ngindo. Another Islamic landmark known to, but rarely seen among, the home-Ngindo (certain outliers, such as coast- and southern-Ndonde do celebrate the event) is DHIHARA. Falling in the fourth month it is said to consist of a series of services, including ITIMA (normally for use in hallowing the dead), MAULIDI, TAWASIRI, and finally MAWAIZA; supposedly it reveres the name of Sheikh Abdul Kadiri, putative grandson of the Prophet. Writers on Islam

refer to what is evidently the same phenomenon as being a visit to a shrine: thus Trimingham ... "the occasional Ziyara to a saint's tomb" (Ref.94). Ngindo have no knowledge of the other festivals stated to come in the first, second, and eighth months; though the former, under the name "Ashura", would seem to take place elsewhere in East Africa. Nor do they recognise the first, seventh, or eleventh months as specifically holy.

Apart from marriage, which has already been discussed, the remaining Islamic services commonly held by the Ngindo pertain to death and burial. They are five in number ...

> Mourners and Preacher assemble at the hut of the deceased whose corpse is washed and placed in a shroud. Towards mid-morning the burial party, consisting exclusively of males, proceed to the grave ready dug in the forest, in such a way that the corpse's feet will be orientated ~~with the feet~~ towards Mecca. Over it the Preacher intones a long Arabic litany, during part of which he grimaces in a comic manner. No RAKAs are performed. When the time comes to inter the body, carefully hidden from view in a curtained bier and thence transferred to the "Lahad" recess, let into the side of the pit, all the mourners set to work shovelling in the earth with a rollicking song on the theme LA ILA LA (there is no God but God). On return to the homesteads a modest repast is served. A broken pot resting on a pile of ash should be left somewhere on the way to the graveyard. Burial as a whole goes by the name maZISHI. After a short interval those of the deceased's relatives who ~~have entered~~ wish to enter mourning have their heads shaved to the accompaniment of

an Islamic service at which incense is burnt. The rite is called simply kuNYOA NYWELE (shaving the hair), and is followed a day or two later by SADAKA, a memorial service and feast conducted by a Preacher summoned to the mourner's hut for that purpose. Like the ensuing rites, it may be duplicated by relatives living apart; though usually arrangements will be made for a combined ceremony. Additional SADAKA services, which are not necessarily confined to the dead, may be held at any time. Later still, after the first SADAKA, comes another commemorative rite, ITIMA. The two differ only in detail. Finally the cycle closes with KARAMU, a funerary feast on a lavish scale. Scarcely any Ngindo are in a position to pay this mark of respect. Only once during the two years that I knew Ngindoland was such a feast staged ... by the 'Sultan' himself.

Islamic burials probably outnumber pagan nowadays. Yet the commonest practice is to mingle the two sets of attendant rites. The first four of those set out above may be held in fairly quick succession. Then, after a year or more, come the pagan NCHOPI and NGURULA iBIGA feasts. Certain of the Muslims among the outlier Ngindo, whilst they accept many other pagan customs, have come to regard this particular parallelism as wrong; but no inkling of this appears to have penetrated to the home-Ngindo themselves, who cheerfully equate kuNYOA NYWELE with pagan liPUMBULU, SADAKA with NCHOPI, and ITIMA with NGURULA iBIGA. SADAKA can mean blessing of a non-specific order. Many Ngindo lineage-cell groups adopt it as an annual sacrifice on the analogy of pagan mHORO or CHAGI beer-parties, likewise addressed to the entirety of the ghosts. It is probably

to these harvest-time festivals that the Ngindo refer when they speak of the contributions known as kuTIA TIMAMU.

There are a number of other occasions when Islamic ritual comes into focus. One is in the YAMINI oath-taking procedure described in connection with adultery. YAMINI can be used together with the luKUTA sorcery ordeal, suspects being obliged to swear the oath as well. Should a sorcerer, in defiance of the oath, return to his evil ways, he will fall down dead on his way home from the funeral of his victim. A case involving the sum of Shs. 500/-, a fortune by Ngindo standards, clearly shows the prestige of YAMINI. "Let the accused take YAMINI ... the court will summon a Sheikh (a superior title sometimes loosely accorded to important Preachers) to appear before it ... we shall go to the mosque ... if he (the accused) takes YAMINI, then he may simply keep these five hundred shillings" (AP 3/44). Islamic rites, or extracts from them, are credited with attributes both socially acceptable and otherwise. To induce illness one reads FALAKI, ALBADILI, or IMAMU ALGAZALI to cure it, KARAMU (in this context called KOMBE), MAULIDI, or YASINI. The latter two react for good in time of drought, whilst the passage known as SUARI (Swali ?) FURKAN will cause a storm to abate. For motives of sorcery, Koranic texts may be dug in pathways or thrust into the thatch of huts. Instead of MBANDIRO fertility-medicine, a farmer may get a Preacher to mutter texts over his seed.

Interpenetration of this sort is such that even Ngindo Muslims of repute seem unaware of the most obvious lapses and inconsistencies. Most of the examples just

quoted show duplicated or interchanged functions, the religions rite adapted to meet a known pagan precedent, or the pagan rite forced into a religious category. Another such is the baptism of infants (kuSILIMISHA or kuZINGUA). Here the washing and induction of a boy-novice into the Islamic community may intermingle with the same boy-initiate's original pagan lustration. For girls, on the other hand, some Ngindo allege the existence of a specifically Islamic rite called MCHONDA, in which the novice must strip naked and take an emetic. Others express doubts to the effect that the custom comes from the Yao,[x] who happen to be Muslims for the most part; a typical instance of the prevailing fusion and confusion. Incidentally, should a person in emergency break the Islamic food taboos, rebaptism is thought necessary. Elsewhere one finds the juxtaposition within the same rite referred to by Trimingham: "An Islamic colouring may be given to assimilated beliefs and practices simply by introducing the name of god" (Ref.94). Just so, in male circumcision, after a blatantly pagan build-up of vernacular songs, dances, and charades, someone has to rattle off the FATIHA blessing as the first cut is made. Climax of incongruity, it is sometimes the Circumcisor himself, naked except for his weird regalia of charms and ornaments, who utters this the sole concession ~~pander~~ to Islam.

In the eyes of the Ngindo, taboos loom inordinately large in the Islamic cult//, partly because the simplicity of such taboos gives to their holders some tangible means of identification//, partly because the taboos fall in admirably with pre-existent pagan custom ... whilst bushpig, nowadays the prohibited food par excellence, could freely be consumed in the old days, each kinship group had its hereditary totemic avoidance in

xFootnote:
Ref.79a seems to confirm this when it says of the Nyasaland Yao: "The Jando, for boys, and the Msondo, for girls, are of modern introduction from the coast". The material dates from about 1925.

addition to the others applicable to broader categories of people. Despite the decay of totemism, and widespread scepticism as to the dangers of eating pork, the ban on bushpig remains entrenched; for, to Muslims whose religious awareness and duties extend only a few steps beyond this basic requirement, it remains the final criterion of their conformity. Along with bushpig, the Ngindo shun any number of edible creatures[x], apparently through the application, perhaps unwitting, of Islamic "Qiyas" (analogical deduction ... the Swahili word "Kiasi", amount, does not seem to have this meaning). Certain of the rulings rest on the most obscure grounds; for instance one may eat rhino but not hippo! A tragic consequence has been the elimination of the one potentially adequate source of meat, namely elephant shot by Game Scouts in the course of crop-protection duties. Whilst the Qur'an is silent about elephant, it is argued that the animal cannot feasibly be slaughtered (kuCHINJA) in the prescribed manner; that is, by having its throat cut. Yet in the case of other game the Faithful have no hesitation in 'slaughtering' as much as a full day after death. One Preacher whom I met, seriously based his objection on the elephant having been a domestic animal, and therefore repugnant in the same way as a dog or cat! As in the n/p Sudan where "In respect of Sharia (legal) prohibitions, that against the use of intoxicants has always been disregarded" (Ref.94), Ngindo insist on the retention of the beer-parties around which all the important utilitarian

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Footnote: x

Amongst others ... racoons; genets; squirrels; jackals; bush-babies; honey-badgers; hyenas; skunks; frogs; snakes; shrews; rats; wart-hogs; monkeys; baboons; leopards; lions; crocodiles; lizards; caterpillars; chameleons; and bats. Also vultures, hawks, crows, hornbills and numerous other birds. Also insects galore.

and pagan/ritual activities revolve. Only a minority, including the Preachers, desist; and by no means all on religious grounds. The extent to which the rank and file ignore Islamic temperance was illustrated by the remark of one of my porters, finding himself at the end of a gruelling march providentially in the midst of a beer-party: "Alhamdulilahi! (the "Tahmid", or stock laudatory phrase) We have run into some beer!" A Preacher, however, can ill afford to be seen drinking fermented beer. One, of my acquaintance, who habitually did so, even during Ramadan, though a Preacher of great experience and popularity, thereby forfeited his following, hence his Preacherhood. The use of snuff-/or weed-tobacco is on the other hand universal.

Belief.

If the ritual of Ngindo Muslims is heterogeneous, their religious concepts are equally so. This arises through the "inherent syncretism" of Islam diagnosed by Trimingham (Ref 94), who makes the point that the Prophet's own initial formula contained extensive animistic elements. That Mohamed envisaged elasticity is evident from the passage in Sura No.2, reading: "Whatever verse we cancel or cause thee to forget we bring a better or its like. Knowest thou not that God hath power over all things?" (Ref.74). Orthodox Islam, ramified by "Hadith" criticism and "Qiyas" interpretation, rests on a much broader pedestal than the plain Qur'an. The divergence of Ngindo, in practice as well as in theory, is therefore nothing unusual. Whilst they know nothing of its doctrinal or legal evolution Ngindo have grasped the principle of SUNNA, namely custom legitimised by Concensus, or by the Qur'an itself.

In some ways the Ngindo acknowledge to the fullest extent the fundamental tenet of Islam, the omnipotence of God. Thinking that I would nonpluss them, I asked how it was that the strict Muslims of the coast could nevertheless be such depraved characters (Ngindo believe them to be so, whatever the truth of the matter). Back came the answer without hesitation: "God makes them so!". In part it is their heritage of ghost-beliefs that renders the Ngindo amenable to the idea of an apparently 'wicked' deity; for the ghosts bring loss as well as prosperity to humans. Only in extreme cases will Allah's harshness lead to apostasy ... a one-time District Commissioner of Liwale recounts how he took the Naruleo lepers (a Government-run colony, now defunct) to task for eating elephant-flesh. They retorted: "Well, God has let us rot, hasn't he ?". Again, the sky-god ChaPANGANYA provides a context into which Allah can readily fit. Few Ngindo see the need for reconciling the two; their assignment of ChaPANGANYA to the rôle of deputy or agent of creation seems no more than a perfunctory rationalisation. The n/p vagueness of Allah's attributes leads to some overlapping with those of the Prophet. Whilst the bulk of Ngindo appear to recognise Mohamed's limitations as a mortal, they still tend to accord to him supernatural powers; some believe him to have had a dazzling countenance; others that his utterances were polyglot. I even heard him described as simply MUNGU (God). Even the Preachers have no clear idea of Mohamed excepting that he was an Arab resident at MAKA (Mecca), recipient of the Qur'an, and long ago in his grave. They are little n/p clearer on the origin of the KURUWANI (Qur'an), beyond its divine authorship and transmission through Mohamed.

Most Preachers of any pretensions are familiar with a few of the commentaries as well; but to ordinary Ngindo Muslims any of the sacred Arabic writings passes for something infallible, something mystically potent, of which the recitation is pleasing to God rather than didactic to man. They believe that prayers chanted by a small boy will find greater favour than in the mouth of some adult, inevitably corrupted by desire.

The doctrine of angels (maLAIKA) and devils (JINI or SHETANI) automatically validates the pagan Ngindo view of the supernatural. The maHOKA ghosts become 'angels'; the MBUNGE, maHOKA, and MBEPO spirits, 'devils'. The Ngindo see nothing wrong in sacrifice, or exorcism, as such; nor does it seem odd to them that pagan ghosts and devils may operate and be placated without any reference to God and the Prophet. The only reprehensible features, to their mind, are the dancing associated with exorcism, and to a lesser extent the insobriety associated with sacrifice. I never heard a Preacher or 'layman' mention polytheism ("Shirk"), let alone dwell on its gravity. The only uneasiness I could detect lay in a vague feeling that images or representations of man should not be allowed. When I upbraided a Preacher, himself a teetotaller, for holding beer-parties, he pleaded the necessity for pagan sacrifice ... as an excuse! As for devil-dancing, it is not the detraction from God's unity that prompts scruples, but rather the threat to competing Islamic Services. A Preacher told me of the enormity of the temptation. Whilst at his oraisons he hears the drum-beat, disturbing his reflections, drowning his voice. Bit by bit in response to the rhythm his limbs begin to twitch. Till eventually he comes bounding out

of the mosque straight into the vortex of the dance! Originally, say the Ngindo, it was the Prophet himself whose meditations were so disturbed. A Preacher, regarding the dance-arena as polluted ground, will avoid setting foot on it for forty days. DHAMBI (sin), he says, has been committed there. Nevertheless, even if they personally abstain, Preachers do hold dances. When I expressed astonishment at this, a southern-Ndonde (i.e. more sophisticated) Preacher explained: "It is a case of sheer necessity ... We must get rid of our devils!". Once again, it was the less heinous means, not the polytheistic end, that evoked Ngindo misgivings. Neither sacrifice nor exorcism has been adapted one iota in the direction of Islam, a contrast noted in the Sudan by Trimingham. "Zar" appeasement of the spirits through dancing and drumming is "too far from Islam for there to have been any attempt to Islamise it" (Ref.94). Ngindo allege the existence of an approved form of dancing known as BENI. Whether this is something apart from the DHIKIRI performed on feast-days I could not establish (Jones, referring to "Raq" dancing, states that, strictly speaking, this, and all music, are forbidden, (Ref.39). Incidentally DHIKIRI may take a private and vocal form. Hearing a hideous braying sound just after dawn at a camp I made on the mid-Mbwemkuru river, I innocently asked how it could be that donkeys survived the tsetse-flies thereabouts; only to learn that the local Preacher was responsible! "Dikhr", a form of mysticism, implies the repetition of sacred sounds or exercises. According to Trimingham it derives from the Koranic injunction: "Remember God with frequent remembrance", contained in Sura No.23 (Ref.94). It does not here lead to the emergence of "Fakir", "Feki", or "Dervish" saints.

Ngindo pay lip-service to the Islamic teaching of punishment and reward, with its concomitants of HALALI (right) and HARAMU (wrong), on which Preachers place considerable emphasis. The only sermon I ever heard delivered in kiSwahili devoted much care to explaining how it was that sinners in hell could suffer eternal torment. Amid roars of laughter the Preacher was at pains to show that the skin, instead of blistering and shrivelling, would constantly be replaced. Normally, however, it is the sanction of earthly retribution, more especially the deterrent of death itself, that upholds good behaviour. Should a taboo, either Islamic or pagan, be broken the offender's whole body will erupt in a rash. He may even contract leprosy. As a serious hypothesis of the hereafter the destinations of PEPONI (heaven, literally 'in the sky') and MOTONI (hell, literally 'in the fire') scarcely occur to the Ngindo, whose scepticism must be patent to anyone. What they do expect to happen is their translation to a ghostly sphere outside the categories of heaven and hell. The recognised Islamic angels, such as Gabriel, appear to be divine beings in their own right rather than resurrected mortals; hence omitted by the Ngindo scheme of cosmology. The latter emits barely an echo of the doomsday dogma. Whereas text-book Islam insists on the decline of faith, inter-regnum of the anti-Christ, triumph of Jesus, final judgment, and so forth, the Ngindo know only of the fiasco of Majimaji, which among other things promised the annihilation of foreign rule by means of a deluge (see Chapter IX, War and the West). Likewise they have no counterpart of the Islamic devil-ringleader, Iblis. So, without conscious discord, the traditional pagan system of beliefs persists intact. Sometimes it stands apart from that of Islam proper, or even the version of Islam disseminated

by local Preachers; more often it dove-tails. Thus one finds an Islamic Preacher resorting to pagan divination in order to discover the identity of a malevolent paganised ghost to whom Islamic SADAKA might be offered! This is an actual case. Another, involving some of the leading Islamic figures in the country, led to the breakdown of a proposed KARAMU feast. During the preparations a cockerel, which had been acquired as part of the stock of provisions, suddenly ailed, staggered about, and fell down dead. In a great state of trepidation, the Islamic mourners consulted pagan diviners, who confirmed that the ghost in whose honour the feast was to have been held disapproved. Consequently the Islamic feast had to be postponed until such time as pagan methods had restored harmony.

Organization.

Islam in East Africa lacks a regularly constituted priesthood. The Preacher, invariably a male, is nothing but a 'layman' possessing certain religious qualifications and acting as part-time leader of services. Though his duties earn him small cash fees, there is no such thing among the Ngindo as a professional Preacher. Indeed, by pointing to the lack of heirarchy, I have provoked Ngindo declarations that are pure protestantism. With startling Islamic orthodoxy they affirm the direct liaison from man to deity, between whom it would be presumptuous to intervene. Nevertheless the Preacher's superiority over the unlettered tribesfolk is such that he stands to them in the relationship of indispensable mouthpiece. As a general rule Preachers are so distributed as to represent each territorial 'settlement'. Few settlements are without a Preacher, usually a local man who, after completing his religious apprenticeship else-

where, has come back to lead his flock. In a sense, therefore he can be regarded as a manifestation of settlement identity. Not infrequently, thanks to transmission from a single properly trained Preacher, a devout family will have several members with various degrees of skill in the liturgies. Again, in the bigger settlements two or three competing Preachers may operate, reflecting the tendency towards fission in such an outsize unit. Certain Islamic observances such as the festivals demand a higher level of competence than that possessed by the general run of Preachers. On those occasions worshippers must desert their settlement loyalties and assemble wherever the full amenities offer; whence the concourse of people at the close of Ramadam, drawn from perhaps half a dozen distinct settlements. Seasonal considerations sometimes overrule this communal trend. Thus at an outlying settlement whose members habitually left home to attend the festivals a makeshift mosque had been erected so as to allow the people to stay on guard over the ripening crop, an outside Preacher being hired specially to come; prestige motives were also at work here.

A fair indication of a Preacher's pretensions is the 'mosque' (for distribution see map at the beginning of Chapter II), a conventional rectangular Swahili-type building, often in a state of disrepair. Of pole, thatch, and mud construction, it usually incorporates a verandah or projecting eaves to shelter the wooden or stone block on which the ablutions are performed. Otherwise the only means whereby the mosque can be distinguished from surrounding dwellings is by the "Mihrab" niche, visible as a bulge on the outer wall. The mosque stands close to the Preacher's own hut as a rule. As with Preachers, there are gradations in mosques. Those of the

more modest type, walled with grass, go by the name kiBANDA (little shed), which amounts to a temporary mosque. Only at Liwale-boma does the mosque, a tumble-down edifice, run to a tin roof, whitewashed walls, and windows. Extending downwards from the mosque-owning class ... a Preacher will be assisted by his congregation in building ... comes a thin screen of partly literate adherents. These are to be seen poring over prayer-boards outside their huts, some of which boast a washing-platform and prayer-mats. They may be called in to officiate at burials and other services within their scope; that of SADAKA for instance demands only moderate technical ability. Some Ngindo run only to a few rote passages such as the FATIHA ... the general incidence of literacy in Arabic script is not more than five percent. Just as there is no sharp dividing line between mosques of the mSIKITI and kiBANDA types, so there is none between Muslims of the Preacher and 'layman' types.

Outside Islamic authorities scarcely affect Ngindoland at all. Certainly they exercise no direct control. Occasionally, perhaps once in three years, an outside Sheikh (SHEHE) pays a courtesy visit. The only one I saw (who by way of an oddity happened to be a European) stayed a few days at Liwale-boma. He came from Mikindani, on the coast andfar to the south. The coast seems fairly rich in Sheikhs whose rank, like that of the Preacher, depends on popular acclaim. There is even some tendency to pay the compliment to the leading Preacher at Liwale-boma who, unlike the bulk of his colleagues, is an immigrant of long residence belonging to the Mwera tribe. Visiting Sheikhs, though they give advice, exercise no jurisdiction. Certain of them (not all live at the coast ... the southerly Makonde,

Yao, and Ndendeuli of the interior have their own Sheikhs) achieve great personal eminence; as instance the late Sheikh Idirisha of Dar es Salaam; but not in an executive sense. As in the Sudan, where Islamic missionary activity comes as "always a purely secondary task" (Ref.94), the Ngindo devote no systematic attention to spreading the Faith; which in any case, within their own borders, they could only do in depth. There seems no avenue of disciplinary action against Preachers. If doctrinal points should arise, circular letters passed by hand may air them. A Preacher told me that to digest and pass on such a letter was a sure passport to heaven. The sole hard-and-fast Islamic ruling emanating from Liwale-boma is the lunar dating of a particular festival ... cloudy skies often lead to poor synchronisation in outlying parts. Outside controversies leave the Ngindo untouched. The whole coast is said to have been rent with dissension not long ago on the issue of using drums to accompany the chanting at mosques; the problem never troubled Ngindoland. What Ngindo do believe is that they, as Africans, are differentiated from Arab Muslims by virtue of a slight ritual variation during the ALAUMAHIDINA prayer ... as a concession the Arabs may stand with the arms dangling, whereas "We black men must fold our arms". So among the Ngindo, whilst one cannot say with Trimingham that "Islam fosters in its adherents a world-outlook foreign to the animist" (Ref.94), the existence, if not the power, of outside Muslim dignitaries receives acknowledgement. Such a one is the WALII of Mecca, reputedly the present representative of the Prophet on earth.

Ngindoland affords meagre facilities for the training of Preachers nowadays. A few Preachers take odd apprentices, but none of them runs a regular school.

Formerly the local output of Preachers would appear to have been higher, perhaps because the standards were not so exacting then. At any rate it has now become customary to seek training with coastal or other outside Sheikhs and Preachers, taking two or three years over it. The Qur'an itself provides the basic instruction, in the volumes known as maSAFU and JUSU. Next the pupil graduates onto what appear to be commentaries (ELIMU), the easiest of which are BABU, SAFINATI, and ROBO. Thereafter the advanced works, amongst them the commonly used HOTUBA and MAULIDI, are legion[x]. Intelligent reading of Qur'an and commentaries seems wholly absent; both figure as largely incomprehensible oracles. Certain of the Preachers know a few odd words of Arabic and grasp the general drift of a passage; but none could carry on a conversation in that language. Fees for tuition at or near home, as the following case shows, are nominal: "The agreement (was) Shs. 10/- for his child to (learn to) read, excepting that he (the child) has been defeated (because of) the Preacher (being) fierce every day" (MCH 50/44). The average Preacher can manage the normal services like burial and festivals, but stops short at anything unfamiliar like NDOA (marriage) or DHIHARA (special feast-day). Preaching cannot be considered lucrative. The fee (IJARA for commoner Swahili UJIRA) for minor services is Shs. 2/-; or even less for SADAKA. Only in the festivals, depending on the contri-

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Footnote x:
Other books I heard mentioned were (phonetically spelt): TARATIBU SWALA, TWALIBU ASIMAU, ALBADILI, YASMINI, YASINI BAHARI, DARAILU INAKRAD, ILISI JOSEN, IMAMU ALGAZALI, RISALA (including TAWAHIDI, FAKIHI, and TASWAUFI), DURATI BAHIIYAT, MOJIMAU ALBAUSALATI, KASHIFATI ISAJA, ALHAMDATI SADIKI. The literature as a whole goes by the name UDHUNA kuSWALI.

butions (CHANGO, about Shs. 1/- per domestic family, giving perhaps Shs. 20/-, out of which the bulk of expenses must be met), or in big events like KARAMU, does the remuneration become appreciable; still remembering that the Preacher must purchase his own books, (Most of these are cheap paper-covered editions; but an ornately bound Qur'an may cost Shs. 10/-. Few Preachers have more than a dozen books to their name). He must also see to it that he is reasonably attired. Inscribed skull-cap, full-length gown, and usually sandals, comprise the essential uniform. If the Preacher dabbles in medicine, he must lay in a supply of the expensive edible ink (CHAPARANI).

What is demanded of a Preacher is that he should be reasonably competent as a speaker ... cursed with a stumbling articulation, not even a theologian or saint could become an Ngindo Preacher! ... and reasonably blameless in his life. In all other respects he behaves as anyone else. He farms and builds a hut. He marries one or more wives. He takes part in all tribal activities, except actual dancing and beer-drinking. He will stand and watch the former ... I even saw one playing the drum ... and join in a work-party, confining himself to unfermented beer (NDONDORO). Very little in the way of a white-collar attitude attaches to the Preacher. One, who officiated with distinction at a festival attended by the 'Sultan' and others, assured me that we had met before. I was at a loss until he reminded me that he had been one of a gang of half-naked road labourers I had encountered on the march some weeks before and at a point 50 miles away. This is not to say that some Preachers do not put on airs. As Trimingham says, "Muslims place extreme

emphasis on the externals of religion and makes no important ethical demands" (Ref.94). It is therefore the more cosmopolitan type of Preacher, less susceptible to the diffident, 'free-born' code of the Ngindo (see Chapter VIII), who is a snob. Amongst the 'laity' as well, Islam may bring prestige; complains a polygynous wife: "I am still a concubine (MCHUMBA, i.e. pagan wife) and he (the husband) went and married (NDOA, i.e. Islamic) her (a junior wife)"(KIP 43/47). The Preacher n/p is a man of standing in his own community; one, a youngish man, I noticed inviting the son of the local headman to attend a festival. The young man declined on the ground that he had been 'unable' to fast beforehand. This earned him a rebuke, not for failing to fast, but for prevaricating. And yet politically the Preacher is in a backwater. His over-specialisation inhibits him from acquiring headmanship or like office. It is rather the correct 'layman', unhampered by religious obligations, unimpressed by religious virtuosity, who stands to get appointments. None the less a number of qualified Preachers have become headmen; particularly a generation or so ago, when the gap between congregation and Preacher was narrower. Few of the younger Preachers I met impressed me as leaders. n/p Of course to speak of a Preacher as 'qualified' is a misnomer. His qualification, arising out of pure supply and demand, subject to public approval, can vary from sketchy to excellent. His very laxity assures the Preacher of a place in the affections of the people. Far from regimenting them, he may watch over their physical welfare too ... his knowledge of the sacred writings, which guide him in his choice of roots and other ingredients, can enhance his value as a herbalist. By the same token he may prove a more than usually deadly sorcerer. But just as he appreciates the public irregularity of many pagan customs ... it is the conservative

home-circle of womenfolk that deter him from taking action ... the Preacher will seldom descend to the more serious private irregularity of sorcery. There is nothing sacrosanct about a Preacher. To give a typical instance of the bantering way in which he may be treated, my porters ribbed our young Preacher-guide on the one leg of a safari. "How will you pray whilst you are on this journey ?". "This long robe of mine will serve as a prayer-mat". "Why on earth put a shroud on before you are dead ?". But when the youngster showed signs of becoming nettled, they good-naturedly desisted.

Law.

"Islam is not so much a creed as a social system" (Ref.94). Its specifically legal branch, the Shari'a (SHERIA or SALIA, used by the Ngindo to mean justice in general), which Gibb defines as "a discussion of the duties of Muslims" (Ref. 20), follows four main schools. That of Shaf'i governs East African Sunni, or conservative, Muslims; amongst whom must be included the Ngindo. Of this the latter have the vaguest of notions, asserting the characteristics of all four schools to be set out in the books known as HADITHI LIKUDUTHII (I also heard ARISI LIKULUSIYO)and MINHAJI TWALIBANA, all the other commentaries allegedly dealing with ritual matters. But it is obvious that the word SHAFII means nothing excepting to the Preacher-élite, themselves plainly ingorant of its full implication. Therefore any clash of legal systems entirely fails to impress Ngindo Muslims who in addition look askance at the practice of their more orthodox coastal fellows. Trimingham finds precisely the same to be true of certain Sudanic Malikis: "No critical study of Ibn Malik or other founders of Fiqh

is made. 'Abridgements' had been produced by obscure individuals and these the students learnt by heart" (Ref. 94). He concludes that "the religion of Mohamedan peoples everywhere is full of non-Islamic customs and superstitions which it has absorbed, but these in no way weaken its religious-social solidarity". More especially would this seem to be true of those following the Shaf'i persuasion. Vesey-Fitzgerald (quoted in Ref.70) observes that "wherever Shaf'i doctrines predominate a large and flourishing body of custom exists alongside the law".

To what extent does Islamic law control Ngindoland ? In the sphere of marriage its impact has been evaluated as slight (see Chapter V, end of section on Marriage Procedure). The modified form of Islamic marriage adopted by a small Ngindo minority causes the balance of spouses to suffer no disability in consequence. Note that on the coast, by contrast, where pagan marriage gets only partial recognition, customary unions receive scant protection; home-Ngindo evacuees were particularly disgusted by this. A single striking example will suffice to show the essential discrepancy between current Ngindo custom and outside Islamic rulings. "Muslim law permits marriage between all classes of cousins, and it seems that marriage between a man and his father's brother's daughter is often specially favoured" (Ref.70). Nothing could be more abhorrent to the Ngindo than this match. The same ——— type of clash, only partly compensated by common features such as agnatic descent, etc., occurs at all points in the field of custom. Inheritance in no way adheres to the complicated Koranic allocations; nor land tenure to the "Arabic 'Amara' or permanent rights

obtained by squatting on and developing someone else's land" (Ref.94); nor the settlement of disputes to "the 'eye for an eye' method of the Arab"(Ref.94). Only in limited ways does Ngindo custom appear to owe anything to Islam. Of this, male circumcision is a possible example; but circumcision itself, as one of the "still lesser duties (i.e. below the categories of "Farz", obligatory, and "Wajib", necessary) ... permitted by Mohamed" (Ref.39), holds secondary importance in the eyes of Muslims; whilst the Ngindo, if they did borrow it, have dressed the rite in fantastic pagan garb. On the whole the same state of affairs obtains here as among the Beja of the Sudan ... "Native courts therefore follow their own customary laws and the Shari'a does not touch them even in the field of family relationships" (Ref.94). The incompatibility of things Ngindo and Islamic cannot be reduced to a single factor such as the former 's less stringent agnation; though this is undoubtedly present. Rather it is a multiple conflict of two independent systems, each having certain chance correspondences with the other.

The law of Ngindoland, in so far as the Westernised Tangayika Territorial Code allows it freedom, is that of 'native law and custom'. Now, by this could of course be meant Islamic law, a closer approximation to which, in the coastal Districts, operates under this same provision. But in fact Islamic law, though potentially present, here exerts a negligible influence. Only once to my knowledge has the issue come to a head. This was in 1932 when an heir under widow-inheritance demanded the normal refund of bridewealth from a recalcitrant widow; who thereupon invoked Islamic law. Obviously

at sixes and sevens, the Ngindoland Council contented itself with stating the position in these words: "According to our Islamic law there is no obligation to refund bridewealth ("Mahari", i.e. Islamic) if the husband has died. The plaintiff says that if she (the widow) does not want to be inherited by me (the record here switches to direct speech) she must give back the money which my brother paid. So I shall get our traditional justice ("Sheria" is the word the scribe uses, but he obviously means pagan law). I cannot follow this religious law". Undecided, the Council went on to propose the unprecedented step of a re-hearing in the presence of the Provincial Commissioner; beyond which point no documentary trace can now be found. The matter must have been shelved, for the Council wisely made no further reference to it. Otherwise scarcely a ripple has disturbed the tranquil surface of 'our Islamic law', with its steady undercurrent of Ngindo custom. Once, a strict Muslim father-in-law of the Makonde tribe was quietly relieved of his daughter's Ngindo suitor to whom he objected simply because the young man drank beer, ordinarily no ground for complaint. Commented the court: "It is the law of the Islamic religion" (AP 144/51). In another case a husband getting divorced after a six-year absence on his part, was allowed to claim the Shs. 10/- residue of bridewealth due to him; but only as an indigenous concession: "It is merely native help ... strictly the law (here based on a precedent set in the 1930s by the Ngindoland Council itself, but representing its version of Islamic law) is to forfeit it completely " (Ap 98/51). Again, where the known attributes of the two legal systems happen to coincide, the court will endorse the fact with satisfaction. A husband deserting

n/p

his wife for five years is told: "You have behaved very badly indeed, both in the eyes of religion ("Dini") and of the tribe ("Kabila")"(AP 201/51). In yet another marital connection, one finds a witness debating the alternatives open in one of the few aspects of tribal usage into which the penetration of Islam has driven a wedge, namely marriage-procedure: "Then my father asked her (the witness's prospective mother-in-law) whether she wanted (to marry in) ~~in~~ the Magingo or the Swahili (i.e. Islamic) way. She replied that she wanted Magingo. So it was that I became a suitor" (ev.LIW 6/44). More often, as happens in the Sudan, "Nobody is wholly conscious of what elements are distinctly religious and Muslim, and what are merely social and pagan" (Ref.94). Such is the confusion that Ngindo may erroneously attribute to Islam customs that are definitely non- Islamic; for instance, I heard the MKANGE cash-payment to the mother of a newly-wed bride so described. Islamic law is not only meaningless to the Ngindo as an abstraction, but also repugnant to them in most of those particulars of which they are aware. Yet, as Muslims, they are bound to welcome it. The contradiction, allowed to stand thanks to ignorance, tolerance, or apathy, is by no means unique. To quote Trimingham again, he finds the Sudanic masses to be "living according to an entirely different standard of personal religion, law, and morality from that of the Shari'a, yet revering it, and therefore easily stirred by the cry "Islam in danger""(Ref.94).

n/p

Conclusion.

Islam, as a serious force, has been with the Ngindo only two generations. Moreover, after a highly unconventional start, it has developed within the Ngindo

culture virtually untouched by outside influences, whether or not Islamic. Small wonder that the result should be more Ngindo than Muslim. This does not, however, invalidate its Muslim quality; more especially in view of the known diversity of Muslim communities in East Africa. Actually there are grounds for regarding Ngindoland as more firmly Muslim than cosmopolitan elements such as the coast people. It is rare to find a territorial unit of this size, homogeneous in both speech and custom, which is also solidly Muslim.

How did Islam gain the upper hand throughout Ngindoland ? Whilst it is true that a boisterous half-century of gradual acclimatisation, followed by the apocalyptic tempest of Majimaji, followed by a sheltered half-century of slow erosion account for its deep imprint today, this is only half the story. Islam found here an environment peculiarly receptive. In principle, egalitarian Islam met the primary requirement of the egalitarian Ngindo, namely diffusion. Coupled with its other facet of ready adaptation, this meant automatic affinity towards the ruling Ngindo ideal of status, as defined in the next chapter. Islam breeds a type of character eminently suited for the rôle of 'freeman'. He has dignity and meticulous courtesy. His religion specifically enjoins him to welcome "God's stranger" and tolerates the pagan code of hospitality ... even the Islamic paradise is a long convivial entertainment calculated to appeal to the gentlemanly epicure. His festivals ... even Ramadan, with its nightly FUTARI repasts ... afford opportunities for polite intercourse. He brings with him no objectionable heirarchy to humiliate the mass of freemen; nor does he condemn slavery. He is a polygynist. As opposed to the slavish

type of person, he is an accomplished public speaker, washes himself at frequent intervals, and shuns theft like the plague. He believes in the strict surveillance of women. Thoroughgoing Islam would of course undermine the freeman's style of life; but no bigot has yet tried to force the issue. Until he does so, Trimingham's conclusion that "Islam plays havoc with pagan institutions" by virtue of the fact that it "takes over the essential features of paganism through syncretism. The pagan customs are retained whilst the spirit of the custom is lost" (Ref 94), will remain unfulfilled.

Through its universality Islam might be expected to break down the parochialism of the Ngindo, who do indeed classify all comers on the basis of religion. The more conscious Muslims among them tend to dismiss pagans as untouchable ... "They come straight from copulating to a meal without so much as washing; if at a beer-party they go aside to urinate, they come back and handle the drinking-vessels without further ado; they are just animals!". But it is clear that these strictures are aimed primarily at non-Ngindo heathens. As for non-Ngindo Muslims, they are scarcely any better to the Ngindo way of thinking. The Pogoro contingent, worsted in a dispute over an elementary point of daily prayer, are too amateurish to come within their notice. At the other extreme, the assiduous Muslims of the coast are nothing but mannerless mercenaries, their expertness in devotion not only immaterial but, hint the Ngindo, at the root of their present corruption. Opinions like this may lack factual foundation ... But not conviction in the minds of their holders! Perfectly legitimate attempts by outsiders to remedy Ngindo religious defects encounter frantic resentment. Some while ago, a long-established

Mwera Preacher who ventured to suggest some improvements in the diction of his Ngindo Muezzin had to recant on pain of banishment! Apart from one or two Preachers who admit to having felt embarrassed at their own shortcomings when in the presence of coastal Muslims, Ngindo feel absolute satisfaction in both their conception and performance of Islam. Where Islam does help to foster unity is within the Ngindo complex itself; simply because its uniformity extends that far and no further. I could not help remarking this at a festival I attended on the western periphery of Ngindoland. The ethnic composition of the three-man procession formed by the officiating Preachers was Magingo, Ndonde, Ndendeuli; a trio making up the local Islamic formula: 'Three in one equals Ngindo'. Trimingham's conclusion that "Islam can only advance through tribal disintegration"(Ref.94) must therefore be reckoned inapplicable so far. On the contrary it is 'Islam' that gives 'Ngindo' its present vigour.

CHAPTER VIII. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOME-NGINDO.

Internal Variations of Ngindoland.

Thus far I have spoken of the home-Ngindo as if they were wholly uniform. Actually this is far from being the case. Ngindoland can be divided into at least five spheres of influence, each overlapping onto one or more of the others. Of these the most important is Magingo, largely permeating the rest. So that the minorities who reject the appellation nevertheless approximate very closely to professed Magingo in speech and custom ... hence the Government tag, 'Magingo-Ndonde', in which all but the largest and most obvious of the minorities get lumped in with Magingo. Incidentally pre-war census returns show the ratio between 'Magingo' and Ndonde to have been about five to one. Like any other large-scale Ngindo grouping, Magingo is primarily linguistic. So, even though I did not find it worthwhile to enumerate the sub-dialects inside Ngindoland (except the kiNdonde spoken there), such is their similarity to one another in vocabulary, contrasts in idiom and pronunciation suffice to set each one apart, perhaps in the manner of some of the English county dialects. Even minor variations in construction, in the ears of one or other of the dialect-speakers, may turn the most innocent phrase into the vilest abuse. Thus the verb 'to have' may in one locality have a sexual connotation, but not in another. Magingo is also territorial. A broad east-west band of country straddling Liwale-boma, though in fact of mixed population, passes for solid Magingo, the hearth from which the sub-tribe fanned out south and north. In former days no doubt the ethnic character of the area was more consistently Magingo. Though politically it has none, culturally also Magingo has a shade of meaning; for

instance, by relation with my inevitably Chobo-centric account. Take marriage ... Magingo favour cross-cousin matches far less than do the Chobo. The latter reckon seniority of siblings by chronological primogeniture irrespective of their mothers' status, whereas Magingo allegedly give precedence to the issue of a senior wife. One must draw such distinctions with great caution. Personally I doubt whether Magingo do gradate heirs in this fashion; yet it is significant that the Chobo should think they do. Such differences, so subtle as not to amount to more than touches like this, are analogous to occasional irregular cells in two outwardly identical honey-combs, fused one with the other. But to the natives they loom disproportionately large. In the past, before the levelling tendency induced by the growth and spread of Magingo, they must have been greater. The name Magingo, though it recurs elsewhere in the region, appears to have no intrinsic meaning.

The Chobo are even less readily defined. Territorially their hub lies at Barikiwa, but how far thence they radiate is a matter of subjective feeling. In the widest sense they embrace a square about 50 miles across, but interpenetration of Magingo and other elements renders demarcation impossible. Remember that no quarter of Ngindoland is without its quota of Ndonde tribal-war refugees in various stages of assimilation. The 'shrinkage' theory advanced by the District-Book (.## In support of ~~which~~ it the natives themselves attribute the relatively large number of 'Chobo' descent-names to the 'sub-tribe's' former extent, embracing the thickets as far as Nangora, a good march west of Barikiwa .## helps to explain the Chobo position## This source does of course make capital

out of the sub-tribes, investing them with a greater aura of separatism than they warrant. It gives an outline of each (except the Hamba) which, though not necessarily inaccurate, distorts through omitting to establish or state that most of the supposed distinguishing features in fact occur to a greater or less extent throughout ... even within the same sub-tribe a synoptic description given by two different informants or gatherings might well show the same sort of variation. In addition the District Book's adherence to the assumptions and approach of the time reduces its value. Most of the material dates from 1930 or earlier. Here is a specimen." ... though the victims of considerable superstition, they did not indulge in the degrading practice of human or even animal sacrifice". Excepting as a preliminary guide therefore, and without any imputation on the authorship which under the circumstances was excellent, I found much of it to be suspect, if not downright useless. My own general observations on any Ngindo element other than the Chobo would naturally be equally superficial. To return to the Chobo, they are n/p by repute the stablest, purest, and most conservative of the Ngindo. Outsiders believe them to have a code-language of their own. To give an imaginary example, when one Chobo remarks to another in the presence of a stranger that he feels ill, he in fact indicates that the stranger is not to be trusted. In keeping with their rustic mien, the Chobo have an exaggerated habit of drawling their words. Chobo, though itself meaningless, has a strong thicket association; which is again territorial, seeing that the Barikiwa thickets are so extensive. However the country itself is not called Chobo; nor are its component thickets, which have

individual names. Its resemblance towards the nuclear descent-name, 'Njowu' ... the District Book wrongly makes the sub-tribe consist of "one clan only ... called Wanjoo" ## is dismissed as fortuitous by the natives ##

Ndonde, I have said, occur throughout. But nowhere except in the south do they retain their Ndonde character, or even name. In the extreme south however they actually predominate numerically and both speak and behave in the Ndonde manner. There, in a sense, they can be regarded as a north-westerly prolongation of the coast-Ndonde, or as a bridge between the latter and the Ndonde formerly inhabiting the country further to the west (Njenje Juu), but shifted out under the Closer Settlement Scheme. When speaking in this paragraph of the Ndonde, it is to these Mbwemkuru Ndonde that I refer. Their dialect has more in common with that of the coast-Ndonde than with kiMagingo. And the village-survey I did in their area seems to indicate that their residential system, marriage arrangements, etc., have a like orientation. Even where rapprochement with other Home-Ngindo would appear to exist on the surface, the content of commonly observed rites and customs may vary. Thus, though the initiations correspond point for point, Ndonde predilection for girl-initiates well past puberty gives the event a unique context. Again the 'kiNgindo' dance in its Ndonde guise has a completely different repertoire of songs. I was in hopes that this dichotomy might be reflected in court-records; but unfortunately those of Mbemba, the only typically Ndonde court-area, (Njenje Juu, which was substantially Ndonde, shows no appreciable deviation) had disappeared without trace. Therefore the only material available was the odd case going thence

before the Ngindoland appeal-court. I noticed that in one of these, an adultery suit, both parties referred to maternal uncles as their guardians (AP 5/35). Although contact with the adjacent Mwera appears to be of low intensity, their proximity cannot be without its effect. The intervening Mbwemkuru river constitutes a serious barrier only during the rainy months. Against these indices of separate identity must be set others uniting the people of Ngindoland. The Mwera, by their mere presence have had this effect. Again, despite the features they share, the Ndonde of Ngindoland do not regard the coast-Ndonde as kith and kin. Proposals made in 1928 that they should unite met with opposition. From the very beginning of European rule these Ndonde have looked towards the administrative centre of Liwale. They participate in the same brand of Muslim observance as do the Magingo and satellites, with whose cultural stamp they have become partially endowed.

The other element predominant in the south are the Hamba (proto-Hamba) who, unlike the Ndonde, claim indigenous status, but have suffered such obliteration at the hands of both Magingo and Ndonde that the District Book entirely overlooked them. Only a remnant on the mid Hangai remain consciously Hamba. Nevertheless, outsiders in the north speak of anything south of the river Liwale as 'Hamba'. Likewise the Ndendeuli of the far west who, since the Hamba lie ~~lay~~ closest, tend to class all home-Ngindo as 'Hamba'. Even where, amongst the existing inhabitants, the notion of Hamba is dead, sacrifices may be addressed to the rightful 'owners' of the country, namely Hamba spirits. I found this happening as far east as the upper Kiperere. Nowadays even the known Hamba nucleus is indistinguishable from Magingo, but this ~~arises from~~ comes of

absorption by the Magingo. Before the present century the two could have had little in common, for the Hamba of those days were aboriginal hunters.[x] Since they tend to be ridiculed on that account, descendants of the ~~latter~~ Hamba show themselves evasive; so one can reconstruct no more than a fragmentary picture of their pristine state. Apparently they lived in small nomadic groups, seldom camping in one

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Footnote x:

In view of this, the 'Matekwe overhang' becomes an object of possible significance for the Hamba. This spacious rock-shelter lies towards the summit of the northernmost koppie of the Matekwe outcrop, some ten miles south-east of Kilimarondo Baraza ie. about 50 miles south of the proto-Hamba focus. With its southerly aspect it would afford some protection from weather, especially in the low interior recess; and surface water is plentiful at Matekwe's foot, present site of a Groundnut Scheme plantation. To this day game abounds in the area. A lion had evidently occupied the shelter on the morning of my visit, December 1st 1953. The vertical wall beneath the overhang bears traces of designs or paintings, some dull red in colour, others a dirty white. Excepting at one point at the extreme left, facing inwards, all the markings are within arm's reach and extend throughout its length down to within a foot or two of the floor. They form three groups. To the left is a confused mass of red about six feet square, on the edges of which certain isolated objects can be discerned. I did not think to use water to reveal the detail, and the time of year was as dry as could be. So I expect I missed some of the points noticed by Whiteley (Ref.99). To the right, also in red, a similar area displays numerous erect strokes and dots with one or two eliptical shapes. In between come several crudely emphasised symbols in white. The red substance appears chalky in texture, as if applied with a dry friable rock, the small indentations in the surface remaining bare. The white on the other hand, chipped in places showing a depth of nearly ¼ inch, resembles a plaster. The red element includes four stick-like human figures, one of them very clear indeed; two animals of some description, suggesting wart-hog or rhino; a recumbent animal with prominent ears, like a female kudu; and what looks to be the head of an elephant. The regular lines and blobs may depict ranks of people. The white comprises a couple of club-form pillars and roughly circular rings, possibly male and female; a multi-legged chair or platform shape; a curving bone or boomerang shape; and an inverted scraper or comb shape. Both red and white have clusters of lozenges, which may be finger-marks. Although neither neo- nor proto-Hamba know anything of their origin, and merely declare them to be very, very old, it seems that these markings cannot be of great antiquity. I am not alone in this opinion. Whiteley makes the same observation (Ref.99). Their situation, for a start, is such that any storm blowing towards the entrance would certainly

spot for more than a month at a time. But, since they depended on trapping, their movement does not seem to have been extensive. Whenever a substantial kill had been made all members including women consumed it on the spot. Their method of cooking was to dig a pit into which the cleaned and salted carcass was deposited. Then they would light a bonfire over the top, thus rendering even the hide edible. They were also renowned bee-men and knew the art of storing honey in primitive ant-burrow vats, which could be camouflaged so expertly as to deceive the honey-badger himself. The only cultivation they did was to plant wild pumpkins out in the forest

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Footnote (cont.,) x

drive in, sluicing them down. And the white element would not appear capable of long remaining intact; in fact has begun to crumble in places. As for the red, which might be more durable, it has at two places been superimposed on the white. Therefore it must have been simultaneous or of a later date. In addition it has been pointed out to me that a comparatively recent deposit visible elsewhere on the rock-face has yet to cover the paintings. To the theory that Hamba were the artists responsible for their execution there is the objection that the clearest of the Matekwe figures brandishes a spear or stick; if the former, a weapon alien to the area. But possibly the spearman represents Ngoni or other invaders, and the beasts their herds or booty. Whiteley considers that the weapon might even have been a bow and the animals sacrificial victims (Ref.99). He also draws attention to the crudeness of the animal portrayals as compared with the human; from which one is led to conclude that the artists were indifferent huntsmen. It should not be forgotten that very similar paintings occur at Masasi-boma and elsewhere in that District. Hence Matekwe might be construed as the northernmost example of a decorated-cave belt stretching south, rather than north to the proto-Hamba; unless the latter moved north a little over a century ago. According to Whiteley, the "little people seen by Mwera" on their arrival at about that time may have been the artists in question (Ref.99). Who these people could have been must stay problematical. Seemingly they fled south, not north. Those proto-Hamba I have seen do not appear below the average in stature. If there is anything distinctive about them, it is an unusually pale skin, and accentuation of the Mongoloid countenance often found among the Ngindo; traits also to be seen among the Ikemba. Possibly the Mang'anja fit the Mwera legend, but Bocarro's data does not point to their having been aborigines.

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wherever a burnt-out tree had left a circle of ash ... elephant were rare in those days, so that the crop could be left unattended. Sometimes they slept in crude brushwood shelters; but more often on the hard ground, in the open, with none of the tree-climbing or other precautions employed nowadays; though they did fasten valuables in rolls of bark suspended aloft. Bride-wealth consisted of meat and honey, female initiation of informal instruction given by old women. The Hamba had a dance called URUMBA or maKUMBO, performed in imitation of animals. It incorporated songs and hand-clapping, but no drums. Whether or not as a security-measure against Ngoni raids, they established themselves in the thicket of Bwagi, between the Hangai and Ruhuu rivers, where they set up a more effective system of defence than that devised by any other Ngindo (see Chapter IX, end of section on Sultans and Slaves). It was at about this time that, at the instance of Magingo and other immigrants, they began to take to the hoe.

Ikemba

The ~~IKEMBA~~ of the extreme north present a similar phenomenon, though less submerged. Whilst their aboriginal background does not seem to have been suspected, the District Book does discuss them as a sub-tribe. As with the Hamba, and for that matter Chobo, the nucleus appears extremely small ... witness the 1928 estimate already quoted of only 70 Ikemba tax-payers in the Muhinje-Matandu triangle, which enfolds all the original Ikembaland. Yet the name Ikemba has flourished rather than withered. Why did immigrants to Ikembaland adopt the designation whereas those in Hambaland dropped it ? The answer appears to hinge around personalities. The Hamba had no leader of any note. On the contrary not long after the transition from a hunting mode of life they came beneath the sway of one of the most striking

men Ngindoland has ever produced. This was the late 'Mwenye Mkuu' Nganora Mkwera, whose career has come in for comment (see Chapter IV, Agnatic Kinship). Of Magingo extraction, Nganora's people settled at Hangai in the capacity of 'suitors'; that is, intermarrying with the Hamba natives. The Ikemba on the other hand had their own dynamic figure, Likongowere by name. Likongowere, great-grandfather of the present sacrifice-holder, had his seat in the almost waterless Kinamatire thickets, a sure refuge from raiders, not far north of the upper Matandu. Incidentally this dessication prevents one from correlating Ikemba with luKEMBA, meaning river or valley. Likongowere amassed wealth through elephant hunting, dependants through the purchase of slaves and his patronage of refugees. It was he who, traditionally, brought about the innovation of farming. He had to go far to the north-west in quest of ivory, using coast-bought muskets ... wild-rubber had provided him with the initial wherewithal. Since the rubber trade never got into its stride till after 1870, and since living persons have set eyes on Likongowere, who met a premature death in the jaws of a lion early in the 1890s, it can be seen that the Ikemba have but recently quitted a hunting-and-collecting life. There is no knowing whether or not the aboriginal Hamba or Ikemba spoke kiNgindo. No suggestion has reached me that they did not; and it would be surprising in the light of the tenacity shown by the Ngindo dialects if hypothetical anterior languages had in fact disappeared without trace. Present Hamba and Ikemba speech is scarcely distinguishable from kiMagingo. Nevertheless separatist feeling, and even friction, persist. That animosity can arise between members of these Ngindoland communities is illustrated by a case in which

the accused, a resident of the area, so probably of immigrant-Magingo descent, had said: "These Ikemba have no sense, and their women have no sense either!" (ev.MCH 51/43). The District Book refers to "bickering" between Ikemba and Ndonde. Genuine Ikemba survivors, very rare now that evacuation has emptied their homeland, and very reticent about their past since the recognition by Government of their sub-tribal status led to the appointment of Ikemba headmen and consequently to sophistication, give so unusual a colouring to their story of the old days in Ikembaland that it deserves some study.

Like the Hamba, the Ikemba went in for trapping; but they, it seems, could do nothing else, being entirely without metal. From this, coupled with the fact that the neighbourhood is virtually devoid of rock or of such hard woods as ebony, flowed a number of consequences. For lack of the means to cut or process bark, no garments could be made from this material. Instead both sexes wore hide aprons (NABO). No hives could be split, and no bee-nests laid open. Even ground-honey lay out of reach of these aborigines until supplied with ebony hoes (NYAYA) by the earliest Ndonde immigrants, settled further down the Matandu at Kitecho, who also furnished arrows, axes, and pots. Huts could not be built, and the Ikemba shelter-camps seem to have been an old improvisation rather than a new counter to Ngoni raiders. The people subsisted on the smaller game, snared in the thicket. I regret I forgot to ask exactly how the snares could be laid ... nowadays the fibres of bark are plaited into cord for the purpose. No doubt the Ikemba could have used hide-thongs or the tendrils of certain creepers; I have seen the latter

used to bind the structure of old-fashioned huts. Bushpig lay under no taboo. Instead the Ikemba shunned zebra and the eel, of which the latter must have been virtually non-existent, and neither common. A kill was the property of the trapper, who would give a leg to his family-head; the brain was a delicacy fed to young children; and the liver, along with woodash, a suitable offering for the spirits. Another point I overlooked was the processing of meat. Informants state that it was simply roasted, but without knives how was it prepared and apportioned ? The people may have had bone implements adequate for cutting meat, but not for chopping wood and the like. The womenfolk collected bush-fruits. Salt could be extracted from ash of the dwarf-palm. Distant water had to be collected by the men in wild-gourd containers. For the lack of drums no dances could be held; nor, for the lack of grain, could beer be brewed. On ritual occasions the participants merely clapped their hands and sang ~~no longer remembered~~ that have since disappeared songs. Likongowere, as patron of the thickets thereabouts, acted as high-priest for a number of otherwise autonomous hunting groups, each of them agnatic and exogamous; and each nomadic, without fixed hunting preserves. Marriage was 'virisequent', and bridewealth payable, at least in the interim phase of transition. It then comprised a handful of salt and a few beads. Strict widow-inheritance applied; but no polygyny. There was no machinery for the settlement of disputes. These early Ikemba practised neither male circumcision, nor sorcery, nor divination. The dead were buried curled up in grass sheaths.

If the Ikemba really lived like this, theirs must

have been an unusually primitive existence measured in terms of that followed by known hunters-and-gatherers elsewhere in Tanganyika. And it automatically rules out the possibility, more tenable in the case of the less remote, less empty-handed Hamba, of retrogression from a cultivation-economy. n/p Even among the cultivators metal was hard to come by, and the ebony hoe much prized. Elders state that the sole sources of the substance were either the Mahenge tribes, far to the west, or discarded muskets. So it is not altogether improbable that the shyest contemporary Ngindo group should have lacked metal. In the old days, when a considerable no-man's-land separated each entity, there seems to have been no connection between the Hamba and Ikemba, whose homelands are the best part of 100 miles apart, with perhaps Magingo and certainly Chobo intervening. Unless the latter followed a like mode of subsistence, of which there is no direct proof, one cannot discern even relayed linkage from one to the other. n/p The problem of the Hamba, whose country was traversed by a European explorer in 1860 and found to be peopled by flourishing cultivators in parts (see Chapter IX, beginning of section on 'Sultans and Slaves', Ref.40) does not arise with the Ikemba, who lay further off the trade routes. The first European to skirt them was Pfeil, who passed well to the north in 1884 (Ref.69). He made no mention of Ikemba; nor did Beardall, who gave an itinerary of this route, or one near it, some years earlier (Ref.4). He merely heard of 'Gindo' and 'Donde' along it; also of 'Mandandu' (The present Matumbi hills are in his map marked "Mandandu"). The latter is a label that has since perished, to denote a group living on the lower Matandu (Swahili for kiNgindo 'Mandandu').

Whether these Mandandu were Ngindo-speaking or whether they had any nexus with the Ikemba, can only be guessed. Burton found them active in the gum-copal trade before 1860 (Ref.9), which seems to indicate their sophistication at a time when Likongowere could not yet have reached his prime. On the other hand, when speaking of an immigrant pocket north of the Rufiji, he bracketed them with 'Gindo'. The most likely explanation is that the Mandandu were conventional Ngindo immigrants of early date who became known by the territorial designation of the river-valley they occupied.

That these internal variations, despite their cumulative significance, pale before the overwhelming volume of uniformities appears palpably from tabulated information on marital affairs I collected from the six Ngindoland surveys (overleaf) and from the field-plans themselves (on the following pages).

External Identity of Ngindoland.

The basic common-denominator of Ngindoland is continuous territory peopled exclusively by Ngindo. The population, though thin, is fairly uniform; and its limits have a clear definition, in the south owing to the alien Mwera, elsewhere owing to Game Reserves or empty country. Ngindoland virtually forms an island. Notwithstanding internal contrasts in the physical environment, the area as a whole can be differentiated from settled ones round about. For instance, even Njinjo towards the coast, superficially similar as country and largely peopled by Ngindo, seems to the home-Ngindo quite beyond the pale. For, low-lying and clayish, it becomes a slippery quagmire in wet weather. Without thicket, hence poor in bush-fruits, it has a

TABLE OF BRIDEWEALTH AND MARRIAGE-TYPES

		BARIKIWA	MIHUNGO	KICHONDA	HANGAI	NAMBANGO	NTIRAMAROWE	AVERAGE.
Pagan HETO	SHILLINGS	68(Nil-160)	77(40-140)	70(60-100)	78(66-90)	77(60-100)	58(26-100)	71(Nil-160)
HETO (cum MAHARI)	SHILLINGS	69(40-100)	-	70(60-80)	70(60-80)	-	75(50-100)	71(40-100)
MAHARI (cum HETO)	SHILLINGS	18(10-20)	-	15(20-30)	18(10-20)	-	12(NIL-30)	16(NIL-30)
MAHARI alone	SHILLINGS	65(60-70)	80(60-100)	-	-	-	-	73(60-100)
KIBANI	SHILLINGS	3.9(NIL-12)	(OMITTED)	3.7(1-12)	3.5(1-12)	1.4(1-4)	3.5(.5-10)	3.2(NIL-12)
BETROTHAL	PER CENT	71.4	63	68	82	100	61	74.2
GROWN MAIDEN	PER CENT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
INHERITED WIDOW	PER CENT	14.5	17	9	12	-	-	8.8
STRAIGHT WIDOW	PER CENT	5.5	-	-	-	-	17	3.7
DIVORCEE	PER CENT	8.6	20	23	6	-	22	13.3
SUBSEQUENT DIVORCE	PER CENT	7.1	10	5	6	9	13	8.4
INTER-TRIBAL MARRIAGE	PER CENT	x -	-	-	-	-	-	-
ISLAMIC "	PER CENT	3	8	11	25	-	17	11
POLYGYNY	PER CENT	41(2.5)Ⓧ (2-4)[Ⓧ]	37(2.25) (2-4)	42(2.25) (2-3)	50(2.7) (2-3)	62(2) (-)	46(2) (-)	46(2.3) (2-4)

x One or two alien wives, but fully integrated

Ⓧ Average wives per polygynist.
[Ⓧ] Max and Min " " "

Internal Variations of Ngindoland : (above) proto-Hamba tribesman poses with elephant-carcass in the exposed bed of Bwagi lake: (below) beekeeper from the Mbwemkuru with his distinctive wooden hive.

Block-Map IV (central), and the five secondary Village-Surveys of Ngindoland. For Survey "A", see page 115c.

Demographic Composition of the Ngindoland Surveys.

Code-letter of Survey...	A.(a)	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	
Name of Survey...	Barikiwa.	Mihungo.	Kichonda.	Ntira-marowe.	Hangai.	Nambango.	Total.
Husbands	121	35	12	13	6	8	195
Wives	197	61	18	19	11	13	319
Spinsters	11(c)	3(e)	1(g)	4(j)	-	-	19
Bachelors	9(b)	2(f)	1(h)	3(k)	-	-	15
Betrothed Girls	21	5	1	1	2	2	32
Outside Suitors	17	5	1	1	2	2	28
Internal Suitors	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Home Suitors away	5	2	1	1	4	-	13
Unmarried Youths	16	13	-	-	-	-	29
Men away Working	-(d)	5	1	1	-	-	7
Boys	79	21	9	9	9	7	134
Girls	74	21	8	1	4	7	115
Total	554	173	53	53	38	39	910

(a) Field-plans on page 114.

(b) I leprous, I destitute, 3 blind, I crippled, 3 mad.

(c) 2 " , 7 senile, 1 " , I able-bodied widow.

(d) Not assessed. The survey extending over a 2-year period, returning migrants were entered under the appropriate home categories.

(e) 2 senile, 1 pending widow-inheritance.

(f) 1 mad, I deprived of his betrothed for committing incest.

(g) Senile.

(h) "

(j) 2 " , 1 crippled, 1 invalid.

(k) 2 recent divorcees. 1 senile widower.

greater incidence of thorny vegetation. Though relatively free of elephant it abounds in bush-pig. And so forth. In the old days, before Ngindoland acquired its present essentially artificial insulation, and before the influx occasioned by the rubber boom, its component groups seem to have been more compact, separated one from the other by extensive tracts of forest. The emergence of the abstraction 'Ngindoland' is therefore the product of a comparatively recent process.

To say that this interior island contains 'nothing but Ngindo' still begs the question. For whilst the characteristics of these Ngindo have been stated, the extent to which they differ from surrounding peoples has not. It is in language that their uniqueness can best be seen. None of the non-Ngindo 'tribes' in the region is readily intelligible to the home-Ngindo, whose predominant kiMagingo dialect in turn sets them apart from kindred outliers speaking different Ngindo dialects. Only the Ndonde of the extreme south of Ngindoland fail to reflect this linguistic particularity. As for physical attributes or bodily marks, such is the uncertainty of their distribution and origin that I consider it pointless discussing them. The only widespread facial marking for males today is a pair of short vertical strokes outside each eye, called KONDE. But this is neither the monopoly of Ngindo, nor even a proper means of identification at all ... in parts its purpose is thought simply medicinal. The District Book dwells on tribal marks without stressing the full complexity of borrowings and cross-borrowings. A hundred years

ago Ngindo were heavily tattooed both facially and on the torso in imitation, so it is said, of the Mwera, whose female elders can still be distinguished by their retention of the lip-plug; Whereas the Ngindo have discarded every vestige of these one-time fashions.

For the past fifty years Western rule has given political coherence to Ngindoland, where before none existed. The old fragmentary system, with its shadowy 'Mwenye'ǂ, (see Chapter IV, Agnatic Kinship), manifestly fell short of unifying so large an entity as Ngindoland, which in any case did not exist as a clear-cut demographic unit in those days. Initially the German administrative area of Liwale contained present Ngindoland, with considerable extensions north and west. Its 'Jumbe' appointees were local men, hence identified with the people; and though all held equal rank, they looked to the European 'Hauptmann' at Liwale-boma; or for the first few years, at Barikiwa. The opening decade of the Mandate perpetuated the German Jumbeates, which were grouped at first under a superior native agent, the 'Akida' of Liwale, later into the twin Akidats of Liwale (south) and Mihungo(north). In 1928 came Indirect Rule and the acquisition of a further slice in the extreme north, taken from a dismembered ex-sister-unit, Kibata, whilst a short-lived attempt was made to restore the centre of political gravity to Barikiwa. The jumbeates, with much the same boundaries as before, now fell beneath 'Mwenye'ǂs, who together elected annually one of their number to preside over their joint council. Despite the absence of any fundamental change, Indirect Rule, based on the ethnic principle, did alter the situation through its policy of fostering Ngindo nationalism,

the success of which was to embarrass the Closer Settlement Scheme and mould the insular Ngindo of today. Thus, instances of antipathy towards outsiders are not hard to find. A court judgment refers in disparaging terms to "Swahili (i.e. coastal) deceit" (LIW 1/45). Another has to chide a truculent woman ... "You have no right to strike the complainant because you heard kiMwera being spoken" (AP 45/51). Uproar broke out in a subordinate court when a headman described the local school-teacher as "a Mwera idiot"(ev.AP 3/49). ~~Likewise~~ Tension arose at a beer-party, when the Ngindo present wanted to know of a visiting (Ngoni) Game-scout: "Are there no dignitaries where you come from ? Why do you treat our elders with contempt ?" (ev.AP 23/43). I heard a man say: "We do not like intermarrying with the Pogoro. Their skin is all goose-pimply and repulsive". Feeling came to a head when evacuation dumped home-Ngindo amongst alien, mostly Matumbi and coast-Swahili, hosts, some of whom, according to the incomers, considered adultery with the evacuee women no offence. "She is only an Ngindo!", they would say.

Behind the circle of neighbours and Ngindo outliers, dominating them all, loom the Europeans. About them, manifestly the ultimate authority, the Ngindo are under no illusions. 'European' and 'Government' must be synonymous. This is unshakeable Ngindo logic. Unpopular regulations invariably pass for the impositions of Europeans, in passive opposition to whom the Ngindo feel themselves at one. This is not to say they are subversive ### (the Majimaji rebellion, as shown in ~~see~~ Chapter IX, 'War and the West', taught them the folly of revolt) ### but, being irreconcilable with the bulk of ~~most~~ modern development, Ngindo necessarily find themselves at odds with the

bringers of development, namely the Europeans, who conveniently personify all that is irksome in the process. Even the Government-sponsored Ngindo courts show themselves sympathetic. Hence by a curious twist of argument, a judgment condones violence on the part of tax-collectors towards the anti-Government popular feeling of the Ngindo. Why ? Because "a man could never pay poll-tax of his own free will" (MCH 22/44)! Grossly unfair, heedless of concrete Government achievements and abstract Government intentions, as of the inevitability of some form of control, this attitude nevertheless throws the tribe into relief as a corporate body of sufferers beneath a common yoke. The fact that neighbouring tribes are in the same predicament does not come home to the Ngindo, who can see no further than their own tribulations. Evacuation, itself well-meant, has undoubtedly lent credence to the cynics, vindicating their soured interpretation of events. "We are just fowls, to be caught and trussed up whenever it suits you Europeans" is a remark typifying the burden of resigned frustration. Musing on Islam, a man said philosophically: "You Europeans are the god of this world. What is there we can do about it ?". Only once or twice did I hear Ngindo, growing shrill on the subject of evacuation, come out into the open. One burst out: "We went only because we were afraid of your bullets!". Another, whose aged wife foolishly got lost when searching for bush-fruits during the recent famine and so died of starvation, exclaimed: "You Europeans killed her!". Even in a bantering way fraternisation with the Europeans may be decried. A song associated with the ki-NGINDO dance goes: "The daughter of Saidi Kiticho wanted to marry a European. Oooooo! He was pleasing" (i.e. not really, but simply because he was rich). Actual contact with Europeans has of course been negligible. More than anything else they are a symbol.

n/p

External Identity of Ngindoland: (above) dancing the traditional and distinctive NDENGERA dance: (below) the 'Sultan' watches KIMBETEMBETE experts.

Home-Ngindo custom, despite some overlapping here and there, shows an abrupt break with that of neighbouring 'tribes', several of which are matrilineal; and a sufficiently marked one with outlier Ngindo to make the latter entirely distinct... More thorough comparisons will be drawn in the next chapter. This applies to all phases of their life, from marriage-types right through to pagan-ritual and dispute-settlement. Even Islam, present to a greater or less degree throughout, by no means induces uniformity either of concept or observance. This is particularly true of Ngindoland where Islam received its first substantial impetus in such an extraordinary and dramatic fashion ... the imprint of the Majimaji struggle still rests strongly upon it. There can be nowhere as untouched by Christianity as Ngindoland, where Christian proselytism has met energetic resistance right up to the present day. No Mission has yet succeeded in establishing itself inside Ngindoland. So, by virtue of missionary penetration alone, surrounding areas such as Mweraland stand apart. Again the fact that to them the Government seems plainly orientated towards Christianity gives Ngindo an added sense of their own divorce from the source of power. Though in fact impartiality may be observed, Ngindo cannot but suspect that the Missions, antithetical towards their own blend of rival religion and paganism, may in some way enjoy the connivance of the authorities. Far from being academic, the issue is both real and explosive ... the very first target for attack would be such deeply-entrenched institutions as infant-girl betrothal. Ngindo pride in their Muslim status is not a matter of orthodoxy ... strict coastal adherents, thought to be corrupt characters, do not impress them in the least. Only when a home-Ngindo emigrant achieved

renown in that sphere did his compatriots begin to cultivate him; more because of his origin and fame than because of his piety. This was the late "Sheikh" Idirisha of Dar es Salaam, acclaimed by the Ngindo as the leading Islamic figure on the whole coast, and credited with supernatural powers. The Sheikh was reputed to be infallible, capable of conducting services at several different mosques simultaneously. He kept open house and aided many an Ngindo traveller. He died only a year or two ago. Ngindo pride, of which this is but an isolated manifestation, goes much further, as I shall presently explain. Idirisha is tantamount to a myth. If Ngindo preserve myths of origin, I am unaware of them. Certainly if such myths exist at all, they are very recondite. One hears inconsequential stories commenting the habits of animals and the like; nothing more. Ionides gives some examples. (Ref. 33). Among the home-Ngindo the traditional pagan and imported Muslim virtues strike a synthesis. A man deserting his wife for five years is told:"You have behaved very badly indeed both in the eyes of the tribe and of religion" (AP 210/51).

n/p

n/p

Special ideology of the home-Ngindo.

The peculiar conception the people of Ngindoland have of themselves is of course a mark of distinction vis à vis outsiders; perhaps the clearest mark of all. Why I discuss it separately from other indices is because its implications cover so much ground. In my view, it hinges around the obsolete institution of domestic slavery, which must therefore be examined.

Ngindoland's domestic slavery, though an adjunct of it, bore little relationship towards the vast vortex of the Slave Trade, which will in turn receive treatment (see Chapter IX, Sultans and Slaves). There are indications that the Ngindo possessed no slaves (MANDA) at all before the advent of the intensive traffic a century ago. Von der Decken formed this opinion in 1860 (Ref.40). In fact it could not have been until towards the close of the raiding-period that slaves could be acquired in any numbers ... for it was the Ngindo themselves that were enslaved. Around 1887, thanks to a raiding 'truce', it became possible to ransom lost relatives and even buy stranger-slaves from the Ngoni and their satellites. However the favourite hunting-ground would appear to have been Mahenge, where greater confusion reigned ... the Mbunga threw that region into turmoil right up to 1890. Even thereafter, under the German occupation, slaves were still to be had. The authorities aimed at the gradual atrophy of the institution, not immediate abolition. Offspring of slave parents were to be free, whilst masters could voluntarily liberate their slaves through official channels. Remember that by the 1880s wild-rubber had already begun to prosper the home-Ngindo. Years before that, of course, the rare possessors of wealth, ivory-hunters and the like, could get slaves at the coast. Thus, informants relate how slaves could be used as scouts to spy out the land when their masters had been chased from their homes by raiders. But on the whole regular slave-markets such as Kilwa served not so much as a source of slaves as a means for their disposal if troublesome. Among the Ngindo, slaves amounted to a minority. I reckon the ratio between them and freemen to have been less than a quarter.

Slave-owners must have been an even smaller minority. Few had more than a couple of slaves apiece. A certain Ngabia of Nandumbili, near Barikiwa, ran to a dozen. But he was an immigrant. Twenty, the highest total known, were credited to Tumbitumbi, an Ndonde notable in the west. Straight purchase seems to have been less common than the rescue or kidnapping of strays; pawning of children in time of famine; or ostracism of sorcerers and bad lots. Not a few of the slaves were themselves Ngindo, a potential source of dispute.

The price of slaves in the ordinary way seems to have been almost prohibitively high. A standard amount was fifteen rolls of cloth, a bag of salt, and some gunpowder. Technically the slave was a chattel. He or she was heritable; could be mated to other slaves of the master's choice without payment of bridewealth, in which case the offspring remained servile; could even be killed without redress, seeing that feud would be inoperative, though I never heard of a case of this. Disputes concerning the slave had to be negotiated by the master, who stood to take at least some of the fruits of the slave's labour, but also became liable for the payment of debts or compensation incurred by him. On the other hand he could pocket adultery-compensation paid in respect of a seduced female slave of his. By and large, slaves did the dirty work, such as Government porterage under the Germans. If master and slave spotted a bee-nest, it would be the latter who did the harvesting. As for the recruitment of school-children, it produced the laughable elevation of educated slaves to positions of ultimate responsibility over freemen! It would seem however that slave compliance arose out of natural and

conditioned docility rather than out of the fear of any direct sanctions; which were in fact non-existent or impracticable. To punish a slave was to make him disgruntled, whereupon he could simply abscond ... the wooden manacle-device (KONGWA) for holding prisoners could not be employed in farming work; still less so in rubber-tapping. There was no satisfactory machinery for locating or repatriating truants. Even the final sanction of sale at the coast held little power. Should a slave be warned that this might befall him he could run away in anticipation. Again, coastal servitude held no terrors for some, who stood to be better housed, clothed, and fed, if not better treated, in an easy environment.

In practice slaves lived with and like their masters. A bachelor slave's position would correspond very closely with that of present-day suitors in marriage. He would probably be quartered slightly apart, though not necessarily so; would eat out of the same dish and share the same delicacies; converse on equal terms; do very much the same work as his master in the latter's fields; attend dances, work-parties, and other functions; wear much the same clothes. Slaves of both sexes would be initiated at the same lodge along with freeborn youngsters, though the fee for a male slave's circumcision came to only half ... not because of inferiority but for the reason that slave-initiates would be far easier to control during the operation. In fact, in all but the cases of persons who had been enslaved by the Songea Ngoni, who pierced their own ear-lobes and those of their captives, slaves were virtually indistinguishable. Incidentally the Ngoni, who were inclined to be less lenient, nevertheless used slaves extensively in war; indeed used them as front-line troops. Those who showed prowess could be rewarded ... with slaves!

Of course, captives who had been redeemed by their own kin bore the same mark, yet suffered no stigma. / As for n/p. married and established slaves, their lot was even better. For a start, unhampered by home taboos, they were regarded as prolific. A few, through their conviviality and force of character, eclipsed their masters. Trusted slaves might be sent alone to the coast on trading errands, including the purchase of other slaves! Some had their own slaves to do the modicum of toil demanded by their masters. That the confidence reposed in slaves could be abused is shown by the plight of a man whose slave abducted his wife, leaving him destitute. As it happened, the termination of slavery intervened, but the master would have been equally powerless under the old dispensation to apprehend the culprit, who was the son of a female slave bought by the injured husband's father. Married slaves had their own huts, fields, granaries, and other property. Some were polygynists. Their wives could not be abused with impunity. A master who seduced his slave's wife had to pay Shs. 30/- in compensation (ev.AP 8/35)#, not the sole instance coming to my attention. Slaves could hold their own work-parties, to which freemen would not hesitate to come .## If, when in their cups, slaves caused offence to freemen, they would take a fowl along and ask for pardon, just as any freemen would. Slaves were accorded normal burial-rites. They would defer to their masters and make contributions largely as a matter of etiquette. Treasure-trove would be shared equally between a slave finder and his master; excepting for ivory. But this would be used to purchase other slaves who would be underlings of the finder. Slaves bore arms, and could qualify as diviners or other experts. Competition for them led to their demanding to be sold, if

victimized, and to specified masters. / Essentially
~/p. slaves behaved like any other dependants. And it was by a kinship fiction that they were generally regarded. Once identified in the kinship scale, the slave took his appropriate place. If described as the 'son' of his master, the latter's grandchildren would call him 'father' and treat him as such. Ngindo were shocked at the way in which the children of Arab settlers abused elderly retainers. As a rule, in order to hold them, Ngindo found it necessary to intermarry with their slaves, whose issue thereupon assumed full freeman status. This was certainly the case before slavery came to acquire the derogatory meaning it has today. I have alluded to the privileged position sometimes held by the son of a freeman-father and slave-mother (SULIA, Swahili 'Suria'). Even when the parents were the other way around, the child was regarded as free "because its maternal uncles were freemen".

The Mandatory Government summarily ~~decreed~~ abolished slavery ~~away~~, a change which Ngindo assert to have been as disruptive as it was sweeping. Since then, to the accompaniment of a whispering campaign which ridicules not only ex-slaves and their kin but all persons with a slave connection no matter how distant, the institution has gone underground. To be called a slave nowadays is a grave insult. Out of deference to the ban, claims based on slavery can no longer be upheld. Howbeit a case of 1935 vintage actually went in favour of a former owner who declared: "I had a slave ... I married him off (bridewealth standing at Shs. 68/-) to a wife ... and I must get this my inheritance (i.e. bridewealth - refund in respect of the slave's widow, who refuses to be inherited)" (ev.AP 8/35). This was an appeal case,

complicated by the fact that the master was the widow's lover, indeed had at one time paid compensation to his slave on that account. It is significant that, on first hearing the master and the widow's people got equal shares i.e., the widow's people / ~~latter~~ paid half the refund; whereas the higher court went further by awarding the master / ~~former~~ more / than half. A less naive litigant would of course have avoided the term slave, using instead some kinship label. n/p The case, though a fair reflection of Ngindo opinion, and arousing no adverse comment from the reviewing magistrate / ~~bona~~, must be regarded as exceptional. Usually verdicts reject slave arguments. For instance "He (the plaintiff) has no way of getting these slave children" (AP 5/36). Or again: "Slavery has been forbidden and witchcraft has been forbidden too. Now it is taboo" (MCH 7/45). Evidence from this last (comparatively recent) case shows the persistence, or more strictly exacerbation, of caste feeling. "Today you flaunt yourself simply because of the regime. In the old days of slavery you would not have been able to open your mouth in my presence". Actually, though indicative of the distorted picture of the past induced by the present caricature of the institution, this is patent exaggeration. Just as the Europeans, negligible as a factor of quotidian contact, get parodied in the minds of the Ngindo until they assume the stature of a bogey, so slavery projects a false shadow into the future. Whereas nowadays everyone strives to hush up or impute servile origins, to avoid falling into what are deemed slavish habits, and to act the part of hypothetical freemen ... an urge at the root of the already chronic, and still growing, fragmentation of the 'tribe' ... the real slaves made no bones about it. Some even caused embarrassment by continuing to proclaim themselves such in British times!

The profound attitude that has like a creeping infection spread from the superficial sore of domestic slavery accounts for a number of the most characteristic, and otherwise disparate, drives in the Ngindo culture. And yet the people, with rare exceptions, hold it subconsciously, quite unaware of its unity or import. Ask a tribesman why he insists on building his hut at a distance from the rest ~~apart~~, whilst anxious to receive guests; on abhorring theft whilst condoning other forms of dishonesty; and he will volunteer stock answers of a non-specific nature, such as shifting-cultivation, prevention of disputes, jealousy over women, fear of sorcery ... or even downright irrelevant ones. It is only the Ngindo of insight who can grasp the isolated facets of his own behaviour and give them meaning. In the absence of a set term to describe it, I call this behaviour-pattern the kiLUNGWANA (pertaining to a freeman) Complex. When fumbling for a means of expressing the Complex, it is some variant of this word that the Ngindo will use.

What form does the kiLUNGWANA Complex take ? Its most obvious manifestation is a specialised concept of liberality consistent with that expected of former freemen, who would be bound to share consumable wealth, notably food and beer, with all comers, whether kinsfolk or not. The height of shame to an Ngindo would be discovery in the act of covertly enjoying some comestible, or openly witholding it from guests or companions. If a food-carrier passes by some homesteads without stopping to offer a bite, he lays himself open to the jibe: "PAMBANO ~~ANBI~~ andi ku MAMBI ?" (Is this a graveyard here ? i.e. are there no living people ?). Again should he be taking beer (luPWINDI ... it has a special name in this context) home from

a party, he is bound to let a passer-by sample it. The name of a certain Putungu, who witheld beer on some occasion or another, is perpetuated in a dance-song! Naturally to maintain such a standard in a crowded community would be intolerable. To save his face, therefore, the Ngindo has to seek elbow-room. In particular he likes to have a private access to the forest, where he can hide any treasure until it becomes feasible to produce it, or whence he can furtively convey delicacies such as honey to the interior of his hut. Not to mention the other advantages of having secret entry and egress. Ostensibly Ngindo never eat, and seldom cook, indoors. If they do, it is with the utmost guile, and at the risk of a lost reputation. A court judgment censures a secret drinker on this score: "It is not right to brew clandestine beer" (BAR 9/37). The Complex can therefore immediately be related to fragmentation. Callers, though confident of finding hospitality and on the watch for any lapses, are bound to observe a like courtesy. Thus the decline in the efficacy of food-taboos stems in part from the disinclination of guests to enquire about the origin of dishes set before them. On the other hand, to make capital out of this code is not thought in keeping with true 'freeman conduct'. For instance an Ngindo of repute living near the coast played a trick on his guests, serving them with the insipid kiPINDIMBI bush-fruits. Several took their leave without touching the fare offered; whereupon a lavish feast took its place. Whilst relishing the moral, Ngindo feel that the host nevertheless erred in concealing food, the presence of which must thereafter have become common knowledge to those who were denied it. "The freeman does not choose (ie. show favouritism)" is a stock Ngindo expression. If a freeman gives away a fowl, he gives which-

n/p

KILUNGWANA Complex : both clothing(above)and housing(below)are immaterial (note that the elder posed specially in barkcloth, i.e.it is disappearing,due largely to the influence of Islam; and that the hut belongs to an important headman, owning two other equally nondescript ones for his ~~polygynous~~ co- wives.

ever happens to be caught first, even his finest cockerel.

So the possession of adequate food-stocks becomes of prime importance if guests are to be both attracted and entertained. A slave, in the stereotyped sense in vogue today, would lack both the prestige to attract callers and the means to entertain them. Such a type of display goes with dignified intercourse, but no other frills whatever. It is emphatically not rivalry of the 'potlatch' order. To be respected a host needs nothing pretentious in the way of housing, clothing, or other possessions. Even to wear barkcloth would not necessarily demean him. On the contrary, ostentation on his part would put him in an unfavourable light, a suspected self-seeker at the expense of both dependants and guests. Political office, in the modern sense of headmanship, holds few inducements apart from the useful salary; for, to be efficient, a headman must constantly violate the gentlemanly abstention of the freeman. The old-style MWENYE, by contrast, was simply a freeman writ large. Avenues of advancement with less commitments of an executive nature, such as Islamic preaching, appear more popular; especially with ex-slave social climbers. No matter what rank an individual gains, his rise is thought inseparable from liberality. When I asked whether the noted Sheikh Idirisha were a generous host as well, I was told: "Of course. How else could a man be great ?". Again, when I myself, finding a surplus of pumpkins on my hands prior to a safari, complained that there was nothing for it but to cook them up and invite people along, several listeners chimed in: "Isn't that what a freeman would do ?".

To indulge in this limited form of conspicuous

expenditure a man must have a separate and established home. Otherwise the credit for any entertainments to which he may contribute will accrue to the senior member of the hut-cluster in which he resides. People will say "We were at so-and-so's", giving the name of the senior member. The matter of a name serves particularly to differentiate slave and free. The former might be known by no more than a single facetious nickname. The latter, over and above his personal name, might appropriate patronyms of standing; Whence the commonplace compliment: "A free-man with a name of his own". Preferably the name should 'belong' somewhere; that is, be identified with a specific area, over which its bearers claim ritual functions. It is also an advantage for a man to be polygynous. Wives are undoubtedly an asset when it comes to raising a food-surplus; for each will have her own surplus. Wives also form a nucleus around which a body of dependants may be gathered. Despite opportunities rendered meagre by the very Complex which impels them to seek independence, Ngindo strive manfully to acquire a following. The internal clash of values in the kiLUNGWANA Complex reaches a peak in the sphere of regular kinship-relationships. For kiLUNGWANA implies politeness as its cardinal virtue and idiom. Now politeness consists very largely of the proper observance of kinship attitudes. Therefore a junior kinsman should reside with and obey senior agnates. Yet the centripetal pull of his obligations towards them cannot hold the stronger forces dragging him out of their orbit.

Superficial manners, modelled on kiLUNGWANA, rule Ngindoland to such an extent that abuse and violence scarcely ever reveal the tension beneath the surface. The greater the acrimony the more cordial the

exterior. Not the least astounding feature of Ngindoland between the Great Wars has been the absence of any regular police garrison within its borders. Those constables experimentally imported at one time proved so unsatisfactory, and so superfluous, that they were soon withdrawn. Casual observers remark on the urbanity of the Ngindo, who are artful enough to appear naïvely jovial as well as courteous. Such traits as these are the hallmark of humanity the world over, but no one can miss the peculiar intensity they here achieve. Ngindo behave with a generally delicate, sometimes impeccable, finesse. One day when I was busy hoeing some distance from my hut an elder came to greet me. So I simply responded and went on hoeing. "A guest has come to see you", he said. "Who is it ?". "Myself". "Thank you", I teased him, "but if I stop for every guest that calls, I shall never finish my field". Admittedly the old man had a gift for me, but his shocked expression was quite ludicrous. On another occasion, before holding an interview I served tea, but overlooked an eccentric fellow who happened to be present. On conclusion we brewed some more. This time I included him, remarking that I had forgotten him before. Without hesitation, but with exquisite tact, he rejoined: "There wasn't enough to go round!". / The upright conduct

of the Ngindo by no means reflects their true character, smothered by fear of public shame. Something of this repression will have been seen from the discussion of marital fidelity. To regard Ngindoland as the home of smiling rusticity would be as wide of the mark as the cherry-blossom picture of Japan. There is nothing idyllic in the way the Ngindo regards his neighbour. I have constantly marvelled at the venomously malicious things Ngindo will say about each other, even the frankest and most likeable of them. Few, for instance, can resist casting the slur of

slave origin. 'Shame' dictates their lives ... women are there to be seduced, provided no one is any the wiser; even a wife conceals her body from her husband; personal rancour finds its outlet in intrigue; all manner of infringements, including those of specifically 'snob' quality such as gluttony, may be committed, provided they be kept "decently, in secret"; and where an infringement comes to light, the guilty party covers up by emigrating at least a token distance. At all costs the disinterested benevolence and effacement of the freeman should govern overt behaviour.

Without a doubt the single most distinctive idiosyncrasy of the home-Ngindo is fanatical honesty in matters of property. Theft arouses frantic indignation. Even a petty thief will never altogether live down the offence. As like as not, the pillory of a dance song will be its reward ... for instance, a certain "daughter of Liwenje", who stole pumpkin-seed, suffers this fate in the liPUGA dance. Courts pronounce sentence of banishment on thieves. "You have no means of staying here. Be off with you, for we do not want a man who is a thief in our country. That is all" (AP 10/37). One of the European officers who did a spell at Liwale-boma ventured to point out that such proceedings were ultra vires. Undeterred, the courts continued to ostracise. "When you have been released (this convict was jailed for three months, whereas the previous one received a flogging), do not show your face here in Liwale. Clear out once and for all. Go to your home!" (AP 5/47). Another thief was told: "It is a disgrace for our Magingo-Ndonde tribe" (AP 2/48). Whilst Ngindo generally view wrongdoers with the utmost complacency, a thief can expect no quarter; there is no loophole of lineage-arbitration for him; he will be taken straight before a Government-sponsored court. Even his kinsmen may

disown him. A man, whose half-brother had gone to the dogs at Dar es Salaam, publicly and with great vehemence declared: "He is no brother of mine. He breaks into Europeans' houses. He is no longer an Ngindo, and we do not want him back. He is just a swine!" Swine is about the strongest term in the Ngindo vocabulary, and it was used in the presence of the delinquent's full sister. To give another illustration, I was working on the dialect with a paid informant, when all of a sudden his wife came running and abruptly broke into our conversation, a serious breach of normal protocol. I learned that the husband had in her absence entertained friends to a meal, giving rise to the woman's surmise that she had been robbed. A word of explanation, and calm was restored.

Whereas in surrounding tribes sophisticatinn appears to have promoted thieving, the reverse is probably true of Ngindoland, where kiLUNGWANA has been operative. Nevertheless, even in rubber-trading days, the standard of honesty was already phenomenal ... the coastal merchants would ply their trade without solid shelter or containers right out in the thickets themselves. Cloth and other goods, not to mention the easily appropriated rubber-balls, were strewn about with impunity in the open. Note that the same could not be said by von der Decken a generation earlier, when he specifically remarked on the absence of slaves among the "Wagindo" (Ref.40). It was the European administrators who introduced the novelty of the padlock. And even they until comparatively recently had no qualms about letting tax-collectors carry large sums around in unsealed cloth bags. Not long ago, unheard-of loss, a furore occurred at Liwale-boma over a cash-box which disappeared. Opinion had it that the robbery had been framed deliberately so as to compromise the clerk in question, who incidentally jumped down my throat when I

merely enquired whether the missing box were not in his charge. Ngindo do not even allow joking-relatives to make light of personal possessions ... by way of exception, if at a funereal hair-shaving ceremony such a relative opts for an item of property he may take it, but the owner must first give his consent to parting with it. ~~And~~ Ngindo look askance at the Makua and others who permit liberties of the looting order... Nevertheless, ~~Ngindo~~ they show no innate respect for property. They are smugly at pains, when valuables have safely been left unguarded, to parade their innocence. Some have confessed to me that they feel every inclination to steal, excepting that detection would be so unthinkable. Ngindo kleptophobia obeys social sanctions of a primarily 'moral' nature, underlined by the penal ones of Government and the ritual ones of Ngindo tradition. A man told me: "My son was betrothed to a girl. But I had her packed off because she was a slave ... she was, so I discovered, a thief. That is why I got rid of her. We do not intermarry with that sort of person!". The identification of slave and thief provides the key to the riddle of Ngindo mania for honesty. For, to their way of thinking, thieving has come to have a decidedly servile flavour. Larceny, they believe, is the slave's misdemeanour par excellence. And in fact somewhat under-privileged slaves, who had no status to lose, did undoubtedly exercise fewer scruples than their masters in the matter.

Besides the physical environment, shown to permit but not explain scatter, both natives and outside observers frequently advance two supplementary factors of fragmentation, namely sexual jealousy and apprehensions of sorcery. Whilst each of these contributes towards the phenomenon, the former manifestly falls short of a ruling

obsession (see Chapter V, under 'Adultery'). Rather, prevailing attitudes towards private infidelity appear very tolerant. It is public humiliation arising out of adultery that occasions a storm; which can in turn be equated with the kiLUNGWANA Complex ... in the maintenance of a sound food-producing unit the freeman must hold his wives to their obligations. Should irregularities become known, they would not only threaten the nucleus around which he hopes to build up a clientèle, along with his entertaining capacity, but also damage his personal dignity. For, as a freeman who negotiates, works, and makes payments for a wife, he considers her a stable acquisition//, by contrast with the supposed makeshift promiscuity of inter-slave marriage. Thus the abductor comes second only to the thief in the detestation and obloquy he earns. Ngindo even construe remarriage after divorce as an affront. n/p As for sorcery, its prime association with women produces an automatic nexus with the chaperonage of wives, who must be kept apart from each other and from those of neighbours for fear of the tensions they would generate//, with consequent sorcery wars. Whilst I have not heard of slaves excelling as sorcerers, they were less hampered than free folk by taboos and inhibitions. It is not impossible that the hostility of Government towards slavery has led to its perpetuation as an act of unconscious defiance. If so, the same might be said of sorcery, and the two therefore be linked. Broad historical factors have of course militated in favour of fragmentation (see next Chapter), but they leave unanswered the question of its accentuation today. n/p With typical sycophancy the Ngindoland Council has, throughout the generation leading up to the Second World War, paid lip-service to the policy of closer settlement. 1930 found it chorusing// "On the subject of living together, the limit for huts (should be) twenty and

upwards"; and 1933//, "Let them be shifted and brought inside the compact villages. So we rejoice greatly to hear this decision", and in the following year: "I do not want an individual living in a place all on his own". Ten years ago, on the eve of the Closer Settlement Scheme, they were still ironically hailing the dead-letter of concentration measures, this time advocating legislation against settlements of under ten huts ... note the downward progression! Commented the District Commissioner: "the first pre-requisite is the settlement of natives in villages". The ensuing attempt to solve the deadlock by drastic surgery has been described (see Chapter II, under 'Labour').

Ngindo like to postulate an inherent penchant for the hermit's life, in support of which they adduce the analogy of the forest creatures ... "We Ngindo are like the wild animals, each sleeping in a different spot. As with them, if we congregate in any numbers, there is bound to be strife. Likewise, if confined, we simply die off". But the hollowness of the argument appears not only from their obvious enjoyment of gregarious activities such as dances and work-parties, but also from their reaction towards genuine hermits. One such, a harmless lunatic who has set up home by himself in the thickets a good five miles from any of the Barikiwa people, plainly earns a reputation for madness on that count alone. A dance-song refrain derides another such ... "Mwichande, building a hut up on the plateau"//, with the emphatic chorus// "Folly!". So deduction alone shows the valid reasons for fragmentation to be ones of status, hence sociological. Structurally, there appears no satisfactory correlation that can be made, except the obvious one ... applicable to the spontaneous

combustion of Majimaji ~~alike~~ also ... that the absence of heirarchy renders the mass doubly susceptible whether to violent hysteria or to anarchistic fission. Crystallization of the kiLUNGWANA Complex can have been scarcely less rapid than the sudden stimulus of Majimaji. Coming late to Ngindoland, its untrammelled life could not have spanned a generation x: It n/p is the paucity of the slave element that allows its indirect persecution ... to be amenable a scape-goat must needs be too small to hit back. Slave stock, in any case a handful, can generally conceal its ignominy or compensate by some supplementary form of prestige ... not a few 'slaves' shine as Muslims. Meanwhile the vast bulk of Ngindo can aspire to the quiet glory of being genuine freemen. Everyone stands to boost himself. No one need really suffer. Islam, apart from a like absence of heirarchy, cannot be held responsible, excepting in so far as isolated Islamic teachings accord with kiLUNGWANA. Thus Ngindo preachers insist on hospitality as a religious duty. A guest, they say, is "God's stranger. He has no hut, no granary. So he must be helped". Only in minor ways does kiLUNGWANA seem to have deviated from its essentially pagan guise ... for instance in the tendency to attach importance to dignified clothes for men and modest ones for women. Mark well that the indigenous term for Swahili is "kiLungwana", which might be translated "the language of the freemen". Doubtless the origin of the term lies in the importation of the notion of slavery by the Swahili-speakers, or coastal slave-owners, who would incidentally have been Muslims. But it would be misleading to imagine that the kiLUNGWANA Complex of today has any real connection with either kiSwahili or the coast... rather the reverse. As for outside Muslims who fail to conform to the Ngindo code of generosity and deportment, no matter if more orthodox they get dismissed as indiffer-

x ;that is to say the period immediately before the German occupation, which soon began to interfere with slavery.

ent followers of the Faith. Even at home, wherever the claims of religion and kiLUNGWANA clash, which seldom happens thanks to the ~~automatic~~ unconscious censorship undergone by the former before it ever reaches the Ngindo public, it is clear which is the loser. Those Ngindo who dispense with the elaborate pagan initiation ceremonies on religious grounds meet criticism for their 'slavish' parsimony. ...

The concept of shame implicit in kiLUNGWANA serves to set the home-Ngindo apart not only from neighbouring tribes but also from most of the Ngindo outliers as well, none of whom regard theft with the same aversion. One hears home-Ngindo talk slightingly of outlier Ndonde as private beer-drinkers ... "they have no shame. They do not even bother to hide it". It is Likewise among peripheral-Ngindo... Mbunga women, because they reveal their bodies, seem abandonned creatures to home-Ngindo, who observe rigid decorum; and so forth. As for non-Ngindo, their complete lack of comprehension of the rudiments of kiLUNGWANA gives the home-Ngindo as clear an indication of alien status as does their unintelligible speech ... Swahili usually circumvents the language barrier. Thus evacuees under the Closer Settlement Scheme complained that the northerly Matumbi, though generous in some ways, lacked delicacy of the type applauded by freemen. Without regard for kinship-repercussions they would bring direct, abusive charges before the Government courts. Again, migrant-labourers deplore the mercenary coast-dwellers who turn strangers away from their door. Even when lions are about, they refuse to grant travellers permission to sleep in the enclosures behind their huts//, simply lest the ash of their fires should mar the surface underfoot.

Evidently the westerly peoples along the route to Kilosa offer little better in the way of welcome, and show discrimination at beer-parties into the bargain. Whereas, Ngindo are fond of declaring, one may go empty-handed right across Ngindoland and never fail to get both food and shelter. Even the formidable Ngoni can be relegated to a position of inferiority, seeing that the bulk of their number comprise former subject-peoples, and that any autocratic system must entail slavish obedience. Again, the southerly Mwera pass for chronic thieves; the authoritarian Yao huddle together in dense cantonments; the prolific Makonde, having turned their entire plateau into fallows, enjoy no privacy. In short the home-Ngindo figure as 'freemen', outsiders as 'slaves'. Its absurdity ... in point of fact, most of the outsiders hold the meek, backward, improverished Ngindo in contempt ... does nothing to invalidate such a view. Not only alien groups, but alien traits like matriliny may be construed as servile. Thus an Ngindo whose female agnatic relative persists in staying with her maternal uncle ends by calling her a slave, whereupon she takes him to court (AP 6/35). KiLUNGWANA is of course nothing but a theory, scarcely hinted at by the natives, diagnosed and charted largely by the outside investigator. But its presence and efficacy cannot be doubted. KiLUNGWANA gives to the home-Ngindo both identity and a raison d'être.

PART III. SYNOPSIS.

CHAPTER IX. DETAILED HISTORY.

Persians and Portuguese.

Certain of the Ngindo claim to have peopled for long ages the mid-west of the region lying between Nyasa's northern tip and the coast. Kilwa being the gateway to this region, and the subject of repeated comment by early chroniclers, the history of its dealings with the mainland serves to test the antiquity of their claim. What is known of the earliest mainlanders ? "On the whole ... the evidence seems to indicate that at a very early time the bushmen occupied the hunting grounds of tropical East Africa" (Ref.81); that is to say, at least a thousand years ago. The Bantu made their entry much later, and are thought to have started north of the equitorial lakes, whence they moved south. "It is fairly certain from the writings of Arab travellers, and from skeletons found in mines, that Bantu of a type similar to that of the present Mashona inhabited the country between the Zambesi and the Limpopo ... about 1,000 years ago" (ref.49).[x] It is safe to assume therefore that by the eighth century A.D. the Kilwa hinterland harboured Bantu folk, or at least bushmen (undated rock paintings in the bushman style are to be found in and around Masasi, immediately south of Ngindoland); and perhaps both.

When Persians under Hassan bin Ali colonized the coast in 697 they found that Kilwa Kisiwani (old Kilwa island) "belonged to the chief of the neighbouring district, called Almuli, who was absent on a hunting expedition. After a few days he returned to Kilwa, and the stranger (Hassan), being pleased with the island, offered through the medium of the friendly Muslim (the Persians

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Footnote x: General reconstructions such as these are backed by the authority of Dart, who states that the "Boskop race" inhabited Southern Africa between ten and twenty thousand years ago, at a later date becoming mingled with the "Bush race", an intruder element from the north. "From the end of the sixth century (A.D.) onwards... We shall probably be not far from the truth if we place the first great southern migration of Bantu at about this period". ('The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa', Ed.I. Schapera, Chapter on 'Racial Origins' by R.A.Dart)

found Arab and Moorish, i.e. half-breed, settlers already established thereabouts) to buy it. The chief named his terms which were that the stranger should surround the whole island with cloth. This was done, and the chief took the cloth and surrendered the island" (Grey, quoting the 'Sinet el Kilwa'; Ref.25). Over a thousand years ago, then, a pagan African tribe peopled the Kilwa littoral and did business with the Asiatic maritime communities. The story continues. Fearing treachery, Hassan deepened the landward channel, thus outwitting the natives who indeed contemplated an attack. A variation related to Burton in 1859 (Ref.10) has it that the alliance was cemented by marriage with the daughter of the chief. Burton's informant calls the latter "Nepondu, the heathen headman" ("Nependu", according to Robinson, Ref.77, who styles the newcomer not Hassan, but "Sheikh Yusef from Shangaya"), and tells of his assassination at the hands of his son-in-law. Yet another account refers to a bastard Persian nobleman, Ali bin Husein by name, who settled on Kilwa Kisiwani "after he had procured by treaty the evacuation of all the native inhabitants ... he fortified himself not only against them (the "Kafirs"), but also against Moors who inhabited the islands called Songo and Zanga and had conquered the country as far as Mompana about 20 leagues from Kilwa" (Ref.15, following De Barros). The date is not specified. 'Mompana', which I cannot place, seems to show some penetration inland.

Grey alludes to the same or a similar occurrence in 975 (the date given by Robinson, Ref.77, to mark the arrival of "Ali ben Sultan al Husayn ben Ali ... the first sultan of Kilwa". The Portuguese authority, De Barros, whom he also quotes, makes a "Solta Hocen" founder of the dynasty) when a certain "Ali bin Suleiman el Shirazi" purchased the island from "Mzee Mrimba, the chief of

Gateways to Ngindoland : (above)outlook from the rock-shelter at Matekwe: (below)ruins of an historic fort at Kilwa Kisiwani.

Mschinga", whose daughter he married. Von Rode, to whom the information was given in 1897, further states (Ref.25) that the "island was occupied by the Yassi branch of the Kinamarango tribe"; whilst this time, according to De Barros, the newcomer "covered the road into the interior with cloth" (Ref 25). In an earlier article Grey confirms 975 as being the effective starting point of Shirazi occupation (Ref.23), and Coupland specifies the incursion of "Hassan bin Ali" in the tenth century (Ref.13). An additional source, the Pate Chronicle, states that a second foundation took place at the very beginning of the thirteenth century under "Suliman ben Muthafar" (Ref.77), whilst a Pemba manuscript cited by the same author insists that "Darshash ben Shaha" was the true founder. Yet another theory is to the effect that "the first Moslem colonies date from circa A.D. 740 when Omayad fugitives from Mesopotamia ... built settlements at Mogadiscio, Kilwa (Quiloa), and Melinde Brava" (Ref.76). These variants conflict in some points, and Grey notes the island-girt-with-cloth motif recurring elsewhere; but African peoples, one of them astride what was presumably an inland trade route, figure in most of them. "Mschinga" may be Machinga, a bay south, promontory north, or the country near the mouth, of the Mbwemkuru river, some distance south of Kilwa. As for the names "Mrimba" (unless connected with 'Mrima', a name for the coastal belt ... some Ngindo dialects use 'Mlima' to mean merely land or country), "Yassi", "Almuli", "Nepondu", "Kinamarango", none has any apparent significance. "Mzee", meaning Elder in Swahili, may be a title. Apart from confused traditions, misleading geography may be to blame for Kilwa's multiple foundation. Thus Burton(Ref.10) observes: "Captain Owen (who patrolled the coast some decades before Burton saw Kilwa) learned, considerably to his mortification, that

n/p

there were two Kilwas ... he might have said half a dozen. The name, by the people called Kilwa ... was originally applied to the island; now it is that of a district, not of a place. Hence we find in Abu Said (13th Century) the island of Kilwa containing three cities, all built upon the banks of rivers". Kilwa Kisiwani is only a mile or two in diameter.

In about 1030 the Sultan of Kilwa fled to Mafia island. His pursuers were a local faction "assisted by a tribe called the Matamandalin, who clearly belonged to an indigenous African race" (Ref.25). But Sheikh Moheddin's account (set out by Robinson, Ref.77) turns them into Muslims; unless, that is, the tribesmen were content to be ruled by rival foreigners ... "The Matamandalin invaded Kilwa. The invaders appointed the amir Muhamad ibn Husain el Mundiri as ruler of Kilwa", the previous ruler, Khalid ibn Bakr (the usurper), having likewise been "appointed king by the Matamandalin of Shaga". Again "Matamandalin" gives no clue, excepting that it differs from the names recorded a generation earlier. Perhaps it belonged to a chief. During the twelfth century "Kilwa acquired the monopoly of the trade of Sofala, including the gold trade from what is now Rhodesia" (Ref.25). Sofala, lying many hundreds of miles to the south, emphasises the lateral spread of commerce in those days. In this same period, another source speaks of "continual internal and external wars, mostly with the tribe Amuti" (Ref.1). Clearly trade with the interior would suffer under such conditions. "Amuti" may be a rendering of Almuli.

Ibn Batuta, the famed traveller, visited Kilwa in 1332. Amongst his observations is the following. The

Sultan "frequently invaded the land of the Zenjs ((Africans), attacking them and carrying off plunder of which he took the fifth part and expended it entirely in the manner laid down by the Quran" (Ref.25). In order to yield plunder these Africans must have been moderately prosperous. Later in that century the Sultan Hussein bin Suleiman died a so-called martyr's death in "the holy war against Almuli" (Ref.25, quoting de Barros.) The target for such depredations as these may have been other points along the coast, but it seems probable that Kilwa itself formed the principal bridgehead. As before, the adjacent country was peopled by Africans with whom the city-dwellers had permanent relations, mainly of a hostile character. Nevertheless, speaking of the Renaissance period, Dorman states:- "she (Kilwa) had to import for her own local consumption millets, rice, cattle and honey from the mainland" (apparently following de Barros, Ref.15). Although their source may have been elsewhere it seems likely that these supplies, especially perishables like ill-processed honey, came from close by. Ibn Batuta in the course of his narrative gave a hint of the local commodities. Describing the piety of the reigning Sultan he wrote, "he gave orders that ten more slaves should be given to the fakir, as well as two tusks of ivory, for most presents in this country consist of ivory and gold is rarely given" (Ref.25). Despite the contribution of Sofala, then, only slaves and ivory were to be had in abundance. No doubt these comprised the plunder so equitably distributed by the Sultan, and why should he have gone further afield than the immediate mainland to find them ?

Nothing more of interest emanates from Kilwa before the appearance of Cabral's Portuguese expedition in 1500. Significantly the decoy 'Sultan' sent out to

meet the fleet temprised on the score that "the principal men of his council were gone away to wage war against the Cafres" (Ref.25). Cabral had to leave empty-handed, though da Gama more than compensated when two years later he put the place to ransom. In 1505 Almeida occupied the city itself, whereupon the Sultan "fled inland", whilst "most of his subjects followed his example" (Ref.13). Kilwa never fully recovered. On withdrawing only a decade after da Gama's descent upon it, the Portuguese "destroyed their fort. Subsidies were paid to the native chiefs to keep the trade route to the interior open" (Ref.77). Here is evidence that, between campaigns, regular commerce linked coast and interior, and that the Sultan could regard the mainland as a refuge. A Jesuit priest in 1570 gives details of this trade, including "ivory which they (the Moors) buy from the Caffres to sell to the Portuguese ... whence also come much honey and wax ... (and) ... plenty of pitch which they obtain from trees" (Ref.23).

Next portent in the Kilwa firmament are turbulent African tribes. "The Muzimbe (cannibals) from the Congo dispersed before Tete and a horde marched north" (Ref.77). These Zimba, thought by some to be of Zulu stock, and reported to be 15,000 strong (Ref.1.), fell on Kilwa in 1587, slaughtering and devouring some 3,000 of its citizens (Ref. 23). After sacking pirate-held Mombasa amid scenes of hideous carnage, a victory accomplished with Portuguese aid, they finally spent their force at Malindi whose garrison enlisted Segeju tribesmen. Only a handful escaped the rout. Nevertheless these same Zimba overwhelmed 200 Portuguese at Tete in 1592 (Ref.1), whilst, only a few years before, the Makua had annihilated a body of 40 Portuguese "within a day's march of Mocambique, without any attempt at retaliation being made" (Ref.1). So the Zimba, wreaking havoc, had traversed the Kilwa littoral from end to end.

And other such tribes were on the march elsewhere. Throughout, one receives an impression of considerable unrest among the inland tribes, quite apart from isolated calamities such as the Zimba invasion. If Ngindo were in fact present, they could only have survived by hiding in their thicket and forest retreats. Seeing that part were certainly, and all probably, pure hunters at that date, hence elusive, there is no reason to reject a theory of continuous occupation. n/p What is astonishing, in view of later developments, is the mention of aggressive Makua, the northernmost wedge of whom now touches on the home-Ngindo country. For the Tanganyika Makua of today, judging by accounts from Whiteley and others, were until very recently aborigines and have no centralized organization (Ref.98). However, the parent-bodies of the tribe showed quite a different aspect less than a century ago when Maples (Ref.46) and others visited them. More detail on the Makua is to follow (towards the end of the next section, Sultans and Slaves). Suffice it that they then ~~ren to~~ boasted a political structure including pampered monarchs. Consequently, from the fact that Ngindo now lack the institution of indigenous chieftainship, it does not necessarily follow that the chroniclers refer to non-Ngindo groups. Most alien visitors assume chiefs even where none exist; and conversely there is no guarantee that an entity such as the Ngindo, which is largely linguistic, should have exhibited a constant social structure over a space of many generations; especially when one considers the dislocation caused by intensive slaving and raids in the nineteenth century... as instance, the extraordinary discrepancy between the accounts by Burton (Ref.9,1857) and Thomson (Ref.91, 1878) of the Dar es Salaam hinterland (Zaramo tribe). The two men made their observations only twenty years apart.

Alleged tribal movements, roughly contemporaneous with the Zimba, are described in the Rufiji District Book (Ref.60), one contributor stating that 400 years ago the lower Rufiji was virgin. Into this vacuum came the Hehe leaders Mbonde and Rwambo to form the nucleus of the Matumbi tribe. No specific grounds are given however, and subsequent officials have seriously questioned such origins. A further objection, if Thomson is correct in classing the Hehe as a group of comparatively recent emergence, is the explorer's commentary (Ref.91,1878) on Elton's account of 'Machinga' (Hehe) terrorism (Ref.17,1873), i.e. the Hehe did not exist 400 years ago. From the same District Book comes an explanation of the presence of 'Persian' elements towards the Rufiji delta. I quote, "... the Shirazi, one of the dominant clans in this area, claims a Persian origin ... Mwomboka, the father of Mubia, was a Persian who had landed at Lindi, and Mubia had collected his army there. It is presumed that this army consisted mostly of Wangindo and it will account for those now residing on the north bank of the river (Rufiji) calling themselves Wangindo". The inclusion of Ngindo in this undated tradition is interesting, but seemingly no more than a deduction.

Next in chronology, though next to none in illuminating Southern Province history, is the unique journey of Bocarro from Tete on the Zambezi to Kilwa in 1616. Bocarro must have crossed the Ruvuma above Ngomano, north of which he found "a less prosperous condition of affairs" and "wide tracts of uninhabited country" (all quotations from Gray's commentary, Ref.24). The most prominent man in this region, Manhanga by name, dwelt on the periphery of such a waste area. Grey concludes, "This abomination of desolation had been caused by the ravages of a tribe called the Zimbas ...

which raided Manhanga's country on their way northwards in 1589 (this does not accord with the 1587 dating of the Kilwa siege) ... the scars of their ravages still existed a quarter of a century later". Evidently the Zimba had struck almost directly for the coast at Kilwa, a route which would take them somewhat to the south of present Ngindoland. If the depopulation diagnosed by Grey rests on the relative emptiness of the trans-Ruvuma leg of Bocarro's journey, then it may not be well founded. The area may never have been thickly populated. I did not gather from Bocarro's laconic entries that he found ruins or other signs of devastation. Grey observes, "Despite the fact that his capital was apparently situated at least a fortnight's journey from the coast, it is worthy of note that Manhanga's people were evidently in the habit of making their way to the coast at, or in the vicinity of Kilwa Kisiwani, and that Manhanga himself had obtained cloth from those regions". Manhanga must have lived somewhere around the modern Tunduru; that is, as far west as the Ngindo heart-areas on the upper Mbarang'andu-Luwegu river systems and somewhat to the south. That he should have had dealings with the coastal merchants is striking proof of the inter-action between littoral and interior at this early date. The continuity of such liaison is illustrated by a report from an English sea captain later that century. Kilwa was rich in "gould, amber, elevants teeth and slaves" (Ref.23).

Bocarro's diary enables one to gauge the extent of current slavery. "Domestic slavery, which was a centuries old institution in Africa, existed in Bororo south of the Ruvuma and the countries to the north thereof ... between Lake Nyasa and the coast adjoining Kilwa there was apparently none of the organized slave trade on the

vast and far-reaching scale which Livingstone and others were to encounter just over two centuries later" (Ref.24). Grey's identification of Manhanga with Mang'anja, name of a tribe thought to be autochthonous to the area before the multiple waves of migration from the south during the nineteenth century ... Makonde, Matambwe, Mwera, Makua, Yao ... seems admissible. There is the further problem posed by the Masasi cave-art. Could not the Mang'anja have been responsible for these primitive paintings ? The southerly of the two aboriginal Ngindo groups had no hand in their execution. Both Masasi (Ref.57) and Tunduru (Ref.62) District Books describe the Mang'anja as the original inhabitants, but neither contributor gives his sources. More will be said about the Mang'anja(towards the end of next section, Sultans and Slaves).

To close Bocarro's 700 mile trek, he emerged among "Moorish"[x] ~~(defined here as "Wangwana" ... waUngwana normally means free-born persons in Swahili ... or coast people as opposed to full-blooded Arabs)~~ settlements only a few hours' march from Kilwa Kisiwani itself. "Their village, Bucury, appears to have been the extreme racial outpost of the tribe to which the rulers of Kilwa belonged" (Ref.24). The Asiatics and half-breeds, one infers, remained strictly maritime. That the journey should have been possible without the use of force shows that warfare by no means persisted year-in year-out. On the contrary, Bocarro's progress seems to have been at least as ~~cordial~~ easy as that of a nineteenth-century explorer. Wholesale traffic in slaves was still to commence. And if the Mang'anja people, in a far more exposed situation, could retain their identity until a century ago, then the shy Ngindo in their vast sanctuary to the north might well do so to this day.

[x] Footnote:the term is here defined as "Wangwana", or coast-people, as opposed to full-blooded Arabs ... normally 'waNgwana' or 'waUngwana' has the meaning of 'free-born persons' in present-day kiSwahili.

n/p .....

From the middle of the seventeenth century the star of Oman began to rise over the coast, that of Portugal to wane. In 1810 the Portuguese viceroy at Goa learned that "there was an Arab garrison of 50 men at Kilwa and that Manabacare ((Mwana Bakari)), the ruler of the native Mohammedans, had gone to reside on the mainland"(Ref.23), not the first evasion of its kind, and one which shows the Shirazi ruling line to have had more in common with the mainlanders, amongst whom they could dwell secure, than with the Arab newcomers. Ten years later the 50 men "had evidently disappeared" (Ref.23), and there followed a brief Portuguese resurgence. But by the end of the century Omani dominance was complete. In 1776 a French adventurer named Morice struck a bargain with the Sultan of Kilwa for the annual export of no less than 1,000 slaves (Ref.13). Whether or not through incapacity to recruit the tally, the project never came to fulfilment. But the choice of such a total suggests that the trade was expanding. Commenting on the deal, an officer of a British man of war touching at Kilwa in 1798 reported that "the slaves which Morice had wanted could still be procured from far inland, or, at need, by raiding a neighbouring village" (Ref.23), which points to a deterioration of relations between Omani-governed Kilwa and the continental tribes.

Before closing this phase of the coast's history, I turn to that curious document, the Arabic 'History of East Africa' presented by Baker (Ref.3). Whilst much of the relevant passages cannot be regarded as anything but legend, it is chiefly remarkable for the prominence accorded to so obscure a tribe as the Ngindo. Briefly, of nine fabulous cities from which issued the people of

East Africa, the fourth, called Madinat-Dhukani or 'the city of smoke', and perched on the summit of a volcano, was in the hands of a certain Raili bin Shadade. "Extreme cold killed off the inhabitants, with the exception of a few who became the forefathers of the Wanyamwezi (an important Tanganyika tribe) and the Wangindo and the city was closed by a giant serpent which prevented anyone from approaching it" (Baker's translation, Ref.3). Whereupon, the ' History' relates, the whole of eastern Africa fell beneath the sway of four successive dynasties, of which the second was Ngindo. Twenty seven of their paramounts, none of whose names means anything to present Ngindo, ruled one after the other until overthrown by Mbugu or Mbungu rivals; the other two dynasties to follow being Makua and Chagga, in that order. n/p Seeing that the tenth century Shirazi colonies, whose founder is described as "Mwishamisi Shani" (Ref.3), are stated to have begun during the reign of the tenth Mbugu ruler, the alleged Ngindo dominance falls at an inconceivably early period by African tribal standards. Yet, as the foregoing discussion of the Makua shows, tribes not seldom have erratic careers. I offer the suggestion that the assignment of Ngindo to the paramountcy may have been an attempt on the part of a courtly author to flatter one of the Sultans of Zanzibar, rumoured to have taken an Ngindo slave-girl to wife, on whose account he had to issue a decree making it illegal to ridicule tattooing or the lip-plug. But this is guessing. Whilst the 'History' cannot be dismissed out of hand as pure invention, it certainly has no bearing on the Ngindo of today. Its allusion to a forerunner of the tribe is interesting. "The Wangindo were formerly known as the Wajombo, but later became Wangindo" (Ref.3). To my knowledge a defunct entity of the Ndonde sub-segment of the Ngindo went by the name Mijombo. Possibly the author has struck

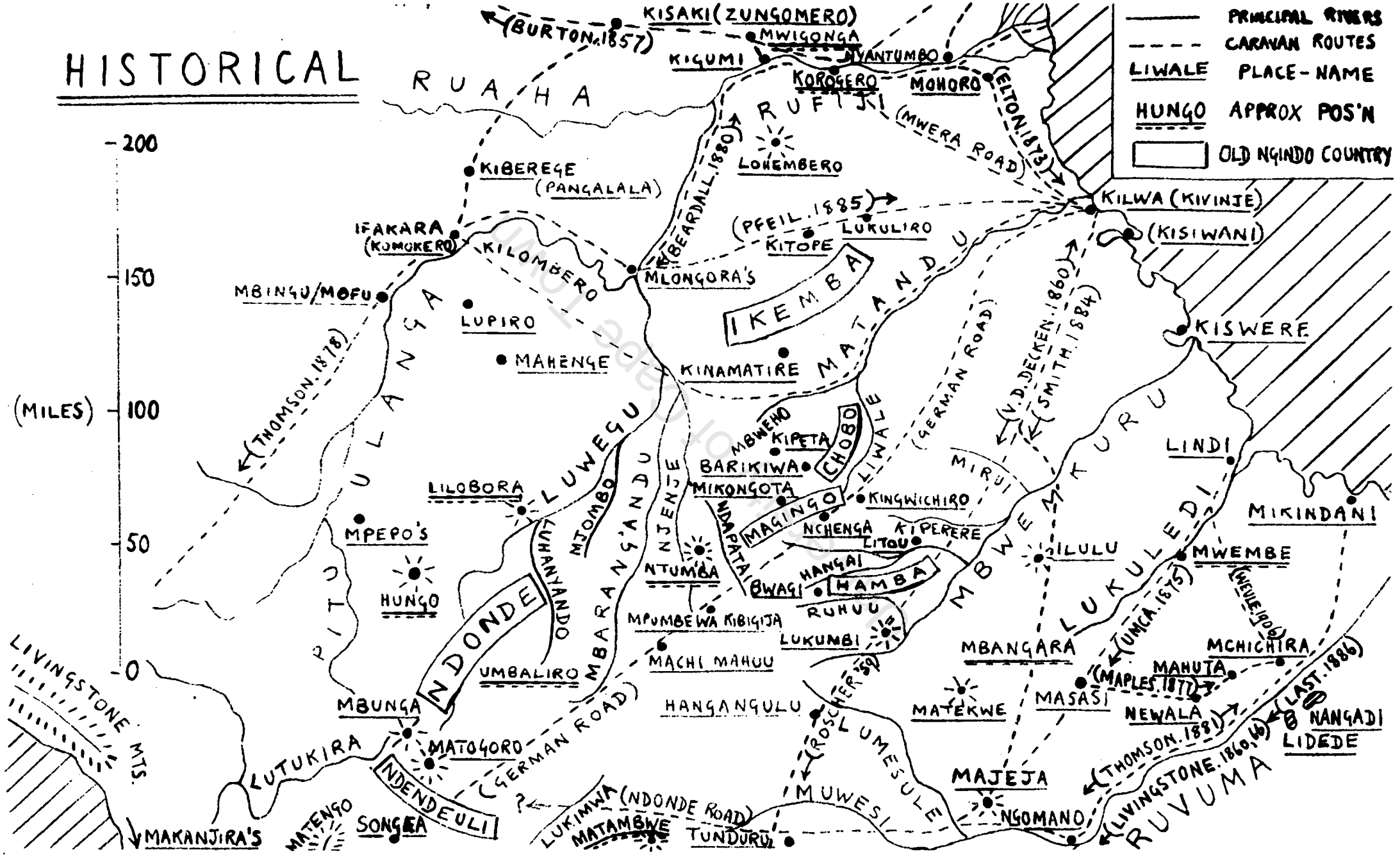
a genuine antecedent, 'Ngindo' being a label of doubtful pedigree.

Sultans and Slaves.

Not till the nineteenth century did eastern continental Africa feel the impact of an outside culture. The culture was that of the Omani Arabs, and its medium the slave trade. Manifestly the trade had been in existence ever since the first maritime contacts, though in a desultory way. What induced its massive growth was the transfer of the Omani Sultan's capital from Muscat to Zanzibar. This came about in 1840, but the forces behind it had long been generating, and the Omani realm's centre of gravity had shifted accordingly. Thus the export of slaves was by that date already approaching its peak. It followed several channels, but none could compare with the Kilwa torrent, disgorging as much as 10,000 and more a year. I have shown that African 'tribes', possibly the Ngindo or their forerunners, in times past lay across Kilwa's routes to the deep interior. What was the effect of the intensified trade on such tribes, and where did the slaves come from ?

Not long before the expansion of Zanzibar the slave business seemed to have entered on a slump period. Prior, a ship's surgeon who saw Kilwa in 1812, observed, "the number of slaves formerly exported amounted to many thousands, but at present the demand is confined to the Arabs, who do not take many" (Ref.23). Evidently Prior had in mind the contracts formerly made by the Frenchman Morice. He added that "only ivory and tortoise shell" were being bartered to any extent (Ref.23). From the same source comes a vague indication of the range and methods of the early slavers ... the Kilwa settlers "domineer

over the Negro natives within their reach, and are in turn compelled to submit to the soldiers of Muscat; on the former they sometimes make war to procure slaves, but more generally get them in traffic with people that come from a considerable distance in the interior"(Ref.23). How far inland these rare forays reached, or these slave-owning tribes lived, can only be guessed. My own impression is that expeditions to the mainland were petty affairs whilst the purchased slaves' homes lay in the heart of the continent. The only pre-Ngoni documentary source, n/p von der Decken, who penetrated as far as the Lumesule river in 1860, reported a fair sprinkling of population to a depth of over 100 miles inland. For instance, this was the case at Lukose, something under 100 miles from the coast... "From the quantity of huts crowded together which we encountered throughout, the region must be densely populated" (Ref. 40)//. Again at Kiperere, 50 miles further on, he found that "Forest alternates with densely populated cultivations" (Same Ref). Elsewhere the settlement was patchy. Of courde von der Decken followed a caravan route, which might have given a deceptive notion of the population on either side. Also, by that time, the flow of slaves from the Nyasa region had become regular. Hence there was no need to molest the peoples of the hinterland, whose co-operation would be a boon to caravans and whose economic potential as producers of rubber and other commodities was beginning to be realised. The stability and prosperity of these folk emerges clearly from von der Decken's tantalisingly brief journal. Of 'Nangungulu' (Hangangulu), which he reached after a three-week march slowed by early falls of rain, the explorer wrote, "With the exception of a few places, the country was very thickly populated and excellently tended. Almost everywhere the people keep


HISTORICAL
PRINCIPAL RIVERS
CARAVAN ROUTES
LIWALE PLACE-NAME
HUNGO APPROX POS'N
OLD NGINDO COUNTRY
(MILES)
200
150
100
50
0
RUAHA
KISAKI (ZUNGOMERO)
(BURTON. 1857)
MWIGONGA
KIGUMI
YANTUMBO
KOROGERO
MOHORO
(ELTON. 1873)
RUFIJI
(MWERA ROAD)
LOHEMBERO
(BEARDALL. 1880)
KIBEREGE
(PANGALALA)
IFAKARA
(KOMOKERO)
KILOMBERO
MLONGORA'S
(PFEIL. 1885)
KITOPE
LUKULIRO
KILWA (KIVINJE)
(KISIWANI)
IKEMBA
MBINGU/MOFU
LUPIRO
MAHENGE
KINAMATIRE
MATANDU
KISWERE
(THOMSON. 1878)
PITU
ULANGA
LUWEGU
(GERMAN ROAD)
(N.D. DECKEN. 1860)
(SMITH. 1884)
MBWEMKURU
LINDI
MBWENO
KIPETA
CHOBO
LILOBORA
BARIKIWA
LIWALE
MIKONGOTA
MIRUI
MIKINDANI
MPEPO'S
MAGINGO
KINGWICHIRO
NCHENGA
KIPERERE
LITOU
NJENJE
NDAPATA
NTUMBA
HUNGO
MJOMBO
LUHANYANDO
NDONDE
MBARANGANDU
BWAGI
HANGAI
HAMBA
RUHUU
ILULU
MWEMBE
LUKULEDI
(WEULE. 1906)
MPUMBEWA KIBIGIJA
LUKUMBI
MACHI MAHUU
MBANGARA
(UMCA. 1875)
MCHICHIRA
MAHUTA
(MAPLES. 1871)
MBUNGA
HANGANGULU
MATEKWE
MASASI
NEWALA
(LAST. 1886)
NANGADI
LIDEDE
LIVINGSTONE MTS.
LUTUKIRA
MATOGORO
(GERMAN ROAD)
(ROSCHER. 1859)
LUMESULE
MAJEJA
(THOMSON. 1881)
(LIVINGSTONE. 1860, 66)
RUVUMA
MAKANJIRA'S
NDENDEULI
MATENGO
SONGEA
LUKIMWA
(NDONDE ROAD)
MATAMBWE
TUNDURU
MUWESI
NGOMANO

provisions for sale on the road in abundance and variety, which we remembered in the blessed coast-land. We were offered for sale goats, fowls, peas, beans, native millet, sweet-potatoes, flour, sugar-cane, mangoes and pistachio-nuts, though again not fairly for reasonable prices" (Ref.40). It was only just beyond this point that von der Decken had to turn back. Despite their steady husbandry it was plain that these peaceable folk had been much prey to slavers. "The gregarious nature of the Wagindo and Wagao, who largely inhabit this region, deserves to be pre-eminent in a special class. They buy no slaves, not even for the highest price. Our traveller learned ~~(? "hatte ... vernommen")~~ at the coast that these East African tribes provided the bulk of the slaves". By this is clearly meant that the 'Wagindo' and others were themselves enslaved, for the text continues, "The greatest number of slaves that Kilwa exports come from the southerly domiciled Wabisa and Wahiao (Yao); it goes without saying that amongst them the cultivation of the soil may be extremely defective" (Ref.40), i.e. they depend on income from sale of slaves.

The reason given for von der Decken's abandonment of the quest for his lost countryman, Roscher, was "because on lake Nyasa war reigned" (Ref.40). Roscher, who travelled as an Arab, actually reached Nyasa but was murdered soon after. Doubtless this was the beginning of the Ngoni troubles. The Ngoni, people of Nguni or 'Zulu' stock from the present Natal, had thrust north early in the century. They crossed the Zambezi in 1835 (Ref.73). Groups of them, irrupting upon the eastern side of Nyasa, not only clashed with one another but brought chaos in ever-widening circles. Taking slaves galore, they were not as adept as the Yao

in exploiting them. Instead they soon infested the approaches to Kilwa, sweeping a congeries of 'tribes' before them and making it unsafe for Arab and other coast-dwellers to engage in legitimate trade with the hinterland. "The Wangwangwara (the name by which the Ngoni were known to the Yao) who occupy the area to the north and west of Lukumbi (a hill towards the source of the Mbwemkuru) are a great obstacle to the development of the trade of Kilwa with the interior. They have the will and their position gives them the power to rob and scatter any caravan passing by the Lukumbi road (the one von der Decken took)" (Ref.85,1884). From being a useful slaving instrument, the Ngoni became a distinct threat to Kilwa. On one occasion they even laid siege to the city itself. In 1868 "A war party of another marauding tribe akin to the Zulu, the Fiti (Ngoni), appeared in the neighbourhood of Kilwa, and blocked its trade with the interior" (Ref.12). Presumably referring to the same event, Thomson described how the raiders swept down the Rufiji and almost captured Kilwa. (Ref.91,1878). In 1866 Livingstone had to by-pass Ngoniland. "The country west of this (Ngomano on the mid-Ruvuma) is described by all to be so mountainous and beset by Mazitu (Ngoni) that there is no possibility of passing that way" (Ref.45). If the 'Wagindo' had suffered at Yao hands, they did so tenfold at those of the Ngoni. There is no doubt that the people of 'Nangungulu' were living under the shadow of disaster.

This is born out by Rigby, British Consul at Zanzibar, who reported as follows in about 1860. "Natives of India who have resided many years in Kilwa ... state that districts near Kilwa, extending to ten or twelve

days' journey, which a few years ago were thickly populated, are now entirely uninhabited" (Ref.12). The historian Coupland adds, "At all points on their way inland and back again the traders were anxious to pick up slaves if only in twos and threes. Kidnapping of natives by natives was rife along the main routes". One of Rigby's successors who actually saw Kilwa was of like opinion. "The country behind is a desert for a week's journey" (Ref.17,1873). The cumulative devastation of repeated Ngoni raids is strikingly illustrated by yet another British representative who served at Kilwa. "In the belt of country extending from the immediate neighbourhood of Kilwa to Kungwangwa 's (at the Ruvuma crossing, probably near Ngomano), a distance of 250 miles, and for some days' march along the Ndonde road, there are now absolutely no inhabitants. But the frequently recurring heaps of potsherds by the side of the path mark where medecine was made to keep evil spirits from the turning to a village, a mud wall now nearly level with the ground, a stone slightly hollowed for the grinding of millet, the furrows in the ground where sweet potatoes had been cultivated ... all indicate the former positions of houses; and the frequency of these remains show that the country through which I passed was till recently fairly populated. The abandonment of this large district was caused by the dread of the Wangwangwara (Ngoni), who, under a chief known to the Swahili as Chuma, came almost to the coast in a great raid made about 18 years ago (i.e. 1866). It is not possible that they should personally have wasted this great stretch of country, but the fear of them would have sufficed to cause a general, and probably a hurried, migration to safer parts" (Ref. 85,1884). There is evidence from native sources that n/p considerable groups were in fact present in this belt

at the time, but the Ngoni, who moved in sizeable bodies, would have favoured any convenient line of communication. So the roadside communities must have been the most vulnerable of all. As regards numbers, note the account of a raid in the early 1880s on Masasi UMCA mission; in the words of Bishop Maples' biographer ,// "there can hardly have been less than four to five hundred of the enemy" (Ref.48). Of the upper Ruvuma a missionary colleague wrote, "We learnt that the Gwangwara (Ngoni) had settled all the country round with Donde and Nindi people to cultivate for them; these dared not settle on the main path or their masters would raid them as they went by" (Ref.37,1884). Many such victims took refuge in remote thicket areas like northern Liwale. Chuma's invasion persists in native traditions as the first and most frightful of many waves. Probably it was the one discussed in the previous paragraph. The name Chuma, which is not recognised by Ngoni informants in Songea, may even be a pseudonym of Mputa himself, leader of the original force to reach what is now Tanganyika. According to Hatchell, Mputa was "known to have reached the coast at Kilwa" (Ref.30). An article on the Machinga caves (Ref.50) not far south of Kilwa speaks of their putative use as a hideout when the Ngoni threatened. It adds, seemingly in error, that these were followed by the superior Wangangwana (waNgwangwara?). ~~(Ref.50)~~// Right up to the German occupation in 1888 the Ngoni remained a constant peril. In that very year Masasi mission suffered a visitation (Ref.2).

The slave trade on the east coast is so relevant to the Ngindo that its main milestones should be charted. Almost as soon as its intensification began, philanthropic

interests were at work striving to reverse the trend. British squadrons patrolled the coast from the 1820s onwards, and the first concession from the Sultan of Muscat, namely that the external trade beyond his dominions be stopped, was obtained in 1822. The measure was difficult to enforce however, and attempts were made to circumvent it. The so-called Free Labour Emigration Scheme of 1847, for instance, designed to promote the export of virtual slaves to Reunion, operated "mainly at Kilwa" (Ref.12). At about this time, a further important limitation was effected. No slave was to be sent to Arabia (Ref.12). Yet the trade, of which Kilwa was the focus, had still to reach its zenith. Coupland describes n/p the Kilwa-Nyasa artery as "the principal slave route throughout" (Ref.12), and his verdict rests on the consensus of reports from a whole series of European observers. One of the first was the pioneer missionary Krapf. In 1850 he found that "the caravans started every March and reached Lake Nyasa, "the chief seat of the slave trade", in a fortnight or three weeks. They came back in November to Kilwa, through which "ten to twelve thousand slaves are said to pass yearly"" (Ref.13, quoting Krapf). The figure was put at 20,000 by a British naval commander, Sulivan (Ref.88,1867). Compare this with an estimated annual peak export of 80,000 - 100,000 from the whole coast (Ref.13). Two years after Sulivan published his memoirs Kilwa fell in the grip of cholera. As many as 400 slaves died daily and the survivors were sold for fifty shillings a dozen! (Ref.13). In the 1870s the Sultan of Zanzibar found himself under such pressure that he was compelled to tighten up control of slaving, which indeed declined sharply thenceforth.

I underline in the sections

Nevertheless it was far from dead. The Frere political mission of 1872 - 3 found Kilwa (presumably Kivinje ... see footnote x) to be "the real hotbed of the slave Trade on the coast ... a very large town even more thriving than Zanzibar" (quoted by Ref.12). As a result of the representations made, the Sultan of Zanzibar was induced to blockade Kilwa. The end was in sight but the slavers still enjoyed some scope. "At Kilwa the Swahili (coast-African and hybrid) chiefs and slave-hunters did what they chose" (Ref.12). In fact the aftermath

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Footnote x:

Kilwa Kivinje stands on the mainland 18 miles north of Kilwa Kisiwani and appears to have been a mushroom response to mass slaving..."though but a small village in 1824, within less than twenty years it was to grow considerably both in size and notoriety as one of the largest slave depots on the east coast of Africa" (Ref.23). By 1842 Hamerton, the Zanzibar Consul, was reporting," ... all the trade is now carried on at Kivinje ... it is the port to which the ivory, gum copal, etc., are brought from the interior" (Ref.23). Allusions previous to the nineteenth century refer exclusively to the island and its environs; that is, Kilwa Kisiwani. Indeed there is evidence of Kivinje being in those days a purely native settlement. "Towards the end of the eighteenth century, it is said, three Nyasa natives with their wives and families eventually arrived at the coast 18 miles north of Kilwa Kisiwani. Their names were Mkwinda, Mpangapanga and Muloka. At that time the Persians were still living in Kilwa Kisiwani and the country between Njengera and Tikwira, near Mpara hill (about 10 miles south of Kilwa Kivinje) was occupied by the Matumbi of the Mkwera clan. These Nyasa cleaned (sic) the bush and settled down, Mkwinda at Mnago, Mpangapanga at Magongeni, and Muloka at Matandu, according to the present names of these localities. The head of the Mkwera clan, fearing that these strangers might prove aggressive, went to ask the advice of Sultan Yussuf of Kilwa Kisiwani, who called the three Nyasa to his court. Mkwinda went as their representative and took an oath before the Sultan that they would live in peace with the Matumbi ..." (Ref.90). Since it shows the Sultan adjudicating on the domestic matters of the immediate mainland, this extract is of twofold interest. By 1850 the locality presented a very different appearance. Krapf found Kilwa Kisiwani derelict whilst Kilwa Kivinje boomed (Ref.13). Burton attributes to the exodus of the Persians the founding of the latter town "built by the islanders when flying from the fleet of the late Seyyid (Sultan) Said" (Ref.9). Speculating on the curious choice of Kilwa Kivinje as the site of a slave centre ... it has no harbour to speak of, nor any natural feature affording a place of confinement for captives ... Grey surmises that the proximity of the Matandu estuary (he also calls it 'Gingwera', a name unknown to the present inhabitants. Possibly it comes from Kingwea, a minor tributary about 100 miles inland) might have been respons-

was to last for many years. The sagacious Kirk, best-known of the Zanzibar Consuls, inspecting the place in 1876, "knew that Kilwa was the chief focus of the trade" (Ref.12). With the Ngoni on the warpath, the interior was perpetually convulsed. Inland missionaries continued to report wholesale traffic in slaves ... "a large caravan ... 500 slaves is a good number for one caravan" (Ref.48, 1880). Another declared that he witnessed the passage of numerous caravans through Masasi in the following year (Ref.38). Later still, Smith drew attention to the plight of refugees and to general distress, though at one point near the Mbwemkuru crossing he found the main slave artery "very bad ... much overgrown ... apparently little used (grass regeneration thereabouts, it should be noted, seems extraordinarily swift and complete)" (Ref.85,1884).

Kilwa habitually harboured masses of slaves awaiting shipment. How were these wretches kept alive ? Their consumption of food, even on starvation rations, must have been formidable. The problem would appear to have been met by a surplus from the regions bordering the Rufiji mouth. In 1873 Elton travelled "through thousands of acres of Mohogo (cassava), this, the Kwale district (on

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Footnote (continued):

ible), on the assumption that Nyasa caravans descended the river valley. Judging from native informants from the interior, this does not however appear to have been the case, whilst the Matandu valley tends to be waterless in time of drought i.e. during the dry season when the caravans would be on the move. Seeing that the area now appears to be experiencing a dry cycle, this may not of course have been so in those days. Where this route did go was to Mahenge. Beardall gives at second hand a complete itinerary leading from 'Kilwa Kivinga' (Kivinje), after 13 marches, to the lower Luwegu crossing (Ref.4,1880). A simple and apparently sound answer to the puzzle is that Kilwa Kivinje's open roadstead and gently shelving beach are ideal for dhows whereas Kilwa Kisiwani can be approached only with the greatest difficulty by these vessels.

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the coast some way north of the Rufiji), being the garden from which Kilwa is supplied with food for its slaves ..."(Ref.17). Further south "broad fields of maize and sesamum at last show the vicinity of Mohoro (south of the Rufiji) ... maize, rice, millet, groundnuts and peas are largely cultivated ... sheep, goats and cattle are in sufficient numbers to be brought for export". One result of blockading Kilwa was a temporary but marked increase in the overland slave trade from Kilwa. Walking down the coast from Dar es Salaam, Elton met hordes of slaves going the opposite way (Ref.17). According to the UMCA History (Ref.2), the statutory end of Zanzibar slave dealing did not come until 1897, apparently remaining a dead-letter for a decade or so after that.

The exit of slave trading was both a cause and result of other forms of trade. Thus Coupland is led to exclaim ... "At Kilwa the trade was now (1881) quite dead and yet the place was actually more prosperous" (Ref. 12). The same work alludes to a resurgence of slaving activity in these terms. "At Kilwa an attempt was made in 1877 to re-open the trade from lake Nyasa ... the India-rubber trade, moreover, had now begun to attract the Kilwa merchants". Wild-rubber, in which Ngindo country is rich, presently boomed. "But both cloves and ivory had now been headed by a newcomer, India-rubber, the rapid development of which in the Kilwa district had been one of the consequences of the measures taken to suppress the Slave Trade between 1873 and 1876" (Ref.12). Holmwood, a British Consul during the 1880s, rated rubber first among the local commodities. "India-rubber is now the principal export, though cereals and sesamum bid fair to rival it in importance, and the trade in copal is rapidly reviving"

(quoted by Coupland, Ref.12); which introduces another rising industry, gum copal. In 1857 Burton had witnessed its beginnings, indeed attributed to Indian copal-interests the frustration of his plans to head inland from Kilwa. "In the vicinity of Kilwa, for four marches inland, copal is dug up by the Mandandu (occupants of the Matandu, as the river is known in Swahili, i.e. probably Ngindo) and other tribes " (Ref.9). That this business led to infiltration by coast-dwellers is shown by another extract from the same source. "In the interior it is exploited by the Washenzi or heathens, who work independently of one another. When there is no Blood-feud, they carry it down to the coast, otherwise they must await the arrival of petty retail dealers from the ports who enter the country with ventures of ten to twelve dollars and barter for it cloth" (Ref.9). Hamerton, British Consul at Zanzibar in the 1850s, estimated the island's annual intake of gum to be between 8 and 12 hundred thousand pounds weight (quoted by Burton, Ref.9).

Ivory, in demand since the Middle Ages, flowed out to the flourishing emporium of Zanzibar in fresh spate. It was to be had from Kilwa, amongst other places ... "the second quality (of ivory) is that imported from the regions around the Nyasa lake and carried to Kilwa by the Wabisa, the Wahiao, the Wangindo, the Wamakua and other clans" (Ref.9). Rushby maintains that the "early elephant hunters or Walumba ... (were) ... drawn chiefly from a sub tribe of the Makua and the Wangindo" (Ref.79). In Hamerton's calculation, "The annual average of large tusks (at Zanzibar) is not less than 2 0,000" (Burton, following Hamerton, Ref.9). Beeswax, though yet to occupy the attention of the Ngindo to any extent, was in demand along the Rufiji. "Near every village bark-hives are

fixed on cross branches about six feet from the ground, bees being very numerous, and the wax brought to Samanga (on the coast some distance south of the estuary) for barter of good quality" (Ref.17,1873). To the south, however, its value had still to be realized. "A great quantity of excellent honey is collected all along the river (Ruvuma) by bark hives being placed for the bees on the high trees on both banks. Large pots of it, very good and clear, were offered in exchange for a very little cloth. No wax was brought for sale; there being no market for this commodity, it is probably thrown away as useless" (Ref.45,1866). On balance, "not before 1903 was a general interest taken in the article" (Ref.7). Long before the disruptive slave trade had entered on its decline, therefore, Kilwa 's appetite for produce and raw materials was infusing the mutilated 'tribes' with alien wealth and alien ideas. Meanwhile the Ngoni juggernaut careered back and forth amid the labyrinth. What is astonishing, under the circumstances, is the mere survival of the weaker tribal entities, of which the Ngindo were one. Seemingly, almost complete loss of internal social consistency was the price paid for that survival.

To return to the slave trade and its influence on the Ngindo, von der Decken, who evidently followed the main caravan route, places his 'Wagindo' fair and sqaare across its path. Here for instance is his description of Merui (or Mirui, a tributary flowing from the north to join the Mbwemkuru something over 100 miles from the sea) ... "a large village, if one may so describe the solitary huts among scattered fields. The bulk of the inhabitants belong to the Wagindo, who characterise themselves in this way, that they etch in to their arms

and breasts right down to the belly the most singular figures, such as men, fish, birds ... and they sharpen to points the front incisor teeth so as to beautify their countenances. An additional peculiarity (is that) a skilled class of people carries on this lucrative professional decorative trade" (Ref.40,1860). Evidently strangers were much struck by this fashion for cicatrization. Burton, finding it among the Wajiji of the shores of Lake Tanganyika, remarked "Some of the chiefs have ghastly scars raised by fire, in addition to large patterns marked on their persons ... lines, circles, and rays of little cupping cuts drawn down the back, the stomach, and the arms, like the tattoo of the Wangindo tribe" (Ref.9,1857). This very trait, n/p though not an Ngindo prerogative, makes it certain that Ngindo were among the unfortunates shipped from Kilwa as slaves. Sullivan intercepted such a cargo, and was so impressed with the grotesque appearance of one of his charges that he both sketched and described her. "We must not forget to mention the Monginda (a far closer variant of 'Ngindo' than are some of the vernacular conversations, recorded elsewhere in the book, of Swahili words) ... anything more repulsive than some of the females of this tribe it is impossible to conceive; for, unlike the men belonging to it, they are tatooed all over and have large holes in the upper lips, nose, and ears ... in the holes bored in the lobes of their ears they wear circular pieces of wood like draughtsmen inserted; and rings, etc., worn in the hole of the upper lip ... in addition to this, these people are clumsy in figure, and have very small heads and large cheeks without one look of intelligence to brighten them" (Ref.88,1867). This is precisely how an Ngindo woman would behave, if not look, in the

circumstances. Doubtless Sullivan was wrong in thinking the males to be unadorned. In the accompanying illustration is to be seen the distinctive Gorombwa marking (so-called from the pale nasal strip on the Ngorombwe duiker), a feathered design on the forehead which was in British days to become the symbol of the Ngindoland Native Authority. Such markings, Gorombwa included, do not of course amount to proof of Ngindo origin. The Ngindo, who have been quick to abandon them, declare that they copied the markings from the Mwera, closest of their present southerly neighbours, who still retain lip-plug and scars among elderly women. No Mwera being mentioned by von der Decken, who noticed the unmarked skin of other tribesfolk such as the Yao, one wonders whether his 'Wagao' might not have been Mwera (Ref.40,1860). I have not verified their reaction to the name. Nevertheless, scarified slaves were likely to have been Ngindo, to which one must add the coincidence of the name Monginda ('o' for 'a' is a common enough transcription, i.e. 'Monfia' for Mafia). Burton specifically includes Ngindo among the afflicted tribes ... "At Zanzibar ... the Wahiao, Wangindo, and other serviles imported from Kilwa, pay one dollar per head (tax?)" (Ref.9,1857).

The presence of considerable groups known as Ngindo or Gindo so close to the coast in 1860 upsets theories based on native sources, whereby it would seem ~~seemed~~ probable that the bulk of the Ngindo were far to the west at that time, as yet undisturbed by the Ngoni onset. On the other hand the exodus might already have started, though not yet precipitate. This seems implicit from the reported itinerary of the Ndonde groups at present living on the mid Ruvuma. "About 1865 (the author was probably computing from native informants

alone, hence the slight discrepancy) ... the eastward movement reached Hangangulu (von der Decken's turning-point), a block of hills on the northern boundary of Tunduru where it joins south west Liwale". There, "the Mchichira (on the Ruvuma: they recur later in this section) Ndonde split off and came southwards to the Ruvuma and thence eastwards" (Ref.59). n/p The name Ngindo is also of greater antiquity than I at first thought ... as a rule it is dismissed as a vague label applied by coast-dwellers to the various tribes of the hinterland, Magingo, Ndonde, Hamba, and so forth. None the less this was probably the manner of its birth, though well in advance of the peak slaving era. The most likely rational explanation I have heard is that the people from the intermediate interior speaking allied tongues came to be known as Ngindo because they had to travel so far to reach the coast that their sleeping-mats wore out on the way, obliging them to sleep on the hard ground (kuKINDA, of which a commoner meaning is 'to get fat'). So on arrival they were to be heard exclaiming "We are Ngindo!". Remember that it was necessary to make inumerable detours across-country to lessen risk of capture by fellow travellers or by the local inhabitants, hence progress was slow. n/p Like the slave trade before the rise of Zanzibar, inter-tribal conflict was probably endemic before its apotheosis by the Ngoni. The obscure history of the mainland in preceding centuries seems to have been turbulent. And the Ngindo themselves preserve legends of intransigence on the part of the most westerly Ngindo-speaking elements, who in turn met their nemesis with the Ngoni. Finally, von der Decken hints at upheavals, perhaps Arab-inspired, among the peoples of the hinterland too. On his way

back, not far from Merui, his men had difficulty in buying provisions owing to the flight of the populace "because soon a war between the Wagindo and Wagao (would break out). By attentive listening we could in fact distinguish distant firing." (Ref.40,1860). Evidently the combattants had muskets.

There was no one 'slave route' to Nyasa. However, certain highways bore the brunt of the caravans. One was the 'Mpanda Ngindo' followed by von der Decken and Smith. A fairly common native story associated with the significance of the word Ngindo is to the effect that it means 'highway' or 'caravan' in Ngindo speech, hence found its way into the parlance of those who lived at the destination of most safaris in those days, the coast. But it appears obvious that the sequence was the other way round ... Mpanda Ngindo derived its name from the Ngindo, through whose country it ran. This route traversed the southerly reaches of present Ngindoland, and would have by-passed altogether the thicket areas north of Liwale-boma, where the old-established Ngindo stock was to be found. Its prolongation westwards, north of the Ruvuma, went by the name 'Ndonde road', judging by Smith's account (Ref.85). It led through old Ndondeland; but the word Ndonde has the generalized connotation of 'west', at least among the central Ngindo. Another less frequented route with a problem-name was the 'Mwera road'. "Zungomero (near Kisaki, about 100 miles inland from Dar es Salaam) is the great Bandari or centre of traffic in the eastern ... regions ... during the travelling season ... large bodies of some thousand men pass through it every week. Kilwa formerly sent caravans to it, and the Wanyamwezi porters frequently made that

port by the "Mwera road" " (Ref.91,1878). Mwera, besides being the name of the tribe, denotes savannah. Mwera folk are however known to have settled north of the Mbwemkuru, perhaps near the embouchure of such a road, before the present century" (Pfeil's map indicates Mwera inhabitants immediately east of the Luwegu-Ulanga confluence, [Ref.69,1885]). So either might have given rise to the other. Ngindoland lies to the south of such a road. Yet another route was the one described by Beardall, which lay somewhat south of this, connecting Kilwa with the Luwegu-Ulanga (Kilombero) confluence (Ref.4,1880). From the same observer comes mention of a "route from Kilwa which crosses the Luwego (sic) higher up ... at its juncture with a large stream called the Mbalan-andu (Mbarang'andu)" (Ref.4). Since both routes probably followed the Matandu valley, they like the others would have given central Ngindoland a wide berth. Beardall also noted the ferry-point for the coastal trail at a place called Nya-N'-tumbo about 20 miles from the Rufiji mouth.

The 'Ndonde road' was only one of several bifurcations fanning out from the neighbourhood of the Ruvuma-Lujenda confluence. Another led to a more southerly slaving springboard on Nyasa. "The great slave route to Kilwa runs up the bank of this river (the Lujenda, called 'Liende' in the text)" (Ref.45,1866)... and the routes branched likewise in the coastwards direction. An alternative to the 'Mpanda Ngindo' "crosses the river (Ruvuma) lower, thus avoiding the Mhoessi (Muwesi), a difficult river in time of flood, and passes by way of Masasi to Kilwa or to Lindi" (Ref.85,1884). This is probably the road referred to by Johnson which "lay by Majeje (Majeja) and the Yao and Donde, then by the Donde villages near Ilulu Hill

(probably those at Mandawa near Mnero)" (Ref.37,1884). As for the now defunct Songea road, which ~~did~~ in European times did traverse central Ngindoland, it had yet to come into use in those days ... the natives state that lack of water along the old route via Mpumbe wa Kibigija (i.e. the 'Ngindo road') led to its atrophy. n/p Some light is thrown on the workings of the Nyasa slavers by Roland Oliver's book, (Ref.67). "South of Ulungu, on Lake Nyasa, and the plateau separating it from Lake Tanganyika, the key points were held by a different set of Arabs, who used originally to buy their slaves from the Angoni and Magwangwara chieftains. Their collecting centres had been at Mponda's, where the Shire flows out of Lake Nyasa (southern tip), and at Kotakota's, where the Swahili Jumbe (headman) operated a ferry across the middle of the lake to Makanjira's on the Eastern shore. From there the slaves had been marched by a North-easterly route to Lindi and Kilwa. With the arrival in the middle seventies of the Scottish missions and the Livingstonia Company, these Arabs shifted their hunting-grounds further to the west, to the area between lakes Mweru and Bangweolo," ~~and had started to use a more northerly line of communication with the coast, passing over the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau. The pioneer of this route was a Swahili called Mlozi~~". The same author shows that the slavers, from being indifferent to European penetration, or merely suspicious, grew actively hostile between 1884 and 1888, the year of the Bushiri rising.

The principal slave thoroughfares, then, only skirted true Ngindo country. Moreover even along their course Ngindo populations could, before the raiding got out of hand, live at their ease. Von der Decken, though he shook his head over their acquisitiveness, found these

folk both open and docile; for instance, he praises a dignitary of Lumesule whose house he had commandeered...."Far from being angry with me, the friendly man presented me on his return home with eggs, pumpkins, ... etc ... produced for me his pretty little son" (Ref.40,1860). Perhaps von der Decken struck a brief idyllic moment in a long hideous drama. Conditions along other slave routes were appalling; notably along the one immediately north of the Rufiji, which the earliest explorer of all, Maizan, had followed only a few miles before being butchered in 1845 (Ref.84a).

How far did the slavers and their associates govern the territory they traversed, and what were their relations with its people ? The answer to the first question is, scarcely at all. Prior had in 1812 drawn attention to the minuteness of the Kilwa Sultan's domain which "seems confined to the coast, being girt in the rear by thick forests a few miles from the shore which interrupt communication with the interior" (Ref.23). In 1846 the sum total of the Zanzibar Sultan's troops the length and breadth of the coast was 400, whilst the inland Arab posts "could scarcely be called colonies" (Ref.13). Krapf at Kilwa in 1850 "noted the limitations of Said's (the first resident Sultan at Zanzibar) overlordship" (quoted by Ref.13). Likewise, much of the cultural contact proved impermanent. Speaking of the Lujenda valley, Last wrote "The coast Mohammedans have been for many years passing up and down this valley, but their influence seems to have little power to induce the natives either to embrace Mohammedanism or to give up some of their most heathenish practices" (Ref.43,1886). Only at the principal maritime towns did any administrative machinery exist. Kitchener's Delimitation Commission of 1885 found it

Governors, or 'Walis', "all Omani Arabs" (quoted by Ref.12), with "an African chief" in attendance on each. "At Lindi and Kilwa there was also a Kadi to administer justice" (Ref.12, quoting Kitchener). Coupland concludes, "Clearly the African mainland behind the coastal-belt was in no sense governed from Zanzibar" (Ref.12).

On the other hand he concedes that "Arab traders exercised a certain power at any rate in the main field of their operations between the coast and lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa", whilst travellers attested "the practical value of a Firman or passport from Said or his successors" (Ref. 13). Elsewhere he says of the Zanzibar Sultan, "His relations with the inland tribes were at once distant and friendly"; and again, "Tribes bordering on the main trade-routes for a hundred miles or so from the coast seem to have vaguely regarded him (Sultan Majid, who succeeded Said in 1856) as their overlord" (Ref.13). This certainly seems to be true of the home-Ngindo, who still refer to 'Enzi buSaidi', the Sultan's empire which levied no tax. Weule alludes to the itinerant jurisdiction exercised in Newala by 'Bakiri', an emissary of the Zanzibar Sultan (Ref.97), doubtless the agent of Thomson's peace-making ... "Six years ago (i.e. in 1875) the Sultan of Zanzibar interfered and stopped the further ravages of these marauders (Ndonde posing as Ngoni, called by Thomson 'Maviti') and caused them to "make brothers" with the Makonde" (Ref.93). Not all the Arabs were errant.

n/p

"Adventurous Arabs, finally, sometimes built themselves houses and settled down by themselves with their retainers in some isolated spot (Ref.13). This was the case with a certain Baheleni, apparently a full-blooded Arab, who took up his abode at Barikiwa. He had peaceable dealings with his primitive Chobo neighbours, and died there, the

whereabouts of his grave still being common knowledge. His son left only because the Ngoni made commerce impossible, and was later probably instrumental in getting the Germans to build at Barikiwa their first 'boma' (military fort or administrative post) thereabouts ... the first arrivals seem to have had Barikiwa in mind before setting foot there. En route, the Ngindo dignitary who had gone to seek their aid at Kilwa, tried fruitlessly to attract them to his home-area of Kingwichiro. Such settlers as the Bahalenis had to cope not only with indigenous marauders but also the intrigues of their own countrymen. "The burghers of that proud old settlement (Kilwa) had only a year before my arrival (i.e. 1856) murdered, by means of the Wangindo savages, an Arab merchant who ventured to lay open the interior" (Ref.9). Note the reference to Ngindo assassins. Omani-Shirazi animosity may have been at the root of this crime. That Arab or coast influence was present even in the far interior is attested by Last. Of the south Nyasa Yao he says, "Many of the natives are in the habit of going down to Quillimane, or to the more northern coast towns of Kilwa and Lindi, so that several can speak Swahili, and understand coast customs ... All the chief young men are well acquainted with the coast towards Zanzibar and have become Mohammedans. They are surrounded by a number of Warima, or coast men, who exert great influence over them" (Ref.43,1886). Earlier, among Mataka's Yao of that same region, Livingstone had remarked on the same tendency. "He (Mataka) gave me a square house to live in, indeed the most of the houses here are square, for the Arabs are imitated in everything" (Ref.45,1866).

n/p

If the slave trade was instigator of Ngindo pulverization, the Ngoni were its executioners. Who were the Ngoni, and what did they do ? To answer these ques-

tions adequately would require a separate treatise, for 'Ngoni' is an even more treacherous word than 'Ngindo', whilst the catalogue of Ngoni wars, raids, and skirmishes would, if known, be merely bewildering. By a paradox, most of the 'Ngoni' who turned eastwards in their roving were in fact 'Ngindo' ... that is, Ngindo-speakers of the Ndendeuli type, whose inexpert spearmanship led to their being called by true Ngindo 'maJembeleya' (ku-JEMBELEYA means to throw wildly, missing one's aim), as opposed to the commoner 'maChonda', seemingly from ki-CHONDA meaning a thorn. Beardall's rendering (Ref.4,1880) is "wamachota". Some were downright Ndonde. From this it will be obvious that the Ngoni armies were heterogeneous to a degree. The original invaders ... having crossed the Zambezi in 1835, their entry into Tanganyika must have been anything up to a decade later ... could not have amounted to more than a handful, and these lost no time in diluting their stock with that of their subjects .// For instance, it was an Ndendeuli mother, Nakikonde, who bore the dreaded 'Mhomakiro' (Ref.61).// The subject-peoples, ~~who,~~ besides Ndendeuli, included Pangwa, Manda, Mawindi, Nyasa, Nindi, Njalila, Matengo, and others. These "formerly independent tribes" (i.e. subject-tribes in general) comprised a subordinate class known as "Sutu" (a regular Ngoni word for slave) under the alien conquering "Swazi" (Ref.86). n/p ..... Mputa was the first Ngoni leader to appear, thrusting from the south to establish a kingdom around modern Songea. Presently he came into collision with rival Ngoni under Kipeta, who had swept all the way round Nyasa and now ruled in his stead. Clashes followed with the stout Hehe and Bena people to the north. Finding their way barred in that direction, as it was in the south thanks to well-armed Yao, the Ngoni and satellites spilled out over the defenceless east in periodic avalanches of destruction. Their

impetus frequently carried them far beyond the immediate objective. Various Ngoni units, some direct from present Nyasaland, emerged as far afield as Smith Sound on lake Victoria and the coast north of Tanga (Ref.30). Early in the 1870s the arch-slaver, Tippoo Tib, gave chase to one such party a few miles south of Tabora (Ref.11). The sequence and itinerary of these sorties is confused. It is not surprising therefore that the versions offered by attacker and victim should be disparate.

The Ngindo start with the onslaught of 'Chuma', whom the present Ngoni rather surprisingly describe as being an Ndonde. Next, to pursue the story, raiders descended in succession almost every dry season... only the danger-peaks survive in the memories of informants, the intervening years bringing NGWARO, or anonymous banditry. First after Chuma was Mbendera, whom Ngoni dismiss as a mere consultant witch-doctor to a leader called Muhanyangi, classed as a 'Tonga'; then Mapere and Nshata, of whom the latter passes for an Ndonde among the Ngindo, and for an Ngindo among the Ngoni. Rough computations show that these two struck in the early 1880s. Then came Ndambakata, alleged by Ngindo to be a disgruntled Ndonde impelled by jealousy over his wife who had been seduced by the son of his maternal uncle, Ntimbo of Barikiwa. He inflicted heavy casualties. Ndambakata, otherwise known as Bwanali ... presumably he became a Muslim ... is remembered by the Ngoni, but they insist that he was a one-armed elephant hunter of Nyika origin. ~~Then~~ The next arrivals were Mhomakiro or Palango, together with Kilembwe, both of whom are acknowledged by the Ngoni. The former in particular shone as a raid-leader. His restless career ended only just before World War II (Ref.61). Kilembwe was subordinate and belonged

to the Msengwa tribe. Finally Chabruma and Maholera made their descent. They ~~who~~ were the last to strike before the negotiation of a 'truce', which I date tentatively at 1887.

Author of this truce was Kinjala, nick-named Humbuka ... not to be confused with a contemporary Ndendeuli personage of that name. Kinjala, who later assumed the Islamic tag 'Omari', was to gain further notoriety in the Majimaji rising. The truce is discussed further in connection with kinship organization. It implied immunity from violence in return for irregular tribute and applied only to those Ngindo living in and around present Ngindoland ... the north-easterly Matumbi, for instance, continued to suffer pillage. n/p : On the Ngoni side, as set out in the Songea District Book, the tally of raids is substantially different, comprising six waves, on the last of which Chabruma found the Germans in possession of Kilwa. The same source refers to wholesale Ndendeuli participation in the raids and to the flight of the Ndonde, said to have shifted east of the Luwegu river in force after the fifth wave. Of the numerous slaves taken by the first wave under Mhomakiro the Songea District Book specifically mentions that they were sold to Arabs for cloth. It also hints that raid-leaders monopolised certain quarters. Mhomakiro, for instance, had "raiding rights over the Kilwa-Lindi area" (Ref. 61). n/p : To conclude the story, the Ngindo found little relief in the truce, which amounted to legitimized robbery. Eventually, at the urgent request of their representative, like Kinjala self-appointed, the Germans took over. Whereupon a certain Malekano, celebrated by the Ngindo as a hero, sized a small Ngoni party, including a minor 'Nduna' called Mkira wa mbwa, ~~Mkirawambwa~~ and burned them at the stake. This brought Mhomakiro hot-foot in revenge. Instead of timid bowmen he encountered

rifle volleys and fell back in disorder. Almost without another shot being fired the eastern Ngoni offered their submission.

The effects of this generation-long ordeal were far-reaching and permanent. The Ngindo, though armed with poisoned arrows, showed scarcely a spark of resistance. Instead they took to inaccessible thickets ... suckling mothers were in those days a cause for apprehension rather than joy, lest a wailing child should lead passing raiders to the spot .// ~~or~~ Or they remained constantly on the move. The extent of their wanderings can be gauged by this encounter of Burton's some 50 miles west of Kisaki. "I found two little villages inhabited by Wangindo and Mandandu immigrants from the vicinity of Kilwa" (Ref.9,1857). This was somewhat before the major Ngoni incursions ... Burton found no Mbunga (an Ngoni offshoot which will be explained) at Kisaki;i.e. Songea was not yet convulsed, or the particles of that explosion had yet to fall .// But the episode ~~it~~ is indicative. Clearly the Ngoni relied on terror as an instrument of domination. Their atrocities are a by-word. In addition, they made a practice of purloining or destroying food-supplies, forcing their victims to adapt the ~~their~~ mode of subsistence. "Maëre(maWELE or bullrush-millet) is the principal grain sown, owing to the Maviti (Ngoni) raids ((the Maëre is so diminutive a grain and so difficult to gather, that the ... Mangoni ... do not find it worth their while to appropriate it))"(Ref.17, speaking of the lower Rufiji in 1873). It was likewise with the people around Barikiwa, who owed their salvation to cassava, the uprooting of which was too undignified and labourious for the raiders.

The only mitigating feature of the régime, in Ngindo eyes, was the opportunity for the purchase of slaves.

But, all too often, such transactions were the equivalent of ransoms for lost relatives. It was years after the inception of German rule that the Ngoni of the Nyasa region became quiescent. Across the lake, in 1892, there were "tremendous and widespread raids to avenge the death of Mhlahlo" (Ref.75). In 1895, this time on the eastern shore, a missionary called Atlay lost his life in an affray with alleged raiders (Ref.2). The alarms of those cruel days have produced some astonishing turns of the wheel. For instance, of 'Matoo' (Litowu) in south-eastern Ngindoland Smith was moved to remark: "the absence of all habitation was very depressing" (Ref.85,1884). Nowadays the place is quite populous. Whereas, by a melancholy retrogression, Nangangulu, the scene of such smiling contentment in von der Decken's day (Ref.40,1860), must now be amongst the wildest country in the Territory. Neither of these changes has been due to the more recent upheaval of Government Evacuation Schemes.

Such were the conditions holding for the Ngindo culture-area as a whole during the coastal hegemony of the Sultanate of Zanzibar. Before embarking on subsidiary Ngindo histories, it might be as well to recapitulate the major outlines. The most westerly of all the Ngindo-speakers were the Ndendeuli who, becoming part of the Ngoni state, severed the Ngindo connection. At first they remained in occupation of their east Songea home. Later, as a result of dynastic wars, large bodies of them broke away. One of these, coming to rest in north Mahenge, constituted an independent tribe, the Mbunga. During their exodus the Mbunga overwhelmed the Ndwewe, a south Mahenge group. Those Ndwewe that were not assimilated into the Mbunga society took refuge with certain of the Ndonde, to whom they now approximate. The Ndonde, an amorphous

collection of Ngindo-speaking elements, originally lived along the upper Luwegu but were sent helter-skelter by Ngoni-cum-Ndendeuli aggression. For the most part they became diffused throughout the inter Rufiji-Ruvuma block, but concentrations of a thousand or more came to rest in five distinct localities ... (i) in south east Mahenge, (ii) in southern and western Liwale, (iii) just behind the Lindi littoral, (iv) on the mid Ruvuma just below Newala, and (v) around the headwaters of the Mbwemkuru and Lumesule rivers; the latter grouping is known by the special desgination of 'Hamba' (neo-Hamba). Only one of the Ndonde sub-segments retains its identity; namely the Njenje, who form part of the Mahenge contingent. The Magingo, who predominate in central Liwale, seem to have had an intermediate westerly starting point. The Chobo, mostly absorbed by Magingo, have no history of migration to their northerly Liwale habitat. Likewise the Hamba (proto-Hamba) of south west Liwale, almost obliterated by Magingo, who also encroached largely on the northernmost component of the home-Ngindo; that is, the Ikemba, now finally dispersed by evacuation measures. During the raiding epoch, both Ikemba and proto-Hamba were still aboriginal hunters.

So much for the salient Ngindo and Ngoni dispositions. Meanwhile, what was happening to the tribes then or subsequently roundabout ? The northerly neighbours appear to have been relatively stable. A century ago the Pangwa (referred to as "the squinting tribe" by Thomson, Ref. 91, 1878); Bena (Ref.14); Hehe (Ref.8); Pogoro (Beardall calls them 'Wagangi' ,〃 Ref.4,1880 ;〃 whilst Thomson applied the name "country of Ganga" to Pogoroland, Ref.91); Kutu and Luguru (Ref.91,1878 and Ref.9,1857); Ndamba (native sources); Zaramo, Rufiji, Matumbi, Ndengereko, and

Kichi (Ref.4,1880); all occupied much the same country as they do today. The explorers list many others besides, whose identity has since sunk into oblivion ... i.e. Wamahala, Wangwila, Wasuop'hanga, Waziraha, Wakumbaku, Wawande, Wanyagatwa, etc.". The same cannot be said of the southerly neighbours, all of whom crossed the Ruvuma to settle in what is now southern Tanganyika. Among the first comers were the Makua, northernmost lobe of a far bigger entity called Meto. "Probably the first moves occurred in about 1830" (Ref.57). The Makua are said to have come in search of better game country (Refs.57 and 98), the inference being that they were pure hunters. Maples' reports (Ref.46,c.1880) of a flourishing Makua agricultural population south of the Ruvuma, with centralized chiefdoms, make this hard to accept; unless the passage of fifty years plus slaver contacts had worked the transition; or unless by 'game' is meant ivory. That change may have been rapid is indicated by Livingstone who in 1866 heard the Yao "speak of the time before they were inundated with European manufactures in exchange for slaves as quite within their memory" (Ref.45). The depredations of Nindi (pseudo-Ngoni) are also made responsible for the Makua influx (Ref.57).

Evidently the Yao moved in later. "These Makua (of the upper Lukuledi) preceded the Yao invasion" (Ref. 57). Besides Makua, Livingstone found Yao present on the upper Ruvuma in the 1860s. "The confluence of the Liende (Lujenda) at Ngomana (Ngomano), or "meeting place" (author's own parenthesis), the chief of which part is named Ndondé (probably a pure personal name, 'Ndonde' occurring all over the place) ... the people Ajawa ... Waiau they call themselves" (Ref.45). He also learned of the presence of 'Machinga' Yao north of the Ruvuma, well into modern Tunduru. A decade later

the UMCA missionaries found both tribes at Masasi (Ref. 46,c.1880). The advancing Yao "supplanted the original Mang'anja" (Ref.62). n/p The subject of these Mang'anja has been broached earlier (see previous section, Persians and Portuguese). Regarding Grey's theory of their Nyasa derivation, that quarter yields some striking co-incidences of tribal names. "When the first missionaries of the U.M.C.A. arrived (1870s? ... date uncertain) in the neighbourhood of Mlanje (southern Nyasaland) they found the Wamang'anja in possession; but the next year the 'Achawa' (Yao) came and drove out the Wamang'anja and settled in their country, and subsequently intermarried with them" (Ref.41). Since the Mang'anja figure as the original upper-Ruvuma stock, if not that of the adjacent Ngindo cradle-area to the north, any morsel of information becomes important. Thomson found that in 1881 "The Mang'anja are only represented by a few people scattered here and there among various other tribes. They are closely allied to the Matambwe though properly they do not belong to the region under consideration (mid and lower Ruvuma). There are a considerable number located at Kwamakanja near the cataracts of the Lujende (Lujenda), i.e. a long way south of the Ruvuma)" (Ref.93,1882). Yao must have penetrated coastwards from an early date. Von der Decken noticed Yao settlers among the Ngindo of the Kilwa hinterland (Ref.40,1860), whilst the Masasi District Book alludes to the entry of Yao into the Lindi District in "1860 or earlier".

The Makonde and Mwera apparently crossed the Ruvuma lower down, with the latter probably in the lead, seeing that they are now further north. If Whiteley's chronology is right their advent must have been very early in the nineteenth century, or even before ... "it is fairly

certain that the Makua had been preceded by both the Mwera and the Makonde" (Ref.100). Missionaries bound for Masasi, after traversing the Lindi coastal belt, marched for nine days in Mweraland. This was in 1875 (Ref.2). Mwera themselves confirm that they first got a footing south of the upper Mbwemkuru, around the Mbangara, whence they fanned out coastwards, crossing the former river further downstream. Maples has something to say about them. "As far as we can ascertain, the tribe is no longer a large one, having been in past times much harried by raids made upon it by the more powerful races from the south. At present the main body of the tribe lies in the country at the back of Kilwa though it is probable that fifty or sixty years ago there were many more Mwera settlements, extending southwards to Masasi and even to the Ruvuma. Native reports tell of a great war in which the Mweras were defeated and forced into the confined space where now the remnant of the tribe is settled" (Ref.46,c.1880). The Makonde were already established on the plateau bearing their name (or vice-versa) when in the 1860s Livingstone ascended the Ruvuma (Ref.45). He noted their presence all the way inland from 'Mikindany' (on the coast north of the Ruvuma mouth). It is worth noting that the Lindi Ndonde, who probably moved in at about that time, had been preceded by Makonde; but not, so far as is known, by the Mwera. Makonde myths of origin insist that the tribal founder first sojourned on the Mbwemkuru before retracing his steps to Mahuta in Newala District (Ref.59). Possibly this echoes an historic migration. Finally the kindred Matambwe, who never left the Ruvuma valley in any numbers, were decimated by the Ngoni (~~Life of Maples~~ Ref.48). In 1886 Last drew attention to "several small islands in the Ruvuma inhabited by Matambwi" (Ref.43,1886).

n/p

Linguistically, all these southern tribes, along with the Ngindo, go to form the 'Yao group' (Ref.29). That they may even have been connected in other ways is indicated by Bowie. Listing all but the Matambwe and Ngindo, and adding the Mawia (still largely south of the Ruvuma), he states," ... all are sections of the Anguru, a generic term for a vast tribe inhabiting the country (Portuguese E. Africa)" (Ref.6). A propos of this and of the Mang'anja, Hetherwick distinguished six Mang'anja (alias 'Maravi') groups to the south and west of Nyasa. The third, known as Shirwa (from the lake of that name) also had the cognomen 'Nguru' (Ref.32,c.1887). Elsewhere in the same article he associates the 'Anguru' of the western shore of lake Shirwa with the Lomwe, who "appear to be a sub tribe of the Makua", and with the "Takhwani on the road to Quilimane".

Within the framework so set, I now turn to the subsidiary Ngindo histories in their detail... first, that of the Ndendeuli-Mbunga. A nucleus of these people is thought to have been fixed around the Matogoro hills and down the Lutukira river for at least 150 years. They fell an easy prey to Mputa's Ngoni. Soon they began to ape the manners of their conquerors, indeed their truculence is said to have prompted Ndonde neighbours to seek aid from ... other Ngoni! (Ref.61). Mputa's defeat led to the discomfiture of the Ndendeuli. One consequence was the Mbunga exodus, to which I shall return. Other "Wandendahuli serfs, whom they (the Ngoni) had found in the Songea district and enslaved, fled to Tunduru where they proclaimed themselves as Ngoni" (Ref.30). A considerable proportion of the Ndendeuli must have remained behind to serve the new masters, for "all the Ndendeuli from Hanga and Luwegu went" as soldiers of Mhomakiro in the first raiding-

sweep referred to earlier (Ref.61). The Songea Ndendeuli, remaining satellites of the true Ngoni, thenceforth came to be virtual Ngoni, the Tunduru refugees forming a long easterly proboscis. Ndendeuli passes for a pejorative nickname based on the phrase nDENDE BULI ? ... 'What shall I do ?'. It may not necessarily have been conferred by the Ngoni. Certain Ndonde have similar names, apparently indigenous.

The Mbunga, however, who took their name from a prominent hill in old Ndendeuli country ... probably they were a territorial segment thereabouts ... became wholly separated. Their trek is dated by a contributor to the Songea District Book at 1862. Coming to rest 200 miles north in the rich Kilombero valley beneath the Hehe escarpment, they set up a cluster of chiefdoms on the Ngoni model. And here in 1878 Thomson found them. His first encounter, in the shape of an Mbunga raiding-party, took place a good 100 miles east at Mwigonga (Ref.91,1878). Plainly the Mbunga, whom Thomson called 'Mahenge', created havoc over a wide radius. The first documentary use of the name Mbunga comes from von Prince in the 1890s. "Mafiti (the name he generally favours) is a group designation for many of the Ulanga-plains- inhabiting tribes, which call themselves Wambungu (obviously a spelling mistake, i.e. nothing to do with the Mbungu or Mbugwe)" (Ref. 96). In appearance, accoutrements, and behaviour they were caricatures of true Ngoni, but Thomson, not a bombastic man, formed a poor opinion of their worth as fighters. "Originally they did not use any shields or spears, and doubtless were very much like the surrounding tribes ... ", and again, "In reality the Mahenge (Mbunga) are as cowardly as the tribes they trample on" (Ref.91). Yet, although he traced their evolution in as many words, Thomson failed

n/p

to realise that these were in fact 'Ngoni'. I quote,"... though this interesting tribe is so near the coast, and though it is so notorious in slave dealing, absolutely nothing was known to any European about it till we arrived at Zanzibar (i.e. on return to the coast). The existence of some such tribe had indeed been heard of, but the people were supposed to be a branch of the tribe known as Maviti (Ngoni)" (Ref.91). At 'Pangalala'[x], the chief of which was described as "the second chief in Mahenge", the explorer was detained, as he was at 'Mkomokero'[xx], so that the people might flock to gaze and rejoice at the sight of him. Since the natives now regard Lipangalala as the senior of half a dozen leaders of the exodus, Mkomokero, "the chief town of Mahenge", remains unexplained. If it likewise denotes a person, the resemblance towards the Ngoni chief, Mhomakiro is tempting. Possibly the latter did temporarily reside and rule among the Mbunga. A German Governmental map (Ref.63) marks 'Mhomakiro' at several points along the Ulanga. It was German practice to follow chiefly names, as instance 'Songea'. To Thomson the chief in question looked "half an Arab" ~~and his subjects appeared numerous... "I am certainly not under estimating the population when I put it at 4,000"~~ (Ref.91).

Thomson continued his journey to Nyasa, but gave no inkling of the second exodus to southern Mahenge from Songea under Mpepo. This occurred after the defeat of Kipeta, founder of the second Ngoni dynasty in Songea, at the hands of the Hehe. Mpepo, referred to as being

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Footnote x:
This is actually the name of a chief (present Mbunga call him Lipangalala, adding that he was among the original trans-Nyasa elite). It appears quite distinct from the 'Pangarara', mentioned by Hatchell, among the Kahama Ngoni (Ref.30).

Footnote xx:
This is obviously Ifakara from the context. Such a theory finds confirmation in Pfeil's map (Ref.69,1886), which sites Pangalala around modern Kiberege.

a 'Swasi' by present Mbunga, had probably yet to leave Songea in Thomson's day. The Songea District Book puts his departure at 1880. Regarding 'Ganga' (or Pogoroland//), i.e. the quarter adjacent to the east bank of the upper Ulanga, later occupied by Mpepo, and embracing the original Ndweweland as well, Thomson wrote," ... in that direction the people were said to be very few ... there were no roads to make the country accessible" (Ref.91). Mbunga themselves, though vague as to the precise manner of their coming, are perfectly explicit about their origin. They know Mbunga hill, acknowledge the Ndendeuli link, and answer to the names Fiti or Maviti. They boast of their superiority in war over the Ndwewe, Pogoro, and others; but admit they had to use trickery to get the Ndamba to ferry them across the Kilombero. At some time before the 1890s, and probably in advance of the Bushiri rising of 1888, the Mbunga established a considerable bridgehead around Kisaki half way to the Dar es Salaam coast. Burton saw no sign of them at 'Zungomero', as Kisaki was then known (Ref.9,1857), nor do they seem to have fixed themselves there when Thomson arrived (Ref.91, 1878). But von Prince found them to be well and truly installed in the early 1890s. "Our Kisaki-Mafiti (Mbunga) had pressed forward from the Ulanga plains long ago ("vor zeiten"), but had still remained in a close relationship with the tribes on the other side of the Ruaha (i.e. in Mahenge)" (Ref.96). An early observer, Pfeil, noticed the lack of Mbunga cohesion. "Following the course of the river (Ulanga) thence, one reaches the Mahenge (Mbunga), who are likewise reckoned warlike although among them the discipline is not at all so severe ("ausserordentliche") as it is among the Wahehe. Thus the fact that there are more petty chiefs under the Mahenge weakens the power of the superior ones among

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them, who must frequently yield lest they should see themselves entangled in conflicts with their subordinates. There, the ("gennante"?) tribes are involved in continual small-scale feuds with their neighbours, and there they nominally enslave the vanquished, to whom they leave the performance of their field labour" (Ref.69).

Their nucleus was, however, compact. "The inhabited part of the country of M'henge is comparatively small, not occupying more than 40 miles north-east and south-west along the base of the mountains which I have spoken of as the M'henge mountains (Hehe escarpment). In breadth it will be nowhere more than 20 miles" (Ref. 92,1878). For what they lacked in home territory, the Mbunga fully compensated by the extent of their depredations. Before the Germans stopped inter-tribal warfare, they operated north, east, and south over a wide radius ... the west was of course blocked by the Hehe-Bena, and the far south by fellow 'Ngoni'. In the north Thomson traced their trail of ruin as far as the vicinity of modern Morogoro ... "the Walugulá (Luguru) are the Waruguru of Burton, whose country seems always to have been the hunting-ground of the slaver. They are nearly exterminated, but we found afterwards that the Wamahenge ~~(Mbunga)~~ (Mbunga) had failed this time in their vile object, the people having retired to places where they could not be followed" (Ref.92). Again, in the east, Beardall found much the same situation on the mid Rufiji. The chief of Korogero, meeting-place of the Dar es Salaam and Kilwa slave-routes, "only lives here on sufferance from the Wamahengi ((Mahenge)) (Mbunga), to whom he pays a sort of yearly tribute" (Ref.4,1880). Likewise in the south, native informants averred, "near Lohembero peak (not the Luhombero of Mahenge. Pfeil's map, Ref.69, shows the hill well to the east of the Ruaha

junction) ... It is Idonde country, but most of the original inhabitants have been driven out or killed by the Wamahengi (Mbunga) and Wagwangwara (Ngoni)" (Ref.4). Incidentally, Pfeil's map has "Wandondi" thereabouts (Ref.69). In their violence and mulcting, individual Mbunga chiefs seemingly overlapped ... the people of Mlongora's on the west bank of the lower Ulanga "are on good terms with one or more of the Mahengi (Mbunga) chiefs. This by no means grants them immunity from an attack by any other chief of that maradding ~~kxikya~~ tribe, and they live in constant dread, though" (note the chain reaction) "they themselves are in the habit of putting on Maviti (Mbunga or 'Ngoni') costume and harrying their weaker neighbours" (Ref.4).

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~~At some time after their invasion of the present Mahenge District, an Mbunga offshoot established itself about 100 miles east at Kisaki.~~

Von Prince, who was actually stationed as an administrative officer at Kisaki ~~in the 1890s~~, gives some further ~~inconclusive~~ data about them, finding superficial resemblances towards the Zulu troops he led during the Bushiri rising "although not a drop of Zulu blood flows in their (Mbunga) veins" (Ref.96). This Mbunga group must have been tolerably large in his day, for he refers to the machinations of "the peace-breaker Magnula, one of the three senior chiefs of the Kisaki-Mafiti (Mbunga)" (Ref.96). That Kisaki was already in their hands during the Bushiri flareup is shown by the same writer who, during that campaign, decided that "there was no alternative but to advance (from the coast) and undertake a

punitive expedition to Kisaki, the home of these Mafiti" (Ref.96). The Morogoro District Book names Kamamuka, son of Tikatika, as their founder, which is borne out by von Prince's proclamation of "Mtikatika" as Jumbe of Kisaki (Ref.96). Probably, as is commonly done, he used the patronym. According to this District Book, though his name does not appear in the genealogies I collected, Tikatika the father passed for a chief among the home-Mbunga. The same District Book has it that these Mbunga moved in as a result of Hehe pressure, whereas von Prince suggests their pressing forward voluntarily ahead of the main body (Ref.96). What may have led to the supposition, contained in the Morogoro District Book, of a later foundation was the temporary retreat to the Mahenge homeland of a large segment. This happened in the 1890s when, after an abortive coup, the aforesaid Magnula and his followers "collectively migrated south of the Ruaha into the true Mafitiland" (Ref.96).

Before the Mbunga catastrophe the Ndwewe lived around Hungo, an unidentified hill between the Luwegu and Pitu rivers. Mbunga relate that the manner of Ndwewe resistance was to rain down boiling water from tree-top platforms. Once captured, however, they made good

warriors. Discussing slaves in Ndonde society the District Book states that "the greater number was bought from the neighbouring Wandwewe". Probably the informants meant by this that the slaves were Ndwewe, perhaps those taken by the Mbunga. Mahenge was the place to which for preference Ngindoland dwellers went to purchase slaves once the Germans had checked inter-tribal wars. Those survivors among the Ndwewe who remained free made their way east to another hilly region called Lilobora, overlooking the Luwegu valley. There they mingled with the Ndonde about whom I shall now explain.

The Ndonde originally lived to the immediate east of the Ndendeuli. That is, around the headwaters of the Luwegu river. The District Book actually plots the positions of dominant clans ... "there were at the time of the Angoni invasion six superior clans"(exerpt dated 1928), extending from the east bank of the upper Luwegu past the Mbarang'andu as far as the Njenje. Ndonde I have met do not however corroborate this reconstruction in detail, though the concensus of their stories still places thereabouts, or a trifle further west, the nebulous old-Ndondeland. Judging by the number of desqent-names allotted to them, and by the fact of their subdivision into several entities, they must have been relatively large in numbers. As I have already warned, the name Ndonde should be treated with caution. As a tribal, personal, and place name it recurs elsewhere in the region.

Most of the Ndonde, probably because they had already been harried by the Ndendeuli, hence knew what to expect, did not wait to be incorporated into the Ngoni system. Instead they at first edged east, then went pell-mell for the coast. Their movement ~~was an~~ took the form of an unorganized drift, the leisurely start of which von der Decken seems

to have witnessed in 1860... Hangangulu (Ref.40) lies a good 100 miles east of the Luwegu. Later it developed into a rout, complicated by inumerable cross-eddies. Therefore only the major outlines can be grasped. The march to the east has taken on a mythical character. Thus, the Ndonde are said to have harkened to the honey-bird who led them to a hive in the forest. Next they followed an owl, and eventually came upon the Chobo, to whom they gave the novelty of the sweet-potato.

A residue of Ndonde seemingly did remain behind. These were the Luhanyando-river groups, far down the Luwegu, who co-operated with the Ngoni armies to form a friendly jumping-off point for raids into Mahenge or the Rufiji basin. Schnee, after indicating the extreme diffusion of the Ndonde, concludes that "In Donde (Ndondeland) itself they were able to halt themselves in greater concentrations, firstly owing to the refuge of the thick forests of this region, or again owing to the consideration of the Ngoni who had to utilize the country as a victualling depot" (Ref. 83). As for the fugitives, the mass of them struck east through the present Ngindoland, where they have left sediments in every quarter. In a vast, thinly spread crescent, stretching from beyond Hangangulu to the outskirts of Mikindani, they straddled the Mbwemkuru. This was the main stream of Ndonde migration; which also left a sprinkling, with isolated pockets, right up to the Rufiji and beyond. Near the mouth of that river in 1880 Beardall learned that "the people, who are Wagindo (sic) and Wamahoro (presumably from the place-name Mohoro), were suspicious", and that "near the coast the people speak Kingindo, with a mixture of Kimlima (Swahili?) and Zaramo words" (Ref.4,1880). Again at Kigumi, 20 miles downstream from the Pangani rapids were to be found "Gindo people who

have sought refuge there"(Ref.4). Other groups headed south, two of them largish and in some degree corporate.

The first of these, as indicated earlier under Ref.59, headed south from Hangangulu to the Ruvuma. It then descended the river as far as Mchichira near Mahuta, on the rim of the Makonde plateau. According to the son of Mkumba, moving spirit in the exodus, the Yao spearhead under Mataka was at that time already north of the river, whilst those of Ntalika (or Mtarika) had yet to cross. At first these Ndonde were taken for Ngoni, a mistake they were not slow to exploit, but as a rule describe themselves as Ndendeuli; only if pressed do they admit to being Ndonde. A 1928 document confirms that they are "of Wandonde origin not Wangoni" (Ref.59). Whilst the assumption of Ngoni status by other tribes is not uncommon, hesitation between Ndendeuli and Ndonde is. Although the speech of these two is almost identical today and appears to have been so in the past, ... culture contact, especially through the medium of Ngindo captives, must have been extensive, but could scarcely have led to the abandonment by the Ndendeuli of a hypothetical language of their own in favour of kiNgindo .## neither will now admit to being very closely related to the other#: One deduces that this n/p dichotomy may have come about within the past 100 years, the Mchichira group providing a sort of missing link between Ndonde and Ndendeuli. There are place-names in central Songea which could easily be confused with Hangangulu ... the Mchichira group says simply 'Hanga', a common enough name of which Hangangulu must be the amplicative. A German map marks 'Nangungulu' hill only a few miles east of the Matogoros and Mbunga hill (Ref.63). Again, note the 'Hanga'-Ndendeuli mentioned by the Songea District Book. The possibility of a more westerly derivation for these 'southern-Ndonde' ~~this group~~ than

von der Decken's Hangangulu (Ref.40) is further indicated by the career of one of its leaders, Makacho. He was born on the Lukimwa river (a northerly tributary of the extreme upper Ruvuma), reached the 'Mluhezi' (Muwesi?) as a boy, and Namagone (not far above Ngomano, where a similar but miniature Ndonde enclave is alleged to be located) as a youth (according to Weule, who interviewed Makacho as an old man in 1906, Ref.97). Of course Makacho's route may not have coincided with that of the mass. The Mchichira Ndonde showed some backbone and military prowess, another sign of Ndendeuli inspiration. Referring to this or an associated body of Ndonde, the Tunduru District Book attributes to it the defeat of one of the early Yao feelers in the area. Finally, I heard an Ngoni source state independently that these Ndendeuli fled down the Ruvuma, "but now they speak kiNdonde". One explanation, that already advanced, postulates a single undifferentiated linguistic community embracing both 'tribes' before the Ngoni cleaved them assunder. Another is that the Mchichira group's rank and file were Ndonde, its leaders Ndendeuli.

Whatever the truth of the matter, this group established itself by force on the plateau. How this happened is uncertain. The Ndonde themselves claim that they drove off Matola, a Yao chief with his seat at Newala, who tried to dislodge them. Later, they say, genuine Ngoni raiders followed up. The latter at first failed to penetrate the Ndonde positions and suffered heavy losses. One of their Ndunas fell and the rest began to waver, but, thanks to Makonde treachery, succeeded in turning their flank. So the Ndonde, creating a diversion by getting their womenfolk to drop their gourds in unison, simulating musket-fire, fled across the Ruvuma into

the marshes of lakes Nangadi and Lidede, where many have remained as fisher-folk. Some of them succeeded in regaining Mchichira at a later date. Weule, however, heard that these "Ngoni (were) ... separated from the main body by a gallant counter-attack of the Yaos under Matola I, and driven into the Mchichira district" (Ref. 97). The presumption of a 'main body' does not appear well founded. Weule, expecting to find rugged Zulus, was bitterly disappointed. "The Wangoni of this district have nothing beyond the name in common with those in the hill country near Songea ...", and again, "I can find no trace of the heroic qualities alleged to be possessed by the Wangoni". Nevertheless he could not altogether rid himself of the notion of spectacular Ngoni origin. A sequence of arrivals in the Newala-bcma area appears in the Masasi District Book. Makua were the first strangers with whom the resident Makonde had to deal. These Makua pushed the Makonde from the foothills. Next came the Matambwe, tribal first-cousins to the Makonde, and associated with a certain 'Makote', followed immediately afterwards by several Yao waves of which Matola's was the last. Last of all came the "Wandendeuli ((misnamed Wangoni)) of Mchichira".

Had Weule (Ref.97) consulted the writings of the earlier British missionaries and explorers, he would have found the Mchichira folk to be relatively well documented. Howbeit, his main interest seems to have been material-culture and physical characteristics, whilst Majimaji war security meant that his primary objective, the Songea Ngoni, could not be reached. Livingstone ascended the Ruvuma twice in the 1860s. On the first occasion in 1861, travelling by boat, his party was attacked by hostile

natives in the neighbourhood of Mchichira, or a few miles west. These, he infers, were Makonde, for further upstream "we came again among the Makonde, but now of good repute" (Ref.44). Livingstone is here silent about the Ngoni or satellites. Nevertheless that the incident should have occurred at that very spot, mainly peopled by timid Makonde, creates a strong presumption that the Ngindo-speaking group at Mchichira (hereafter referred to as the 'southern-Ndonde') might already have arrived. Admittedly Thomson was later to write," ... owing to the large amount of rubber and copal which they (the Makonde) are able to collect each year, they have become exceedingly saucy and difficult to deal with" (Ref.93,1882), but these industries had probably yet to develop in Livingstone's day. This water-borne expedition had only superficial contacts with the natives, and would have been unaware of all but the riverine settlements. Again, computing the age of Makacho, the leader just mentioned, if he were about seventy when Weule (Ref.97,1906) saw him ... his photograph shows him to be a venerable man ... this would make him twenty-five in 1861, a not improbable age for a budding warrior.

At all events, raiders were the talk of the day when in 1866 Livingstone again passed that way, this time laboriously on foot; but once again without making any specific mention of the southern-Ndonde. Of lake Nangadi, just opposite Mchichira, he remarked:"the people who live there are Mabiha (Mawia)"(Ref.45); and again, speaking of the southern bank of the Ruvuma in general:"thither too the Mazitu (Ngoni) had not penetrated". Though unlikely, it is conceivable that Livingstone, keeping to the valley floor, should have skirted the Mchichira heights without being any the wiser as to their inhabitants ...

elsewhere in the same narrative he states that "The Mazitu ('Ngoni) had women, children, oxen and goats with them. The whole tribe lives on plundering the other natives by means of the terror their shields inspire" (Ref.45), which looks much more like the southern-Ndonde migration than a conventional Ngoni raid. Just above Ngomano his men had a brush with the other main Ngoni satellite thereabouts, the Nindi, "who are either Ajawas ((Waiyau)) (Yao), or pretended Mazitu (Ngoni)" (Ref.45). Some fifteen years later Thomson wrote of them, "These Maviti (Ngoni) or Maninde (Nindi) do not tattoo themselves or wear the Pelele (lip-plug) ... they do not aggregate together, but prefer to live in small villages long distances apart. As far as we were concerned they were quite friendly" (Ref.93,1882). The Nindi, now no longer corporate, have gone to form the bulk of the present Matengo of western Songea. Their affinities with Ngindo, though not properly established, are probably considerable.

The most conclusive evidence about the southern-Ndonde comes from Bishop Maples. Something under 100 miles inland on his way from the coast at Lindi to the UMCA mission at Masasi, he came upon a southern-Ndonde outlier at a place called Mwembe. "The people belong to the Gindo tribe, and unfortunately are ruled over by a man who seems to be indebted for his position to the frequency and joviality of the beer-drinking entertainments he gives his people. He is the only man on the road who ever showed us any incivility, but as he stands in great awe of a certain Mkumba, who is the acknowledged head of the Gindos on the Ruvuma, with whom we have made friends, we anticipate no more annoyance from him" (Ref. 46, c 1880). This was some time before 1877, in which

year the Bishop visited Chief Matola I at Newala, who "advised us strongly not to run the risk of encountering the Maviti, whom, he said, we should be sure to fall in with (en route to the Mawia). He expressed his great terror of them, and told me that his people dared not go to the Ruvuma, except in very strong parties, for fear of being attacked and killed by them. The Maviti, he told me, were not to be confused with the people going by the same name near the lake (Nyasa) ... the Maviti of the Ruvuma valley are really refugee Gindos who live by plunder, and who two years ago (i.e. from the time of writing) made it their business to harrass all who ventured near the river" (Ref.46). Presiding over these southern-Ndonde n/p was "the terrible and dreaded Machemba ... (who) ... has the reputation for miles around the spot, where he now lives at the head of his robber band, of being one of the most bloodthirsty and cruel tyrants ever known. Even at Lindi, where there is an Arab governor and a detachment of Arab soldiers, the people live in dread of his raids, for as there are no limits to his cruelty, so also there are none to his boldness" (Ref.46). Maples determined to intercede with Machemba, and went to meet him at or near Mchichira, "where he has been established about eight years" (Ref.46). The ogre turned out to be quite genial, and promised to mend his ways in so far as his capacity of major slave-dealer allowed. Evidently his followers numbered some hundreds. "The crowd swelled around us, and by the time we reached the middle of the town it was almost impossible to estimate the numbers of the multitude that thronged us" (Ref.46).

This account definitely solves the Mchichira riddle, but raises problems of its own. Firstly no credit is given to the prior mediation of 'Bakiri'. Possibly

this had fallen into abeyance or benefited the Makonde alone. Secondly, if 'Machemba' were as black as painted and his depredations still in progress, it seems extraordinary that the missionary party should have been received so well and achieved such permanent results. Thirdly, the name Machemba fits neither the native traditions I heard nor the beginning of this same article, where the head of the southern-Ndonde has the expected name, Mkumba. There was undoubtedly at that time at least one prominent person by the name of Machemba in the Ruvuma area. With one of them, namely the Machemba whom Livingstone saw in the Lujenda country a decade earlier (Ref.45), Maples identifies the man with whom he came to terms. Another, or perhaps the same, Machemba was to the fore in the movement of the neo-Hamba down the Ruvuma and up the Lumesule. Possibly Machemba was a pseudonym or lieutenant of Mkumba, or the author confused the names. Finally, as regards the dating, if Machemba only got to Mchichira in 1869, the date specified by Maples, and was 100 miles east when in 1866 Livingstone saw him, the latter's allusions to Mazitu activity around Newala become obscure; unless Machemba led a sort of rearguard. The Masasi District Book touches on Mkumba, who belonged to the "Misongo clan of Ndonde (Ndendeuli) extraction" (Ref.57.).

The southern-Ndonde of Mchichira were by no means the only bogus Ngoni in the Ruvuma area. Maples in 1880 found some at a distance of over 100 miles south of the mid Ruvuma, an unruly, semi-independent enclave under the uneasy governance of the local Yao, plainly apprehensive at the antics of their subjects. "The history of these Maviti settlers at Nikoche is as follows ... four years ago a roving band of Wandonde or Waninde (alias Mwangone, alias Wangindo, alias Maviti, alias Mazitu)

(I have also seen the word "Wayoya' applied to them by Johnson, Ref.37,1884) ... having harried the people about Kilwa and the north, passed south" (Ref.47,1882). The following year Thomson drew attention to a similar group, "the Maviti village of Itule", three marches up the Lujenda from the Ruvuma confluence (Ref.93,1882). These may well be connected with the Ndonde pocket alleged to be located thereabouts at the present time. More authentic and formidable Ngoni waves seem to have followed up in the 1880's, one of which destroyed the mission station at Masasi (1882). Probably it was another such that dislodged the bullying southern-Ndonde ... the U.M.C.A. History speaks highly of a chief Machemba who checked a big Ngoni raid "on the way to the coast (from Masasi)" in 1888. Last, writing in 1886, testifies to the trail of ruin they left behind. "All the country along the Ruvuma, from near Newala to Ngomano, was formerly well populated, as the sites of old villages show, but now there is not a house to be seen, the district having been overrun by the Makwangwara (Ngoni) and other marauding tribes, and is now become the home of a great variety of game" (Ref.43). On the Lujenda he reported a like situation. "Along its whole length it is fertile and thickly populated, but the industrious inhabitants are often harried by the robber tribes of Ndondi (sic) and Gwangwara" (Ref.42).

The second of the two Ndonde groups under discussion (hereafter I call it 'neo-Hamba') appears to have had a common starting-point with the first. This is alleged by an outstanding African informant, Mnawa of Nnenje in Kilimarondo baraza ### (in his youth an Ngoni warrior) ###, to have been Mkumba hill to the west of the

Muwesi river, whence the Mchichira Ndonde were the first to start out. The only other specific place-names I heard mentioned by neo-Hamba were Umbaliro, somewhere between the Mbarangandu and Luwegu rivers; and Lubira (or Luwira) in Tunduru District, apparently a stepping-stone. Doubtless the emigrants came from scattered points. The neo-Hamba began by sprawling eastwards. They are sited in about 1870, "a considerable tribe, occupying the territory stretching from the river Bangala (or Bangara, north-west Masasi) ... to Matambwe hill (midway between Tunduru boma and the Songea border)" (Ref.57). Tunduru District still contains a number of Ngindo, Ndonde, and Ngoni islets which, as the following extract shows, merge with the Ndendeuli offshoot in that area. "The Ngindo and Ndonde appear to have settled on the upper Muhuwesi (Muwesi), in isolated family groups, and are there to this day (about 1935), now intermingled by marriage with Ndendeuli" (Ref. 62). Later the neo-Hamba were chivvied to Majeja, a rocky fastness not far from the Ruvuma-Lumesule confluence. Finally they ascended the latter river to the borders of present Ngindoland, with one or two outliers encroaching on the big Ndonde crescent to the east. 'Mwera admixture, whence the designation sometimes heard, 'Mwera-Hamba', complicates their history ... it will be remembered that the Mwera came from a like direction, though south of the Ruvuma, and assembled on the Bangara before spreading east. How the neo-Hamba came to acquire the name 'Hamba' is a puzzle. On the one hand they may have done so through dwelling in 'Hamba' (proto-Hamba) country. On the other, they may have evolved it independently. Hamba has a bucolic meaning. Hence 'Ndonde-Hamba' ##, the term generally used ### may be 'rustic Ndonde'. In the Ngindo dialects 'liHamba' means leaf or blade of grass.

n/p

The Magingo, though predominant in Ngindoland, have a very uncertain ancestry. This may be in part due to confusion arising out of the superficial resemblance between 'Magingo' and 'Ngindo'. It is even possible that the one is a corruption of the other. Some Ngindo are of opinion that a formerly distinct tribal element, lying midway between the old Ndonde and Hamba-Chobo-Ikemba complex, went by the name Ngindo, which was by extension applied to the rest. Although there does not seem to be ground for believing this, the area in question, namely that between the Mbarangandu and Njenje rivers, may well be the seat of the Magingo. This would explain the insistence of some Ndonde informants that the entire population of Ngindoland is in reality Ndonde ... i.e. from the west. Most Magingo assert that central Liwale is their antique homeland, more especially the twin localities of Mikongota in the west and Kingwichiro in the east, but are unable to prove any lengthy period of residence. Migration, followed by rapid absorption of both the existing inhabitants and later immigrants, may account for this curtailed recollection.

The Chobo, who have impressed most comers as the foundation stock of Ngindoland, have a far more convincing claim. The District Book, at the time of the investigations attendant upon the introduction of Indirect Rule, viewed the Chobo as "always the centre of the (Ngindo) tribe", and again as being unchanged, "except that the (Chobo) tribe has shrunk" (1928). Later, they are hailed as "purest of the Ngindo" (1942). It seems likely that they were indigenous to the thicket country north of Liwale-boma well before the Ngoni reached Songea. The nuclear Chobo attribute their immunity from Ngoni devastation partly to

evasive tactics, partly to the medicines of a ~~wizard~~ magician called Mbunda. The core which can trace its descent that far back is very small, the outside infusion very large; consequently 'Chobo' has become a thing of primarily territorial significance. Culturally, it has almost completely succumbed to the Magingo and other infiltration.

The Hamba of south-west Liwale, whom I call proto-Hamba to avoid confusion with the neo-Hamba, have had an evolution similar to that of the Chobo, only their submergence has been more thorough. Their origin poses special problems. This is because von der Decken's journey (Ref.40,1860), leading through a part of their homeland, reveals a very different picture from that which one would expect on the basis of known proto-Hamba antecedents. For these folk both claim and are acknowledged to have been aboriginal hunters centred on the thicket of Bwagi ... they trace back their ancestors, all Bwagi men, four generations reckoning from, but not including, present elders. Now Bwagi lies between the Hangai and Ruhuu valleys about a day's march up from the point where von der Decken must have crossed the latter stream. There is of course nothing inherently impossible for aborigines to exist only a few miles from flourishing settled communities such as those depicted around Hangangulu. One must also bear in mind that the Hangangulu culture was temporary. It might in addition have been ribbon-development along the caravan route, leaving untouched the primeval country traversed. Certainly Bwagi, which enfolds an imposing shallow lake amid its entanglements, affords an unusually impenetrable lair ... it is said that Ngoni raiders never succeeded in gaining entry. Alternatively, though there is no supporting evidence, the proto-Hamba might for reasons of security

have installed themselves in Bwagi at that very time. Being hunters, they would have been mobile. I heard a solitary suggestion that they came from the Ruvuma in search of game ... remember that the Makua too are said to have done so ... but confusion with neo-Hamba may be present in the report. n/p Against theories of migration must be set accounts of the bellicose proto-Hamba attitude towards intruders, implying that they were firmly anchored. Just as they scorned the wild beasts by sleeping on the open ground (instead of in trees, as present-day travellers often do when caught between camping places), they had a system of defence in the shape of bow-and-arrow caches suspended in trees at frequent vantage points. So that a tribesman, catching sight of an enemy, would be able to maintain a constant running fire from the dense undergrowth. There was also a thicket citadel within reach of the interior water-supply. Another reason why this group does not correspond to a wartime influx is the early spread of its influence over a wide area ... as far away as the Kiperere river, a good 50 miles east, the original inhabitants are owned to be 'Hamba', and accordingly revered in sacrificial offerings made by immigrant stock. These last have come to be called Hamba as well, whence the currency of that word among the Ngoni of Songea who consider that the majority of Ngindo slaves they brought back with them were 'Hamba'. It is not out of the question that the proto-Hamba, as insinuated by a few native informants, should be renegade cultivators. However, what details are available of their primitive mode of life, are scarcely consistent with an erstwhile farming community. One must also consider the proximity of the Masasi decorated-cave belt, the northernmost known example of which occurs at Matekwe about 20 miles the other side of the Mbwemkuru, and reckoned to fall within the former Hamba coursing-grounds. Present proto-Hamba know nothing of these rock-paintings, which may

nevertheless have been executed by their somewhat distant forbears. Prima facie, the paintings do not to a layman appear very old.

A parallel phenomenon to the north of Ngindoland were the Ikemba, otherwise known as 'maPunguti', or forest people. Their cradle was Kinamatire in the Mkwihi thickets just north of the upper Matandu, which, besides their remoteness from the lines of communication, are almost waterless. So the Ikemba likewise escaped the attentions of the Ngoni. Here there is the same story current about retrogression on the part of certain westerly immigrants; but the reported manners of the early Ikemba make it even less conceivable than with the proto-Hamba that they should ever have wielded the hoe. True, hordes of war-refugees did pour in, becoming vaguely 'Ikemba' by virtue of entry into Ikembaland, but they were interlopers emptying 'Ikemba' of its real content. The refugees were mainly Magingo and Ndonde. Many came from the thicket of Mbweho, to the west and across the Matandu, which was particularly hard hit by the raiders. Ikemba place their founder, 'Chuma', the same distance back as that of the proto-Hamba. He had no connection with the Ngoni leader of that name, nor is he thought to have been still living when the Ngoni struck. It was his grandson, Likongowere, who rose to prominence during those wars. He became rich in wealth through elephant hunting, and in dependants through purchase of slaves and the flow of immigrants. To him is attributed the transition from hunting to cultivation. n/p : To my knowledge the pre-1890 sources so far quoted are exhaustive: Pfeil, an associate of Karl Peters, actually trod the same Luwegu-Kilwa trail, passing via Kitope and Lukuliro, about which Beardall had been told five years before (see footnote on Kivinje, near the beginning of this section). But the only relevant report

to which I have had access deals with the Ulanga basin, hence disappoints as an Ngindo reference. Pfeil, along with a Lt. Schlüter, is in 1885 known to have concluded treaties on behalf of the 'East African Company' in "the countries of Ubena, Wamatschonde (Ngoni), Mahenge (Mbunga), and Wangindo" (Ref.68). No doubt the proceedings of the 'Society for German Colonization' enlarge on the subject.

n/p .....

These isolated probes into the dark cavern of the interior, even with faint and intermittent lights, reveal something of the turmoil underlying the Zanzibar façade. The full chapter of confusion encompassed by its rise and fall must be immense. Ever since the time of the great Said himself, thanks to what Coupland ironically terms Britain's 'insensate persecution of the slave trade', the Sultanate had been losing ground. With Imperial German intervention on the mainland in 1888, the process was nearly complete. By 1891 "Said's one-time realm had shrunk to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and a narrow strip of coast between Vanga and Kismayu, and even this remnant had become a British Protectorate" (Ref.13).

War and the West.

In keeping with the campaign against the slave trade, Britain found it increasingly incumbent upon her to curb the power which was at once soul and embodiment of the trade.... Zanzibar. At first, unless it be argued that slaving stood to injure legitimate trade, the maintenance of an East Coast squadron was a thankless duty. Later, with the infiltration of European explorers and missionaries, and with developments such as the opening of the Suez canal (1869) and the laying of the Zanzibar cable (1879), other interests, and even advantages, emerged. Finally, the 'scramble for Africa' made it imperative for European nations to compete for possessions

bringing prestige, raw materials, strategic bases, manpower, and markets. Germany was not behind in this race. A German firm, O'swald & Co, (Ref.13), was operating at Zanzibar in 1846// (1849 according to Coupland, whilst Messrs. Horn were the pioneers of ~~the~~ this market, exporting cowries in 1844). Later (1859), the Hanseatic States entered the field, followed at an interval by Messrs. Hansing of Bremen (Ref.7). A German commercial representative eloped with the sister of Sultan Barghash! After the Berlin Conference the pace grew intense. In 1884, bent on imperial designs, Karl Peters furtively disembarked at Zanzibar. He was founder of the 'Society for German Colonization' (April 1884) and the 'East African Company' (Feb.1885// following Ref.78). Almost simultaneously the Kitchener mission found an associate, one of the Dennhardts, inexplicably at Kilwa. Soon an Anglo-German agreement /// (first of a series leading up to 1890, punctuated by German naval demonstrations) /// was negotiated (Ref.18), and the East Africa Company, now armed with "an Imperial "Schutzbrief" (author's own parenthesis) or letter of protection" (Ref.78), in control.

Almost immediately there erupted the Bushiri rising of 1888, which would have annihilated the Company were it not for Imperial Government intervention. Bushiri was a coastal African or half-caste, his movement essentially Arab//, culmination of the growing hostility traced by Roland Oliver (Ref.67). In September 1888 a body of Yao "appeared at Mikindani, which the Germans were forced to evacuate, then advanced to Lindi, where officials of the company were very nearly captured ... Before Kilwa the Yaos paraded in some thousands" (Ref.80). Abandonned to their fate by the German gunboat Möwe, the two Germans in the town (Kivinje) lost their lives. The following month Bushiri himself appeared at Bagamoyo (on the coast north of Dar es Salaam)"with five or six thousand Mafiti or Masitu ... an

offshoot of the Kaffir tribes to the west of Lake Nyasa which, in consequence of internal troubles, had separated from the main tribe and wandered, plundering and marauding, northwards and eastwards ..." (Ref.80). These were the Mbunga, who still relate the exploit with pride. There followed a critical engagement with a small German force under von Gravenreuth and von Behr. "Two hundred dead were counted, and though the German force was decimated the defeat of the enemy was complete. Indeed so panic-stricken were the Masitu that even the timid Wazaramo pursued and practically exterminated them" (Ref.80). Von Prince, who took part in these operations, testifies to Mbunga brutality ... "villages were still smouldering and the horribly mutilated corpses of men and women were still fresh" (Ref. 96). Eighteen months later he rounded up with ease a band said to number 1,000 warriors. The latter occupied a strong defensive position, "but soon the combat was quite enough for the Mafiti" (Ref.96). By then Bushiri had long since been executed, but in that very year Hehe neighbours of the Mbunga annihilated the strong von Zelewsky expedition. It was not till 1894 that von Schele restored order in the Southern Highlands.

Meanwhile in the far south the régime was consolidating ... "the Ruvuma district by the end of 1890 had settled down under the new government" (Ref.2). Another missionary was of opinion that "the Germans are firmly administering the area to the north of that river (Ruvuma)" (Ref.31). On the coast, a string of five bomas ... Kibata (Mohoro), Kilwa (Kivinje), Kiswere, Lindi and Mikindani ... extended from Rufiji to Ruvuma. On Nyasa, the steamer 'Hermann von Wissman' was afloat by 1893. Nevertheless the inland administrative network took some time to establish. Songea-boma had obviously not yet been founded when in 1894 von Prince marched from Nyasa to the coast. His impression

of the journey was one of interminable forest (Ref.96). It was probably in the mid 1890s that the boma at Barikiwa, hub of Choboland in the very heart of Ngindo country, was built. The Ngindo emissary, Mpinga, described by one informant as being a 'Yao', who had gone to Kilwa to complain of Ngoni exactions, tried to attract the newcomers into his own orbit. But they jibbed on the score of inadequate water at his Kingwichiro home. Continuing to Nchenga, site to be of the eventual permanent boma, they 'looked through a telescope' and made for Barikiwa, on which fairly obviously they had been briefed before setting out. The one European in the party, for the rest comprising a handful of Nubian constabulary, was sceptical of the presence of Ngoni raiders thereabouts and administered floggings to guides who failed to reveal them. Yet he did presently make contact with the foe, using Ngindo as decoys. This was at Kipeta, a thicket 10 miles north-west of Barikiwa. The 'Ngoni' took to their heels, with 'Kofia mbaya', as this European was known, in pursuit as far as Mbweho, 20 miles beyond. He lost no time in following up right to the Luhanyando, Ndonde springboard of many former raids. Chabruma, the eastern Ngoni paramount, then proceeded to Barikiwa to make his formal submission. Thereafter no further hostilities occurred and the machinery of civil government was set up. Barikiwa-boma proved ephemeral. German graves dated 1900, the resting place of fever victims, are still to be seen there; but immediately after the turn of the century came the decision to shift 25 miles south to Nchenga, the spot on the Liwale river originally surveyed. So 'Liwale-boma' was born, and the stage set for the cardinal dramatic episode of Ngindo history.

The German administration, still largely military in character, went little further than the maintenance of

law and order. Tax was altogether a novelty ... disturbances are recorded in Newala on its introduction in 1897 (Ref.57), expansion of services in which quarter had been facilitated by the presence of missions founded a generation before. This was a far cry from remote Liwale, where a German sergeant at the head of half a dozen African soldier-constables, or 'askaris', commanded a tiny post. Liwale formed an appanage of Kilwa 'Bezirk' or District, of which the headquarters stood at the port of Kivinje, 150 miles east. Liwale 'boma' was a temporary structure as were the rudimentary prison, school, and other essential buildings. The trading store alone was solidly roofed. Beyond, for more than 100 miles on every hand, stretched a vast tsetse belt, mostly forest, across which succour could come only by slow marches.

It is germane to examine the nature and methods of the administrative system. The basic unit, it will have been seen, was the Jumbeate, headed by an indigenous appointee. Each Jumbe held a direct responsibility towards the European in charge, known in his civilian capacity as the 'Hauptmann'. There was no native paramount. The Hauptmann of Liwale controlled twenty such Jumbeates, totalling perhaps 50,000 people ... the country was then less sparsely populated in parts than under the Mandate. The Jumbes, though subject to rigorous discipline and limited in their legal jurisdiction, in other respects had a free hand. Their stipend is said to have been an annual lump-sum payable on results. Their duties included collection of tax, which stood at 3 rupees a year, equivalent of about a week's strenuous rubber-tapping. As early as 1887 plantation labourers were getting this amount and more as their monthly cash wage. "The wages paid vary between 3 and 5 rupees a month with six pesos posho (flour) per diem in lieu of board" (Ref.78). The harsh penalties dispensed by the law

do not ordinarily appear to have visited persons other than summarily proven offenders, including askaris found exceeding their instructions. This is what the Ngindo say, though they add that people seldom dared report an askari.

Economically Ngindoland flourished as never before. As evidenced by the influx of the same coastal middlemen who were to suffer so grievously in the ensuing outbreak, wild-rubber brought prosperity to the very thickets where wealth might have been expected to be hardest to find. In these thickets, relatively free of animal-pests in those days when elephant had yet to multiply, the Ngindo were able to raise high-yielding grain crops which, melancholy contrast with today, were consumed wholly at home. So food, beer, and cloth were to be had in abundance; and though porterage and other indented labour had to be raised, it fetched regular wages excepting on local road-clearance work. Supplies commandeered by visiting officials were paid for. Farmers could get compensation for damage done by the experimental government herds. In the very year the Majimaji crisis arose, compulsory cotton-planting had begun, each Jumbe or subordinate supervising a communal plot. Those present assert that askaris came to measure the plots at the outset but had no further hand in them. The only cotton-inspector I succeeded in interviewing, then a lad just out of the Liwale school, was brother of an Ngindo Jumbe. From this the implementation of the cotton policy in Kibata, where aliens were put in charge, appears to have differed radically.

Then as now the authorities demanded obedience to orders. And in Liwale at least, the regime sounds not a

great deal more severe than contemporary ones elsewhere. Sutherland the elephant hunter, who knew the area intimately as no other observer did, and manifestly a just man, has not a word of criticism to make, whereas he fulminates against the Portuguese next door (Ref.87, 1911). A large body of Yao actually asked to cross the Ruvuma into German territory and got permission to do so (Ref.61). This would however appear to have been after the Majimaji Revolt: the Handbook of German East Africa says that some 45,000 came across in about 1912 (Ref.64). Of the askaris Bell roundly declares, "the terror these men inspired was hideous" (Ref.5). It may be true that they were encouraged to be brutal, hence detested, lest they should sympathise with local grievances ... to this day askaris seldom serve in their home areas ;## but anyone familiar with the country would be bound to admit that the impositions of half a dozen men on foot, however fiendish, could scarcely amount to serious oppression. Patrolling askaris seem to have made a practice of seducing the wives of all and sundry, which, because of the open way they did it, evoked humilation rather than genuine anger. During, but not after, the immediate occupation phase they are said to have committed atrocities in the manner of their Ngoni foes.

Nevertheless, expecting to hear gruesome tales, I have constantly been astonished at reports of relatively mild treatment. People who were in domestic and other service confirm that they never once received corporal punishment. This may not be typical, but many are emphatic that the 'hamsa-ishirini' (25 lashes) was the ceiling, not the standard. That relations between ruler and ruled were not necessarily hostile is illustrated by an incident which had its sequel in World War I, when a young, and to

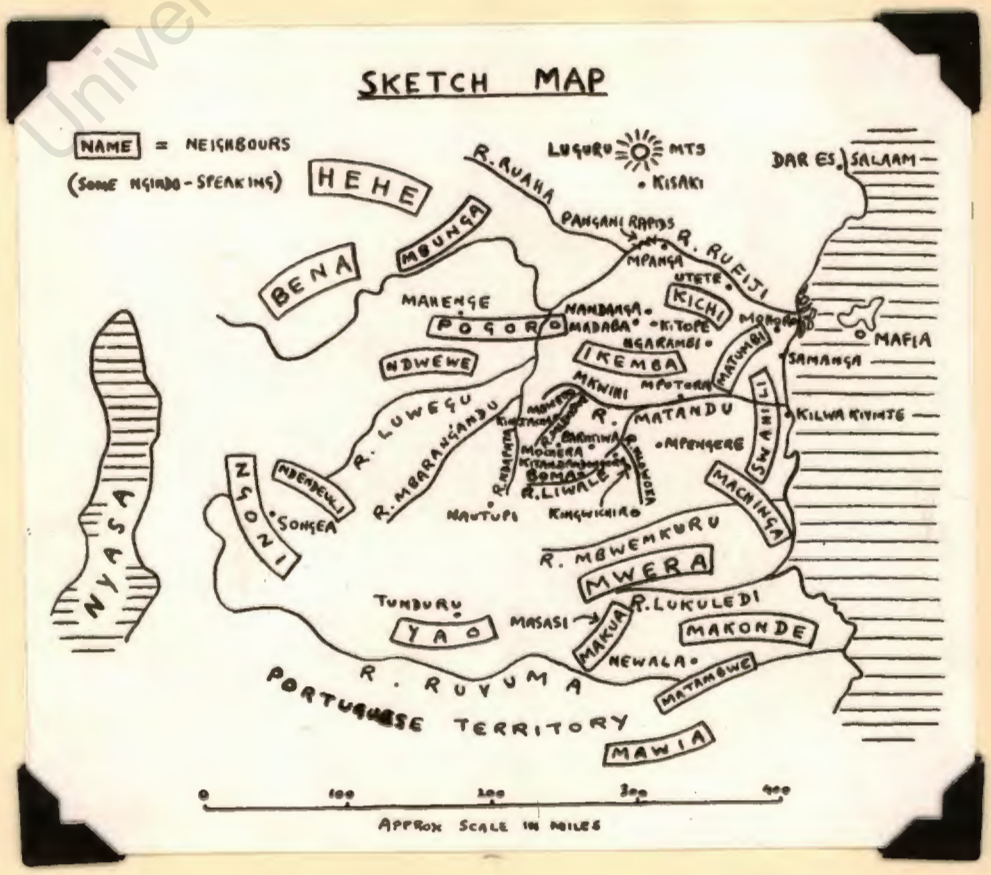
appearances white, man with the German forces asked after 'his grandfather', Nindira. Told that the old man had died, he then wished to see 'his uncle', Abdulla son of Nindira. But the timid populace remaining evasive, the youth had to go away disappointed. Now, one of the early German administrators allegedly lived with Nindira's daughter and took her away with him on being posted. Some Ngindo deliberately minimise the differences between then and now. The principal hardship in their eyes, they aver, was substitution of penal sanctions for compensation in event of a grave offence. Whereas the Mandate went further by abolishing another two cardinal institutions, slavery and 'witchcraft'.

No government is popular with the peasantry, and that of Imperial Germany was probably less so than most. But, without wishing to be an apologist, my enquiries have not convinced me that in the Liwale area it was a reign of terror. Besides, without what the reigning Governor described as "vigorous educative influences" (Ref.95), it is doubtful whether a lenient policy could achieve any positive result under Liwale conditions. Why I have dwelt on this subject is because, if the people were groaning under intolerable tyranny, discontent alone would serve to explain the Majimaji outbreak, leaving no room for discussion of its debt to tribal or other factors. There is the objection that participants were well aware of the consequence of German defeat, namely Ngoni resurgence. Why then did they choose the latter ? Firstly, the rank and file had virtually no choice. Secondly, they explain, the magician ~~wizard~~ Bokera promised that he would muster wild beasts to drive invaders back. German severity never approached Ngoni frightfulness. Here I limit myself to summarising the burden of native comment

coming to my ears. I do not suggest that the horror-stories are incorrect. Bell quotes some examples, concluding thus: "many such tales of brutality and ruthlessness could be told, and many are too gruesome for record" (Ref.5). Possibly the growing dearth of first-hand information gives rise to the discrepancy, though time generally exaggerates hardships rather than the reverse, and Ngindo can have no reason for whitewashing the Germans. Perhaps the truth lies between extreme views. It may also be that the Germans, depending for their profits on the private native rubber-tappers, who were in any case disposed to be co-operative and needed no prodding, purposely soft-pedalled.

It is instructive to read a German version of the Majimaji affair which, even if partisan, helps to create a true perspective. Schnee, a successor of von Götzen as Governor, after admitting certain isolated lapses on the part of officials harassed by the climate, and pointing to parallels from British Kenya, held that the Dernberg Commission of 1908 had fully probed and aired these incidents. He wrote, "...the revolt was limited to the southern part of the colony, in which there were very few European plantations, whereas the northern part of the colony, in which lay the large plantation districts as well as the chief centres for recruiting labourers, was completely free from the rebellion. At no time was the hut tax in German East Africa higher than in neighbouring Kenya, and it was levied with due consideration for the districts which were economically weak or backward, such as the region of the revolt. In reality, the revolt arose ... through a movement which was spread by a native wizard ... It is true that the crushing of this revolt entailed a relatively large sacrifice of native life, since the rebels, depending on the efficacy of

Majimaji Crisis: (above)the key informant on Islamic conversion, seen attending a pagan initiation finale: (below)sketch-map of the area affected by the rising.



their magic talisman, revealed a most unusual degree of tenacity and contempt for death, just as the Soudanese dervishes against whom Kitchener fought did under frenzied psychic influences, with the same decimating results (italics). But the suggestion that these losses were occasioned by cruelties on the part of the Germans is an unworthy fabrication" (Ref.84).

The genesis of the revolt lay in that marginal area of old Kibata administrative division, adjacent to that of Kilwa and south of the Rufiji mouth, where Ngindo of the Ikemba breed, Pogoro, and the Kichi folk who are the core of the Matumbi tribe, mingled their stocks. There, towards 1905, three personalities emerged from obscurity, fashioning between them a weapon that was to convulse the land from far Nyasa to the coast. The weapon was an amalgam of substantial medicine, mystical taboo, xenophobia and Islam. Its creators have been assigned to the Ikemba. But the latter vehemently deny the link, throwing it onto the Kichi who in turn suggest a coastal extraction. Whatever his antecedents, the leader of the trinity, 'Bokera', mystical title of an individual named Kinjiketire Ngwale, gained an immense reputation, attracting clients from all southern Tanganyika. His message was multiple, acquiring such a host of attributes that it is difficult to describe it shortly. All accounts agree however that it centred about water, water possessing magic properties... in fact a sort of elixir. Maji, a word found in most of the surrounding Bantu tongues, means 'water' in Swahili.

By a curious chance, Burton a full half-century before found a similar cult flourishing no great distance north of the Rufiji. Here is his account:* "... hill

tribes (apparently the Luguru, written 'Waruguru') ... have a place visited even by distant Wazaramo pilgrims. It is described as a cave where a P'hepo or disembodied spirit of a man, in fact a ghost, produces a terrible subterranean sound, called by the people Kurero or Bokero; it arises probably from the flow of water underground. In a pool in the cave, women bathe for the blessing of issue, and men sacrifice sheep and goats to obtain fruitful seasons and success in war" (Ref.9,1857). One need look no further for the origin of 'Bokera', which is the rendering favoured by all the informants I have met. Bell however seems to have been told the authentic 'Bokero' pronunciation//(One of the regular Ngindo descent-names, ani-Pokera, sometimes heard as Mbokera, resembles the Majimaji leader's name; probably by mere chance). Since warfare was endemic in those days, Burton's allusion to it may be taken as incidental; that is, not indicative of a militant cult. Majimaji witnesses speak of bogus seances held in a cave, presumably at Nandanga Hill, to which I shall refer, callers being tricked by answers boomed through a tunnel in the rock. Another possible site is the Ndagalala pool, situated at the Ngarambi-Lihenge confluence and later to be discussed. A sketch-map in the District Book marks an adjacent hill called Bwengi. Perhaps Bwengi contains a cave. The alleged scene of the earlier manifestation is only a few marches ... something over 100 miles as the crow flies ... from the later Bokera's home. Von Prince, who spent years in the area during the 1890s, though he dwells on the "wonderful mountains" of Uluguru// (Ref.96), mentions neither cave nor shrine; nor have I been able to elicit any information from the present authorities.

n/p .....

An article on Rufiji geology (ref.87) has a significant discussion of caves in the Mtumbei valley.

Mtumbei lies amid the Matumbi hills about 30 miles inland from Samanga. A contributor to the article, Father Hilmar of the Kipatimu Mission, gives a detailed account of Nangoma, largest of the caves thereabouts. Of these he remarks that the Majimaji "originated from this place", but unfortunately quotes no specific source of information nor does he enlarge on the statement. What is tolerably certain is that numbers of tribesfolk, whether or not Majimaji adherents, hid in the caves at the time of the troubles. A predecessor at the Mission, Father Ambrosius Mayer, visited Nangoma shortly after its discovery by the authorities in 1910. He estimated that 5,000 people could have camped unseen in its "enormous vestibule", where he found traces of numerous hearth fires. This would explain reports of villages unaccountably deserted during the campaign. The Father went on to describe a n/p feature which makes the analogy with Burton's tableau startling. "We noticed an unruffled still pool of water which appeared to be of considerable depth". Of this pool Father Hilmar observes, "the natives state that this stream never dries up even in the driest dry season". One must withold judgement on Nangoma, but it seems not impossible that Burton's mention of the Luguru mountains may have been pure and simple surmise on his part. The somewhat confusing context, with "hill tribes" placed in apposition to "Waruguru", points in this direction. If he had heard that the cave lay amid mountains he would have been more likely to postulate those of Uluguru than the mysterious trans-Rufiji reaches to the south. This n/p theory would appear to be supported by a seeming dearth of noteworthy caves in Uluguru, emphasised by the absence of any significant remark on caves in the comprehensive article of Scheeder and Tastevin (Ref:82). The article

includes a detailed discussion of Luguru religion. Again, the expression "distant Wazaramo pilgrims" would fit Matumbi country better than that of the Luguru, which is relatively close to Zaramoland. The Zaramo occupy the hinterland of Dar es Salaam. On the other hand, although nearby Mtumbei would seem a more probable focus of Majimaji than distant Uluguru, there is no direct evidence showing recrudescence of a hypothetical water cult at Mtumbei. Caves, and even caves with springs, can be no great rarity. But the sheer dimensions of Nangoma must, in that region, make it unique. Some of the earlier European visitors, before emerging from its bowels, reputedly wandered for three whole days.

In the beginning, much the same phenomenon as the one narrated by Burton seems to have given notoriety to Ngarambi (Ruhingo), where Bokera the second, complete with pool and supposed cavern (the former has been visited by European observers, but not so far as I know the latter), presided over the oracle. Native opinion has it that, even when violence was imminent, the movement held no specifically warlike content. Although Bell's essay to some extent, and the German official version flatly, contradict the notion, I am inclined to believe this. Bell concedes the cataclysm to have been "the fortuitous result not the object of the magic water" (Ref.5). He also states, "It should be noted that no particular enemy was mentioned and that the natives who first went to buy the water from Ngameya (another witch-doctor) were more concerned with its power to protect their crops from pig than its power to shield them in war". The water's decisive ingredient, ability to dissolve actual bullets in flight, appears to have come as an afterthought.

Exactly how the initial incidents developed in Kibata is not known to me, though the war never seems to have assumed Liwale proportions along the Rufiji. A solitary reference speaks of the boma at Utete being built to counter the "Wakitseni (apparently the Kichi) ... who were noted as being a most warlike and truculent tribe" (Ref. 60). But, bureaucracy ignoring the urgent warning and appeal from that quarter, the conflagration had engulfed Liwale before the authorities had stirred. Prior to ~~Before~~ reviewing their significance, I shall trace the course of events in outline. The emergency call from a Kibata headman, shortly to be beleaguered, emanated early in July 1905. A month later Liwale was lost. Bokera himself had gone to the gallows before then ... the date of execution is given as August 4th, a day before the doomed missionaries under Bishop Cassian left Kilwa for the interior; the place of execution Mohoro, capital of Kibata (Ref.5) .## But the monster of his making was already launched on its bloody career.

Nowhere was the response so immediate or devastating as in Liwale. Mobilization of the Majimaji armies, crudely mustered under the renegade Jumbes, and comprising these same Ngindo who had cut so pathetic a figure in past raiding days, came about in a trice. Mass levies and baptisms, accompanied by threats of physical violence and super#natural sanctions, brought the people out in droves. Only a minority adopted traditional evasive tactics. Three distinct hordes, protected by doses of potent water, in mortal terror of being devoured by wild beasts should taboos be broken, bearing millet-stalk and cloth insignia, sustained by the 'Majimaji!' battle cry, and professing the Islamic faith, converged on the boma. Pivot of the rising was Abdalla Mapanda, most sinister and resolute of the insurgent leaders. Nephew of the same

Mpinga who had first implored German aid, he was a disappointed claimant for the post of Jumbe, and instead had entered trade. The result was debt, apparently towards the rubber interests, who had a European representative at Liwale boma, one of the two European victims there. Extraordinary solution, Mapanda was given a rifle along with a commission to shoot elephant. He met with little success in his quest for ivory ... the yarn attributing his ~~dif~~deformed thumb to an accident of the chase is denied by some, who make fire or an infantile disease responsible ;// indeed his first quarry may well have been the two askaris sent to investigate reports of disturbances at Kingwichiro, near Mapanda's home, where the trading community suffered pillage a day or two before the boma assault. There can be no doubt that, along with a junta of Jumbes, this ferocious creature ... he went personally to seek the water at Ngarambi, and was to cut the throat of his own daughter in full view of his followers ... roused the timid Ngindo to a moment of frenzy. The worm turning, the Germans called it.

The campaign at Liwale-boma lasted a morning. Made aware of the bankruptcy of the water by the ghastly fact of their casualties, the Majimaji warriors melted away almost as soon. Were it not for its vulnerable thatch, the post would in all probability have held firm. As it was, fire either consumed the defenders, of whom a solitary African NCO is reputed to have got clean away, or forced them out into a hail of poisoned arrows. Only a few gangs of desperate elements persisted; notably those of Abdalla Mchimaye to the east, whose people fell on the

missionaries some days later, killing a Catholic Bishop and his half dozen companions, and made repeated attacks on the subsequently established police-unit at Mpengere along the Kilwa road; and of Mapanda himself who, after vainly contesting the passage of the columns from the coast ... he is said to have gone to the length of digging trenches ... tried to repeat his initial success against the relief garrison of Liwale. There could be only one issue. A party of Government troops reached the latter place within a month of the catastrophe, and a considerable expedition had followed up before the end of the year. The hunt for fugitives began.

Such was the war in the area of its most spectacular triumph. In the distant northern reaches of the Division the energies of the rebels had been directed against alien traders and officials thereabouts, never synchronised with the boma coup. Kapolo, outlawed ex-Jumbe of Madaba who had everything to gain, nothing to lose, from disorder, headed the insurrection in this quarter. As for the home Pogoro, their effort came later. The captured rifles from Liwale gave them the heart to attempt the far more formidable bulwark of Mahenge which, for lack of ammunition, is said to have come within an ace of falling too. Likewise, the Ngoni entered late. Here Kinjala, who years before had figured in the raiding truce, was instrumental. The first clashes found him away in his second Songea home, whence he returned to meet a fait accompli. He showed little enthusiasm for the cause until brought before Mapanda and sentenced to death as a traitor. The condition of his reprieve was that he should give chase to a European planter, Pfuller, and proselytise the Ngoni. The latter task he did very effectively through the agency of his mistress, the influential 'Jumbess' Mkomanire. Bell's claim that her

complicity has "not one shred of evidence from native reports" (Ref.5) seems open to doubt. Africans have confirmed the liaison on both the Ngoni and Ngindo sides. Chabruma, paramount of the eastern Ngoni, vaccillated, but his hand was forced by subordinate hotheads. There ensued a spate of murders and several encounters with Government forces, though the boma itself never became closely invested (Ref.61). That the struggle reached a grim tempo is evidenced by Sir Philip Mitchell. "I have walked over some of the scenes of great fights in the Livingstone Mountains and around Songea ... with headmen who had been there as my guides. Wherever they dug, their hoes turned up human bones in masses. The slaughter was terrible ...". (Ref.51). Elsewhere in the present Southern Province no major fighting occurred. The Yao showed little interest. "The Wayao as a tribe did not join the Majimaji ... (this) ... may be attributed partly to the great influence of Sutherland, the great elephant hunter" (Ref.62). The same source tells of Tunduru boma being 'stormed' by 'Wangoni'. Nor did the Makua or Makonde enter to any extent. However the people living in "the northern half of the (Makonde) plateau joined in ... (there was) sporadic fighting and a number were shot or hanged"(Ref.59). The Mwera seem to have done more damage. At least one Christian mission in the Lukuledi area was despoiled and Weule witnessed frightful suffering among the starving populace in mid 1906 (Ref.97). The Swahili of the coast fought sporadically. The very first brush of all was reported from maritime Samanga and engagements took place at other points. But Kilwa was never threatened. As for the riverine Bena of Mahenge, they would have nothing to do with Majimaji. Their paramount, who had made contact with the Germans from an early date when visiting the coast, actually fought as a loyalist and fell in action (Ref.14).

n/p

Evidently the Mbunga were less docile. According to the Mahenge District Book, the paramount and two other leaders, one of them a woman, along with her son, were hanged for complicity. Though the formidable Hehe abstained, the conflict spread north of the Rufiji as well, but this lies beyond the scope of my enquiries. Suffice it that Dar es Salaam itself, the seat of Government, became jeepardised; whilst Kisiju, 40 miles south of the town, was "burnt down" in October 1905 (Ref.21).

Only in warlike Songea are the mass of the people said to have been subjected to deliberate reprisals. Here the Germans could afford to take no chances. Whereas in Liwale none but the ringleaders were apprehended and 'civilian' deaths occurred only in mopping up around the Kingwichiro trouble-focus, x the Ngoni seem to have suffered dire punishment. Operations were still proceeding when Weule landed in mid 1906 (Ref.97), by which time Liwale had been quiet for months. The Songea District Book has this to say. "Half the district, led by the Angoni, became directly implicated ... disastrous results ... German punitive measures stampeded the Wangoni in all directions ... reduced to waste a fairly prosperous country". Suppression in Liwale did not go to these lengths. Only two categories of offenders were tracked down and publicly hanged. These were the rebel Jumbes themselves, together with notorious figures like Mapanda; and the so-called 'Jumbe Hongos', seemingly not so much emissaries of Bokera as hysterical persons who, reacting spontaneously to the general unrest, circulated far and wide crazily stirring the cauldron of fear.

Some were female. Muslim

Footnote x:
Against this must be set such assertions as that of Joelson, Ref.35: "Crops and habitations had on every possible occasion to be destroyed by fire". The writer here apparently refers to Matumbi country.

Preachers came to no harm; nor did the rank and file of the Majimaji armies, excepting, that is, for self-confessed war-criminals. Sutherland relates how a man came to Liwale-boma some years later seeking legal aid to secure a share of Majimaji loot. Both he and the defendant forfeited their lives! (Ref.89). The peak ferment having coincided with the planting season, scarcely a field was cleared or sown. Owing to panic, dislocation, and physical weakness, cultivation fared little better the following year. The resultant ravages of famine were atrocious. The 'Handbook of German East Africa' puts the casualties at 120,000 (Ref.64), whilst Evans writes that the Majimaji soldiers were "Stated to have lost at least 70,000 killed" (Ref:17). Some informants insinuate that villages were burnt down. On the other hand, according to the natives, a certain African sergeant-major, Almasi by name, whose servant Kayanda was found guilty of looting, was arrested by 'Hofman Sembera', as the local German commandant was known, and sent for trial to Kilwa. His dismissal from the service followed.

From this synopsis it is obvious that the Ngindo were prime movers in the rising and that they acted largely on their own initiative. Bokera, soul of the movement, was in his grave ten days before Liwale foundered. And there seems some doubt as to whether he ever preached a militant crusade. In any case the army he or his lieutenants allegedly despatched thither was forestalled. Nowhere excepting in the Liwale and Mahenge sieges, and possibly in Songea, did the conflict amount to more than skirmishing. It was famine, not bullets, that caused the enormous loss of life. And it was the geographical extent of the rising, its demonstration of the essential fragility of administrative control, combined with the

partial disaffection of a martial tribe, that so gravely alarmed the Government. Bell has effectively disposed of the absurdity of a planned conspiracy (Ref.5). The motivation in each area evidently differed according to the way in which the message of Bokera was transmitted, to the manner of its interpretation, and to purely local factors. n/p In the case of the home-Ngindo, Islam played a conspicuous part. Conversion of the 'tribe' as a whole dates from this epoch. The ~~wizard~~ magician-apostles of the cult were anything but orthodox Muslims, but they had a Koranic reader in attendance and contrived to give an Islamic colouring to their campaign. Also, though one doubts whether more than a fraction found its way into their hands, considerable sums were collected on their behalf in the form of baptismal fees. Present Ngindo cynics generally ascribe the entire scheme to greed for money. To postulate a Mahdist belief or direct instigation from Mecca or any other Islamic centre would not in my view be admissible. I shall return to this point. No religious heirarchy capable of issuing orders existed in East Africa. It is undeniable too that the rebels, in their first excess, robbed and killed the very traders who were the pillars of the nascent Muslim community, and that Muslim troops were used to suppress them. The Muslim coast responded but feebly to the summons. Hence the Muslim content of the revolt appears unorganized, a clever adaptation of isolated Koranic tenets to support something primarily African and traditional rather than a holy war of the Prophet.

The principal stimuli are therefore twofold; the power of pagan ritual and supernatural command; and that of actual and would-be native governmental agents. To which I would add the extremely susceptible nature of Ngindo society. How far was the Majimaji specifically

Ngindo ? Mystical aspects will be the first for scrutiny. Next I shall turn to matters political.

But first, lest the reasons for such a detailed digression should not be clear, let me emphasise the paramount importance of the Rebellion for present-day Ngindo life. Not only does the Majimaji, witnessed by the bulk of surviving senior elders, remain a shattering memory; but also its impact has induced permanent, integral changes in the nature of Ngindo society. Without a thorough appraisal of Majimaji teachings, such features as the pseudo-Islamic cult of today cannot properly be understood. Psychologically also, the effects must be of equal magnitude. And though I am not qualified to assess them, no anthropologist can afford to ignore psychology, whether individual or group, as the general climate and setting of his study.

Majimaji taboos seem to have coincided with regular Ngindo ones only in principle. Sexual abstinence, observed during many Ngindo ceremonials, was prescribed by Bokera. Its violation served to explain disaster or failure. But the practice is too common for it to be traced to any one tribe. The cardinal ban on bushpig imposed by the rebels tallies with those on Ngindo clan totems, yet obviously derives from Islam. The great accrescence of associated avoidances, though attributed to Islam, may not be wholly so. A wide range of insects and

small mammals, over and above hippo, warthog and elephant, enters the prohibited category. Another alleged component of the revolutionary message was the injunction to advance against the enemy with never a backward glance ... decidedly a novelty to the inoffensive, individualist Ngindo. One cannot help remarking on the emphasis placed on linguistic formulae during this war. Lions, for instance, were called 'sheep', askaris 'moths'. Now the Ikemba, by contrast with other Ngindo, favour synonyms of this kind. If they go out after beds they can only hope for success if they refer to them as 'flies'. If the Ikemba are unique in this respect, plainly the revolt borrowed a specific element from them. But I suspect Kichi influence to be present. Why else do the southerly Ngindo attach no importance to names ? Again Bokera is said to have forbidden all but pure-black stock. This ruling does not appear Ngindo by inspiration, for the Ngindo had few goats and no beasts, excepting for the Ngoni collaborator Kinjala's herd and an experimental one imported by the Germans. In this as in other moves, Bokera seems to reveal himself ~~a~~ eclectic, opportunist.

He utilized the ancestor-cults common to all the surrounding Bantu, but only as a diversion. Pilgrims were attracted to his shrine by the story that spirits would appear reflected in the sacred waters. The theme never recurred prominently once recourse to arms had been made. Disappointed callers were told they were too late or had infringed taboos. The Ngindo hold by contrast that the dead, although they remain active, cannot

be seen. The action of Mapanda in murdering the two askaris on the grave of Mpinga strikes me as untypical for an Ngindo, who will pay scant attention to graves as a rule. No permanent mark is left to show the spot, nor is any observance made there after burial. Some elders remember the sites and might protest if a stranger started farming them. The only exception I have noted is in the case of a specialised prophet cult. Could not Mapanda have got the idea ∅from Bokera ?

The latter's claims as a supernaturally endowed human far surpassed those of ordinary Ngindo sorcerers. Not that his activities were thought anti-social, or dangerous to the people at large (other than loyalists to the German state). He or his agents could threaten people hundreds of miles away, whereas the conventional sorcerer, more often than not a woman, has no power to molest a person living beyond a night's return walking distance. Sorcerers place or administer medicines by stealth, but seldom in liquid form. The luKUTA ordeal in vogue at the present day entails the consumption by suspects of a liquid potion, not plain water but a mixture. It had probably yet to reach Liwale in those days, being an importation from elsewhere. Besides, Majimaji water could take effect from simple bathing or sprinkling and was multi-purpose. The old Ngindo technique, called luGUMBA, of identifying a sorcerer consisted of piercing the ear-lobes and observing the flow of blood. Fear of were-animals controlled by wizards was a feature of

adjacent tribes such as Mwera and Makonde. So the Majimaji device of alliance with wild beasts cannot be laid at the door of the Ngindo. On the other hand Ngindo do believe that a corpse remaining limp may become reincarnated as a wild beast. Such a monster will claim its first victim from among the bereaved kinsmen, the remedy being to place Nyombo-leaves or Ng'hungutwa-bark on the grave. As for the assertion that the water's "power was finally extended so as to make women invisible and secure from capture"(Ref.80), this has the flavour of war propaganda, and therefore no relevance to chance similarities in sorcery. Ngindo sorcerers, who are nocturnal, go abroad stark naked leaving no footprint. They cast a drowsy spell over any passer-by, hence make themselves virtually invisible Only if a victim awakes at the critical moment can he clutch hold of his tormentor, revealing who it is. Bokera can better be compared with a white magician, conferring blessing through medicine, though I never heard him described as an exorcist or champion against sorcerers. It is however on record that he was thought capable of making recipients of sacralised water "immune from witchcraft" (Ref.5).

Today's devil-dances, like the new ordeal, had yet to catch on thoroughly, and the attributes of such devils as they commemorate do not correspond with Bokera's instruments, which were wild beasts rather than disease. The behaviour of the Jumbe Hongos was that of persons harbouring devils in their bodies, but this seems coincidental. Songs associated with the dances have only passing allusions to the Majimaji. The sky-god or creator, ChaPANGANYA, whom the Ngindo acknowledge, received no recognition from Bokera. The customary sacrificial offerings to the spirits and equally popular divination he

seems altogether to have neglected. Bell includes among the rebels' code-names the phrase "kuchecha yihinga", translated as a female dance and signifying the call to arms (Ref.5). Nowadays the seclusion dance for girl initiates is called kuCHIPIRA, the subsequent episodes having various names. The whole process may however be known as kuCHEZA iHINJA, or 'to initiate the little girls'. One is struck by the fact that this and other code-names were rendered in kiNgindo, with the inference that the authors of Majimaji spoke that language; unless the kiNgindo element is local translation or embroidery.

The sacred water came from Ngarambi though containers filled there might be replenished at will elsewhere. As for baptismal water, any pool or stream would do. Excepting symbolically, the two are not thought to be connected. There is some doubt whether baptism by bathing or immersion belongs to Islam at all. Certainly it receives greater emphasis in Liwale than in other Islamic areas. Even there I have heard a Muslim preacher deprecate the practice as if it were something wholly pagan. The pagan Ngindo initiation and other ceremonies incorporate ritual lustration for both sexes. Hence the Majimaji rite may be a synthesis. Nowadays baptism occasionally enters the initiation cycle, but lustration persists as a separate item ... a good instance of the parallelism commonly adopted by Ngindo. I have not visited the Ngarambi pool (Ndagalala), but Kichi living a short march east at Kibaoni stated that it had dried up. I could not establish whether this was permanent or merely seasonal. However, one imagines the supply to have been perennial. Bell relates how a lost youth, Salimu Tagawaka, was miraculously located in the waters of a pool (Ref.5). But it was

Bokera's associate,Ngameya, who performed the feat, to which Ngindo history yields no precedent. He operated in the Kitope area. Could this then have been the same pool ? Beardall's map (Ref.4) marks "Kitope Hill" no great distance inland from Samanga, perhaps a duplication of names. Nandanga, to which the headquarters were shifted, apparently before Bokera's demise, is described as a prominent hill. Lying some distance from Ngarambi, one wonders whether sacred water were available there too. Possibly considerations of defence dictated the move. In that case it may have marked the swing to a belligerent policy. Bell speaks of a Madaba lad being sent for the water to another source, Mpanga, at a point stated to be only five hours' walk from the Pangani rapids on the Rufiji. Mpanga is marked on Bell's map (Ref.5) as being on the river itself downstream from the rapids. Beardall, reconnoitring the Rufiji for the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1880, ascended "Mpanga hill" below the rapids (Ref.4).

Majimaji terminology is consistently aquatic. Take the report that "a great medicine man lived in the Rufiji river in the form of a water monster, and that this supernatural creature could dispense medicine" (Ref. 80). Possibly this account confuses medicinal water and the legend of 'Nyangumi',[x] a title adopted by Njugumaina Ngwale, Bokera's younger brother. Nyangumi, which is the regular Swahili word for whale, was thought to be a spirit haunting the same Pangani rapids just mentioned. Another source, referring to the journey to Nandanga of Kapungu, the Ngoni emissary, believed that "the God of the sea ((water)) could be consulted" (Ref.61). In the doomsday story current in Muslim Majimaji circles it is significant that inundation should be the mode of destruction

[x] Footnote:
Prima facie,both the name and the attributes of this monster resemble those of "Namungumi" or "water-mother" of the Nyasaland Yao (Ref.79b). According to this source, Namungumi is a mythical creature, drawn on the ground with flour and designed to instruct boy initiates.

of alien rule. There would be darkness for seven days, the prophecy ran, and then the people would find every boma submerged beneath the sea. This motif of punition by floods occurs, among two neighbouring tribes, Yao and Makua (Ref.27). In central Liwale I came across a small thicket which lay under a taboo to cultivators. The explanation was this. Not only had a man who attempted to farm it perished mysteriously, but also its interior was dank and gloomy 'like an underwater place'. The taboo dates from before the revolt. Up country, the Europeans were at first taken for water-creatures ... 'Fish from the sea', the Ngoni called them.

The ominous water, almost to the exclusion of all else, dominates Majimaji symbolism. No appeal was made to the familiar millet-flour and Ntogo-sprig of Ngindo ceremonial. One written account (Ref.80) describes the sacred liquid as a thin paste made from maize- and millet-flour mixed with water. Maize has no ritual significance for the Ngindo, nor do they doctor flour in this manner. Only as a pure expedient did the stalks of millet make a warrior emblem. Over and above the wide variety of herbal remedies known to Ngindo, there is a medicine thought to bring death to thieves. If a man finds his beehive rifled and cannot discover the culprit he may mix the substance with the smeared vestiges with fatal results to consumers of the stolen honey. As a deterrent such medicine might also be placed in advance. In the same way a jealous husband could sprinkle Majimaji water on his bed, upon which any adulterer would be paralyzed and remain helpless until apprehended. The resemblance however is probably a chance one. I have heard the water credited with

their magic talisman, revealed a most unusual degree of tenacity and contempt for death, just as the Soudanese dervishes against whom Kitchener fought did under frenzied psychic influences, with the same decimating results (italics). But the suggestion that these losses were occasioned by cruelties on the part of the Germans is an unworthy fabrication" (Ref.84).

The genesis of the revolt lay in that marginal area of old Kibata administrative division, adjacent to that of Kilwa and south of the Rufiji mouth, where Ngindo of the Ikemba breed, Pogoro, and the Kichi folk who are the core of the Matumbi tribe, mingled their stocks. There, towards 1905, three personalities emerged from obscurity, fashioning between them a weapon that was to convulse the land from far Nyasa to the coast. The weapon was an amalgam of substantial medicine, mystical taboo, xenophobia and Islam. Its creators have been assigned to the Ikemba. But the latter vehemently deny the link, throwing it onto the Kichi who in turn suggest a coastal extraction. Whatever his antecedents, the leader of the trinity, 'Bokera', mystical title of an individual named Kinjiketire Ngwale, gained an immense reputation, attracting clients from all southern Tanganyika. His message was multiple, acquiring such a host of attributes that it is difficult to describe it shortly. All accounts agree however that it centred about water, water possessing magic properties... in fact a sort of elixir. Maji, a word found in most of the surrounding Bantu tongues, means 'water' in Swahili.

By a curious chance, Burton a full half-century before found a similar cult flourishing no great distance north of the Rufiji. Here is his account:* "... hill

tribes (apparently the Luguru, written 'Waruguru') ... have a place visited even by distant Wazaramo pilgrims. It is described as a cave where a P'hepo or disembodied spirit of a man, in fact a ghost, produces a terrible subterranean sound, called by the people Kurero or Bokero; it arises probably from the flow of water underground. In a pool in the cave, women bathe for the blessing of issue, and men sacrifice sheep and goats to obtain fruitful seasons and success in war" (Ref.9,1857). One need look no further for the origin of 'Bokera', which is the rendering favoured by all the informants I have met. Bell however seems to have been told the authentic 'Bokero' pronunciation//(One of the regular Ngindo descent-names, ani-Pokera, sometimes heard as Mbokera, resembles the Majimaji leader's name; probably by mere chance). Since warfare was endemic in those days, Burton's allusion to it may be taken as incidental; that is, not indicative of a militant cult. Majimaji witnesses speak of bogus seances held in a cave, presumably at Nandanga Hill, to which I shall refer, callers being tricked by answers boomed through a tunnel in the rock. Another possible site is the Ndagalala pool, situated at the Ngarambi-Lihenge confluence and later to be discussed. A sketch-map in the District Book marks an adjacent hill called Bwengi. Perhaps Bwengi contains a cave. The alleged scene of the earlier manifestation is only a few marches ... something over 100 miles as the crow flies ... from the later Bokera's home. Von Prince, who spent years in the area during the 1890s, though he dwells on the "wonderful mountains" of Uluguru// (Ref.96), mentions neither cave nor shrine; nor have I been able to elicit any information from the present authorities.

n/p .....

An article on Rufiji geology (ref.87) has a significant discussion of caves in the Mtumbei valley.

Mtumbei lies amid the Matumbi hills about 30 miles inland from Samanga. A contributor to the article, Father Hilmar of the Kipatimu Mission, gives a detailed account of Nangoma, largest of the caves thereabouts. Of these he remarks that the Majimaji "originated from this place", but unfortunately quotes no specific source of information nor does he enlarge on the statement. What is tolerably certain is that numbers of tribesfolk, whether or not Majimaji adherents, hid in the caves at the time of the troubles. A predecessor at the Mission, Father Ambrosius Mayer, visited Nangoma shortly after its discovery by the authorities in 1910. He estimated that 5,000 people could have camped unseen in its "enormous vestibule", where he found traces of numerous hearth fires. This would explain reports of villages unaccountably deserted during the campaign. The Father went on to describe a n/p feature which makes the analogy with Burton's tableau startling. "We noticed an unruffled still pool of water which appeared to be of considerable depth". Of this pool Father Hilmar observes, "the natives state that this stream never dries up even in the driest dry season". One must withold judgement on Nangoma, but it seems not impossible that Burton's mention of the Luguru mountains may have been pure and simple surmise on his part. The somewhat confusing context, with "hill tribes" placed in apposition to "Waruguru", points in this direction. If he had heard that the cave lay amid mountains he would have been more likely to postulate those of Uluguru than the mysterious trans-Rufiji reaches to the south. This n/p theory would appear to be supported by a seeming dearth of noteworthy caves in Uluguru, emphasised by the absence of any significant remark on caves in the comprehensive article of Scheeder and Tastevin (Ref:82). The article

includes a detailed discussion of Luguru religion. Again, the expression "distant Wazaramo pilgrims" would fit Matumbi country better than that of the Luguru, which is relatively close to Zaramoland. The Zaramo occupy the hinterland of Dar es Salaam. On the other hand, although nearby Mtumbei would seem a more probable focus of Majimaji than distant Uluguru, there is no direct evidence showing recrudescence of a hypothetical water cult at Mtumbei. Caves, and even caves with springs, can be no great rarity. But the sheer dimensions of Nangoma must, in that region, make it unique. Some of the earlier European visitors, before emerging from its bowels, reputedly wandered for three whole days.

In the beginning, much the same phenomenon as the one narrated by Burton seems to have given notoriety to Ngarambi (Ruhingo), where Bokera the second, complete with pool and supposed cavern (the former has been visited by European observers, but not so far as I know the latter), presided over the oracle. Native opinion has it that, even when violence was imminent, the movement held no specifically warlike content. Although Bell's essay to some extent, and the German official version flatly, contradict the notion, I am inclined to believe this. Bell concedes the cataclysm to have been "the fortuitous result not the object of the magic water" (Ref.5). He also states, "It should be noted that no particular enemy was mentioned and that the natives who first went to buy the water from Ngameya (another witch-doctor) were more concerned with its power to protect their crops from pig than its power to shield them in war". The water's decisive ingredient, ability to dissolve actual bullets in flight, appears to have come as an afterthought.

Exactly how the initial incidents developed in Kibata is not known to me, though the war never seems to have assumed Liwale proportions along the Rufiji. A solitary reference speaks of the boma at Utete being built to counter the "Wakitseni (apparently the Kichi) ... who were noted as being a most warlike and truculent tribe" (Ref. 60). But, bureaucracy ignoring the urgent warning and appeal from that quarter, the conflagration had engulfed Liwale before the authorities had stirred. Prior to ~~Before~~ reviewing their significance, I shall trace the course of events in outline. The emergency call from a Kibata headman, shortly to be beleaguered, emanated early in July 1905. A month later Liwale was lost. Bokera himself had gone to the gallows before then ... the date of execution is given as August 4th, a day before the doomed missionaries under Bishop Cassian left Kilwa for the interior; the place of execution Mohoro, capital of Kibata (Ref.5) .## But the monster of his making was already launched on its bloody career.

Nowhere was the response so immediate or devastating as in Liwale. Mobilization of the Majimaji armies, crudely mustered under the renegade Jumbes, and comprising these same Ngindo who had cut so pathetic a figure in past raiding days, came about in a trice. Mass levies and baptisms, accompanied by threats of physical violence and super#natural sanctions, brought the people out in droves. Only a minority adopted traditional evasive tactics. Three distinct hordes, protected by doses of potent water, in mortal terror of being devoured by wild beasts should taboos be broken, bearing millet-stalk and cloth insignia, sustained by the 'Majimaji!' battle cry, and professing the Islamic faith, converged on the boma. Pivot of the rising was Abdalla Mapanda, most sinister and resolute of the insurgent leaders. Nephew of the same

Mpinga who had first implored German aid, he was a disappointed claimant for the post of Jumbe, and instead had entered trade. The result was debt, apparently towards the rubber interests, who had a European representative at Liwale boma, one of the two European victims there. Extraordinary solution, Mapanda was given a rifle along with a commission to shoot elephant. He met with little success in his quest for ivory ... the yarn attributing his ~~dif~~deformed thumb to an accident of the chase is denied by some, who make fire or an infantile disease responsible ;// indeed his first quarry may well have been the two askaris sent to investigate reports of disturbances at Kingwichiro, near Mapanda's home, where the trading community suffered pillage a day or two before the boma assault. There can be no doubt that, along with a junta of Jumbes, this ferocious creature ... he went personally to seek the water at Ngarambi, and was to cut the throat of his own daughter in full view of his followers ... roused the timid Ngindo to a moment of frenzy. The worm turning, the Germans called it.

The campaign at Liwale-boma lasted a morning. Made aware of the bankruptcy of the water by the ghastly fact of their casualties, the Majimaji warriors melted away almost as soon. Were it not for its vulnerable thatch, the post would in all probability have held firm. As it was, fire either consumed the defenders, of whom a solitary African NCO is reputed to have got clean away, or forced them out into a hail of poisoned arrows. Only a few gangs of desperate elements persisted; notably those of Abdalla Mchimaye to the east, whose people fell on the

missionaries some days later, killing a Catholic Bishop and his half dozen companions, and made repeated attacks on the subsequently established police-unit at Mpengere along the Kilwa road; and of Mapanda himself who, after vainly contesting the passage of the columns from the coast ... he is said to have gone to the length of digging trenches ... tried to repeat his initial success against the relief garrison of Liwale. There could be only one issue. A party of Government troops reached the latter place within a month of the catastrophe, and a considerable expedition had followed up before the end of the year. The hunt for fugitives began.

Such was the war in the area of its most spectacular triumph. In the distant northern reaches of the Division the energies of the rebels had been directed against alien traders and officials thereabouts, never synchronised with the boma coup. Kapolo, outlawed ex-Jumbe of Madaba who had everything to gain, nothing to lose, from disorder, headed the insurrection in this quarter. As for the home Pogoro, their effort came later. The captured rifles from Liwale gave them the heart to attempt the far more formidable bulwark of Mahenge which, for lack of ammunition, is said to have come within an ace of falling too. Likewise, the Ngoni entered late. Here Kinjala, who years before had figured in the raiding truce, was instrumental. The first clashes found him away in his second Songea home, whence he returned to meet a fait accompli. He showed little enthusiasm for the cause until brought before Mapanda and sentenced to death as a traitor. The condition of his reprieve was that he should give chase to a European planter, Pfuller, and proselytise the Ngoni. The latter task he did very effectively through the agency of his mistress, the influential 'Jumbess' Mkomanire. Bell's claim that her

complicity has "not one shred of evidence from native reports" (Ref.5) seems open to doubt. Africans have confirmed the liaison on both the Ngoni and Ngindo sides. Chabruma, paramount of the eastern Ngoni, vaccillated, but his hand was forced by subordinate hotheads. There ensued a spate of murders and several encounters with Government forces, though the boma itself never became closely invested (Ref.61). That the struggle reached a grim tempo is evidenced by Sir Philip Mitchell. "I have walked over some of the scenes of great fights in the Livingstone Mountains and around Songea ... with headmen who had been there as my guides. Wherever they dug, their hoes turned up human bones in masses. The slaughter was terrible ...". (Ref.51). Elsewhere in the present Southern Province no major fighting occurred. The Yao showed little interest. "The Wayao as a tribe did not join the Majimaji ... (this) ... may be attributed partly to the great influence of Sutherland, the great elephant hunter" (Ref.62). The same source tells of Tunduru boma being 'stormed' by 'Wangoni'. Nor did the Makua or Makonde enter to any extent. However the people living in "the northern half of the (Makonde) plateau joined in ... (there was) sporadic fighting and a number were shot or hanged"(Ref.59). The Mwera seem to have done more damage. At least one Christian mission in the Lukuledi area was despoiled and Weule witnessed frightful suffering among the starving populace in mid 1906 (Ref.97). The Swahili of the coast fought sporadically. The very first brush of all was reported from maritime Samanga and engagements took place at other points. But Kilwa was never threatened. As for the riverine Bena of Mahenge, they would have nothing to do with Majimaji. Their paramount, who had made contact with the Germans from an early date when visiting the coast, actually fought as a loyalist and fell in action (Ref.14).

n/p

Evidently the Mbunga were less docile. According to the Mahenge District Book, the paramount and two other leaders, one of them a woman, along with her son, were hanged for complicity. Though the formidable Hehe abstained, the conflict spread north of the Rufiji as well, but this lies beyond the scope of my enquiries. Suffice it that Dar es Salaam itself, the seat of Government, became jeepardised; whilst Kisiju, 40 miles south of the town, was "burnt down" in October 1905 (Ref.21).

Only in warlike Songea are the mass of the people said to have been subjected to deliberate reprisals. Here the Germans could afford to take no chances. Whereas in Liwale none but the ringleaders were apprehended and 'civilian' deaths occurred only in mopping up around the Kingwichiro trouble-focus, x the Ngoni seem to have suffered dire punishment. Operations were still proceeding when Weule landed in mid 1906 (Ref.97), by which time Liwale had been quiet for months. The Songea District Book has this to say. "Half the district, led by the Angoni, became directly implicated ... disastrous results ... German punitive measures stampeded the Wangoni in all directions ... reduced to waste a fairly prosperous country". Suppression in Liwale did not go to these lengths. Only two categories of offenders were tracked down and publicly hanged. These were the rebel Jumbes themselves, together with notorious figures like Mapanda; and the so-called 'Jumbe Hongos', seemingly not so much emissaries of Bokera as hysterical persons who, reacting spontaneously to the general unrest, circulated far and wide crazily stirring the cauldron of fear.

Some were female. Muslim

Footnote x:
Against this must be set such assertions as that of Joelson, Ref.35: "Crops and habitations had on every possible occasion to be destroyed by fire". The writer here apparently refers to Matumbi country.

Preachers came to no harm; nor did the rank and file of the Majimaji armies, excepting, that is, for self-confessed war-criminals. Sutherland relates how a man came to Liwale-boma some years later seeking legal aid to secure a share of Majimaji loot. Both he and the defendant forfeited their lives! (Ref.89). The peak ferment having coincided with the planting season, scarcely a field was cleared or sown. Owing to panic, dislocation, and physical weakness, cultivation fared little better the following year. The resultant ravages of famine were atrocious. The 'Handbook of German East Africa' puts the casualties at 120,000 (Ref.64), whilst Evans writes that the Majimaji soldiers were "Stated to have lost at least 70,000 killed" (Ref:17). Some informants insinuate that villages were burnt down. On the other hand, according to the natives, a certain African sergeant-major, Almasi by name, whose servant Kayanda was found guilty of looting, was arrested by 'Hofman Sembera', as the local German commandant was known, and sent for trial to Kilwa. His dismissal from the service followed.

From this synopsis it is obvious that the Ngindo were prime movers in the rising and that they acted largely on their own initiative. Bokera, soul of the movement, was in his grave ten days before Liwale foundered. And there seems some doubt as to whether he ever preached a militant crusade. In any case the army he or his lieutenants allegedly despatched thither was forestalled. Nowhere excepting in the Liwale and Mahenge sieges, and possibly in Songea, did the conflict amount to more than skirmishing. It was famine, not bullets, that caused the enormous loss of life. And it was the geographical extent of the rising, its demonstration of the essential fragility of administrative control, combined with the

partial disaffection of a martial tribe, that so gravely alarmed the Government. Bell has effectively disposed of the absurdity of a planned conspiracy (Ref.5). The motivation in each area evidently differed according to the way in which the message of Bokera was transmitted, to the manner of its interpretation, and to purely local factors. n/p In the case of the home-Ngindo, Islam played a conspicuous part. Conversion of the 'tribe' as a whole dates from this epoch. The ~~wizard~~ magician-apostles of the cult were anything but orthodox Muslims, but they had a Koranic reader in attendance and contrived to give an Islamic colouring to their campaign. Also, though one doubts whether more than a fraction found its way into their hands, considerable sums were collected on their behalf in the form of baptismal fees. Present Ngindo cynics generally ascribe the entire scheme to greed for money. To postulate a Mahdist belief or direct instigation from Mecca or any other Islamic centre would not in my view be admissible. I shall return to this point. No religious heirarchy capable of issuing orders existed in East Africa. It is undeniable too that the rebels, in their first excess, robbed and killed the very traders who were the pillars of the nascent Muslim community, and that Muslim troops were used to suppress them. The Muslim coast responded but feebly to the summons. Hence the Muslim content of the revolt appears unorganized, a clever adaptation of isolated Koranic tenets to support something primarily African and traditional rather than a holy war of the Prophet.

The principal stimuli are therefore twofold; the power of pagan ritual and supernatural command; and that of actual and would-be native governmental agents. To which I would add the extremely susceptible nature of Ngindo society. How far was the Majimaji specifically

Ngindo ? Mystical aspects will be the first for scrutiny. Next I shall turn to matters political.

But first, lest the reasons for such a detailed digression should not be clear, let me emphasise the paramount importance of the Rebellion for present-day Ngindo life. Not only does the Majimaji, witnessed by the bulk of surviving senior elders, remain a shattering memory; but also its impact has induced permanent, integral changes in the nature of Ngindo society. Without a thorough appraisal of Majimaji teachings, such features as the pseudo-Islamic cult of today cannot properly be understood. Psychologically also, the effects must be of equal magnitude. And though I am not qualified to assess them, no anthropologist can afford to ignore psychology, whether individual or group, as the general climate and setting of his study.

Majimaji taboos seem to have coincided with regular Ngindo ones only in principle. Sexual abstinence, observed during many Ngindo ceremonials, was prescribed by Bokera. Its violation served to explain disaster or failure. But the practice is too common for it to be traced to any one tribe. The cardinal ban on bushpig imposed by the rebels tallies with those on Ngindo clan totems, yet obviously derives from Islam. The great accrescence of associated avoidances, though attributed to Islam, may not be wholly so. A wide range of insects and

small mammals, over and above hippo, warthog and elephant, enters the prohibited category. Another alleged component of the revolutionary message was the injunction to advance against the enemy with never a backward glance ... decidedly a novelty to the inoffensive, individualist Ngindo. One cannot help remarking on the emphasis placed on linguistic formulae during this war. Lions, for instance, were called 'sheep', askaris 'moths'. Now the Ikemba, by contrast with other Ngindo, favour synonyms of this kind. If they go out after beds they can only hope for success if they refer to them as 'flies'. If the Ikemba are unique in this respect, plainly the revolt borrowed a specific element from them. But I suspect Kichi influence to be present. Why else do the southerly Ngindo attach no importance to names ? Again Bokera is said to have forbidden all but pure-black stock. This ruling does not appear Ngindo by inspiration, for the Ngindo had few goats and no beasts, excepting for the Ngoni collaborator Kinjala's herd and an experimental one imported by the Germans. In this as in other moves, Bokera seems to reveal himself ~~a~~ eclectic, opportunist.

He utilized the ancestor-cults common to all the surrounding Bantu, but only as a diversion. Pilgrims were attracted to his shrine by the story that spirits would appear reflected in the sacred waters. The theme never recurred prominently once recourse to arms had been made. Disappointed callers were told they were too late or had infringed taboos. The Ngindo hold by contrast that the dead, although they remain active, cannot

be seen. The action of Mapanda in murdering the two askaris on the grave of Mpinga strikes me as untypical for an Ngindo, who will pay scant attention to graves as a rule. No permanent mark is left to show the spot, nor is any observance made there after burial. Some elders remember the sites and might protest if a stranger started farming them. The only exception I have noted is in the case of a specialised prophet cult. Could not Mapanda have got the idea ∅from Bokera ?

The latter's claims as a supernaturally endowed human far surpassed those of ordinary Ngindo sorcerers. Not that his activities were thought anti-social, or dangerous to the people at large (other than loyalists to the German state). He or his agents could threaten people hundreds of miles away, whereas the conventional sorcerer, more often than not a woman, has no power to molest a person living beyond a night's return walking distance. Sorcerers place or administer medicines by stealth, but seldom in liquid form. The luKUTA ordeal in vogue at the present day entails the consumption by suspects of a liquid potion, not plain water but a mixture. It had probably yet to reach Liwale in those days, being an importation from elsewhere. Besides, Majimaji water could take effect from simple bathing or sprinkling and was multi-purpose. The old Ngindo technique, called luGUMBA, of identifying a sorcerer consisted of piercing the ear-lobes and observing the flow of blood. Fear of were-animals controlled by wizards was a feature of

adjacent tribes such as Mwera and Makonde. So the Majimaji device of alliance with wild beasts cannot be laid at the door of the Ngindo. On the other hand Ngindo do believe that a corpse remaining limp may become reincarnated as a wild beast. Such a monster will claim its first victim from among the bereaved kinsmen, the remedy being to place Nyombo-leaves or Ng'hungutwa-bark on the grave. As for the assertion that the water's "power was finally extended so as to make women invisible and secure from capture"(Ref.80), this has the flavour of war propaganda, and therefore no relevance to chance similarities in sorcery. Ngindo sorcerers, who are nocturnal, go abroad stark naked leaving no footprint. They cast a drowsy spell over any passer-by, hence make themselves virtually invisible Only if a victim awakes at the critical moment can he clutch hold of his tormentor, revealing who it is. Bokera can better be compared with a white magician, conferring blessing through medicine, though I never heard him described as an exorcist or champion against sorcerers. It is however on record that he was thought capable of making recipients of sacralised water "immune from witchcraft" (Ref.5).

Today's devil-dances, like the new ordeal, had yet to catch on thoroughly, and the attributes of such devils as they commemorate do not correspond with Bokera's instruments, which were wild beasts rather than disease. The behaviour of the Jumbe Hongos was that of persons harbouring devils in their bodies, but this seems coincidental. Songs associated with the dances have only passing allusions to the Majimaji. The sky-god or creator, ChaPANGANYA, whom the Ngindo acknowledge, received no recognition from Bokera. The customary sacrificial offerings to the spirits and equally popular divination he

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The sacred water came from Ngarambi though containers filled there might be replenished at will elsewhere. As for baptismal water, any pool or stream would do. Excepting symbolically, the two are not thought to be connected. There is some doubt whether baptism by bathing or immersion belongs to Islam at all. Certainly it receives greater emphasis in Liwale than in other Islamic areas. Even there I have heard a Muslim preacher deprecate the practice as if it were something wholly pagan. The pagan Ngindo initiation and other ceremonies incorporate ritual lustration for both sexes. Hence the Majimaji rite may be a synthesis. Nowadays baptism occasionally enters the initiation cycle, but lustration persists as a separate item ... a good instance of the parallelism commonly adopted by Ngindo. I have not visited the Ngarambi pool (Ndagalala), but Kichi living a short march east at Kibaoni stated that it had dried up. I could not establish whether this was permanent or merely seasonal. However, one imagines the supply to have been perennial. Bell relates how a lost youth, Salimu Tagawaka, was miraculously located in the waters of a pool (Ref.5). But it was

Bokera's associate, Ngameya, who performed the feat, to which Ngindo history yields no precedent. He operated in the Kitope area. Could this then have been the same pool ? Beardall's map (Ref.4) marks "Kitope Hill" no great distance inland from Samanga, perhaps a duplication of names. Nandanga, to which the headquarters were shifted, apparently before Bokera's demise, is described as a prominent hill. Lying some distance from Ngarambi, one wonders whether sacred water were available there too. Possibly considerations of defence dictated the move. In that case it may have marked the swing to a belligerent policy. Bell speaks of a Madaba lad being sent for the water to another source, Mpanga, at a point stated to be only five hours' walk from the Pangani rapids on the Rufiji. Mpanga is marked on Bell's map (Ref.5) as being on the river itself downstream from the rapids. Beardall, reconnoitring the Rufiji for the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1880, ascended "Mpanga hill" below the rapids (Ref.4).

Majimaji terminology is consistently aquatic. Take the report that "a great medicine man lived in the Rufiji river in the form of a water monster, and that this supernatural creature could dispense medicine" (Ref. 80). Possibly this account confuses medicinal water and the legend of 'Nyangumi',[x] a title adopted by Njugumaina Ngwale, Bokera's younger brother. Nyangumi, which is the regular Swahili word for whale, was thought to be a spirit haunting the same Pangani rapids just mentioned. Another source, referring to the journey to Nandanga of Kapungu, the Ngoni emissary, believed that "the God of the sea ((water)) could be consulted" (Ref.61). In the doomsday story current in Muslim Majimaji circles it is significant that inundation should be the mode of destruction

[x] Footnote:
Prima facie, both the name and the attributes of this monster resemble those of "Namungumi" or "water-mother" of the Nyasaland Yao (Ref.79b). According to this source, Namungumi is a mythical creature, drawn on the ground with flour and designed to instruct boy initiates.

of alien rule. There would be darkness for seven days, the prophecy ran, and then the people would find every boma submerged beneath the sea. This motif of punition by floods occurs, among two neighbouring tribes, Yao and Makua (Ref.27). In central Liwale I came across a small thicket which lay under a taboo to cultivators. The explanation was this. Not only had a man who attempted to farm it perished mysteriously, but also its interior was dank and gloomy 'like an underwater place'. The taboo dates from before the revolt. Up country, the Europeans were at first taken for water-creatures ... 'Fish from the sea', the Ngoni called them.

The ominous water, almost to the exclusion of all else, dominates Majimaji symbolism. No appeal was made to the familiar millet-flour and Ntogo-sprig of Ngindo ceremonial. One written account (Ref.80) describes the sacred liquid as a thin paste made from maize- and millet-flour mixed with water. Maize has no ritual significance for the Ngindo, nor do they doctor flour in this manner. Only as a pure expedient did the stalks of millet make a warrior emblem. Over and above the wide variety of herbal remedies known to Ngindo, there is a medɛcine thought to bring death to thieves. If a man finds his beehive rifled and cannot discover the culprit he may mix the substance with the smeared vestiges with fatal results to consumers of the stolen honey. As a deterrent such medɛcine might also be placed in advance. In the same way a jealous husband could sprinkle Majimaji water on his bed, upon which any adulterer would be paralyzed and remain helpless until apprehended. The resemblance however is probably a chance one. I have heard the water credited with

being a stimulus to crops but not to childbirth or as a salve for ailments. Rain-making does not appear to have been among Bokera's accomplishments.

One concludes the revolutionary cosmology to have had little in common with that of the Ngindo. Its authors, if they drew on Ngindo sources, did so sparingly. This seems to support the theory of the phenomenon's northerly derivation. The Kichi, who evidently entered its inner counsels, live to the north of Ngindoland. The Pangani rapids, home of the fabulous Nyangumi, in turn lie to their north. And the heralding 'Bokero' of Burton's day had supposedly arisen further north again.

How far were the Ngindo politically geared for warfare ? One must recapitulate the outlines of their social order for review in the light of the rebellion. The Ngindo had never achieved distinction in war. Far from being aggressive they failed lamentably to check the inroads of Ngoni raiders, and motley Ngoni satellites at that. The cause lay in chronic separatism. Even members of adjacent hamlets could lend each other no support, each family-head preferring to stand his ground or hide in his home woodland or thicket. Mostly, despite their deadly arrows, they hid. The compact Ngoni formations would have been highly vulnerable to hit-and-run tactics in that close country, but seldom met resistance. In those days the effective limit of social cohesion would appear to have been the circle of kinsmen, mostly agnatic, occupying perhaps a dozen loosely clustered huts. Certain individuals held a wider, though at best tenuous, influence. These are the dubious forerunners of Indirect Rule's local instrument, the MWENYE. The period of Ngoni effervescence sufficed to atomise any pre-existent form of Ngindo organization. There are signs that it smashed a clan system

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among the Ndonde. Therefore, whatever had gone before, what came after was automatically fragmented. On the other hand, even as far east as this, the Ngoni set up local turncoats or notables as collectors of tribute. Called NDUNA s, they may have created the germ of headmanship.

Anonymity pervaded the Ngindo culture ... not a single place-name in all Liwale, with the possible exception of Mangirikiti, from the minor Ngoni raid-leader of that name, honours an historic figure. It contained but one line of stratification, that between slave and free. Slaves, a minority, got very benevolent treatment. Usually, by a kinship fiction, they entered the families of their owners. There was no way of holding them unless one anticipated a truant by selling the fellow at the coast. Those that remained were docile, hence prepared to do dirty work such as reconnoitring in war, porterage, and attending school/, the latter duty leading to the ironic sequel of a servile aristocracy! Their status, of which the aftermath persists to this day, remained distinct. Yet the Majimaji/leaders appear/ to have paid no attention to the institution, still in existence under the Germans.[x] Pim shows that slavery was already on the way out before the revolt came. "Domestic slavery

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Footnote x:
Whilst it is undeniable that the ~~latter~~ Germans acquiesced in slavery/... I have even heard a man say that the way to dispose of a slave was to 'sell him to Usagara', evidently the German firm of that name ... it is not fair to assume that the abuses of slavery were condoned. At the coast where, by contrast with the interior, abuses abounded, they were checked. Here is an example from Mafia island. "When the Germans came they forbade these practices (invariable daily task of cultivating a strip over 100 yards long, etc) and reduced the daily task to 50 yards. Similarly they reduced the work to four days a week for the master. From Friday to Sunday the slave could work in his own fields. The Germans promised to free the slaves in 1920" (Ref.71).

was not forbidden, but provision was made for its gradual extinction by stopping the trade and declaring all children born after 1904 to be free" (Ref.72). The superior position of the freeman could in no wise be regarded as an index of leadership in such enterprises as war. The master, if more dignified, was no less cowardly than the slave. Bell makes the interesting inference that work on the Government cotton-plots offended Ngindo ideas of caste (Ref.5). Alien supervision in central Liwale does not seem to have been close enough for such tension to arise.

The conclusion is inescapable that the chief Liwale insurgents, excepting in so far as they were aided by so uniform a mass of individuals, had their inspiration other than in the native culture. Who then were these leaders ? The answer is German agents. The official version, seeking to shift responsibility, blamed African inferiors not for prosecuting rebellion, but provoking it. Governor von Götzen wrote, "the harsh self-seeking conduct of the coloured, alien, subordinate agents of the government contributed still further to the unpopularity of government regulations" (Ref.95). No doubt this was true of other areas, but the reverse obtained in Liwale. According to the natives nineteen out of twenty headmen, exercising the brusque authority delegated and taught to them by the Imperial Government, both provoked, deliberately provoked, and prosecuted the rebellion. The sole abstainer, Jumbe Mpwanga of Mtumbati, personally won acquittal, but his fire-eating brother Nassoro filled his place among the revolutionaries. As for Mapanda, he was son and cousin of successive headmen, and himself a candidate. Seemingly the sinews of discord gained strength through German exercise. How else but from their masters could the Liwale Jumbes have learned to become aggressive

war leaders ? Prior to their appointment, not so much as a tendency in this direction had shown itself. And after the débâcle the Germans displayed their disregard for the specifically political contribution of the Ngindo by retaining in positions of trust several of the traitors' heirs. For instance, the condemned Mpule's son became Jumbe of Barikiwa. To this extent therefore would I endorse Bell's general indictment of the Germans (Ref. 5), that in particular they schooled African leaders in despotism without bothering to cultivate their loyalty. The folly of unleashing an élite, rather than oppression of the mass, brought them to the brink of doom.

During their brief hegemony the rebels carried on only a semblance of government. On mobilization, Mapanda despatched letters, written by scribes in Arabic script, both south and west. And a meeting convened by him several weeks later actually sat at Kitandandongora, his home village. From it a policy of sparing Muslim lives but not property is said to have emerged. But the only eye-witness I could find remembers nothing but threats and bluster on the part of Mapanda, who sought to rally the wavering Jumbes. Kinjala came up for 'trial', and Rupembe (a prominent Ngindo personality still alive today, ~~His name recurs~~), who was lucky to escape with his life on a second attempted 'arrest', likewise. The latter episode shows the sort of power ~~authority~~ wielded to have been one of disorderly raids and lynching, unrestrained by any deliberate machinery.

There remain the Jumbe Hongos. These were unbalanced fanatics who rose to prominence by virtue of their extravagant conduct. The Majimaji doctors, credited with placing six Hongos at the head of the belated force assigned

to Liwale, appointed ~~launched~~ certain of them. Some were to the fore in battle, for instance the Likui who directed the furious Nautupi (or Nakatupi) engagement in the west. Before the outbreak the Jumbe Hongos were nobodies. They appear to have arisen as a pure psychological response, excepting for those formally appointed by Bokera, mushroom growths without political past... and without political future .## The Germans saw to that! They were not however altogether without precedent. Ngindo legend relates that when the Ngoni satellites first impinged on the Ndonde, a traitor from their midst went hither and thither simulating madness. He would approach the homesteads, mount an antheap, and sing incomprehensible ditties, behaviour closely resembling the overt activity of a Jumbe Hongo. Meanwhile he was busy kidnapping children wherever he circulated. By this means, in a forest hideout, he collected about him a bandit army. Finally, in obedience to his Ngoni friends, he struck, and the Ndonde fled east. The bracketing of Jumbe with Hongo seems devoid of significance beyond implying that the Hongos took a certain initiative. Here and there the word Hongo seems to have been used for Bokera himself. This was the case among the riverine Bena of western Mahenge, judging from the Culwicks' account (Ref.14).

If Ngindo social organization gave little to the Majimaji, the Majimaji gave much to Ngindo social organization. This tremendous event forms the watershed between past and present. In its crucible were born a new consciousness and a new ethic. The statements 'We Muslims' and 'We Ngindo' cannot be dissociated. No matter if the Muslims stray from orthodoxy, if the Ngindo stray from unity, the two together are a force to be

their magic talisman, revealed a most unusual degree of tenacity and contempt for death, just as the Soudanese dervishes against whom Kitchener fought did under frenzied psychic influences, with the same decimating results (italics). But the suggestion that these losses were occasioned by cruelties on the part of the Germans is an unworthy fabrication" (Ref.84).

The genesis of the revolt lay in that marginal area of old Kibata administrative division, adjacent to that of Kilwa and south of the Rufiji mouth, where Ngindo of the Ikemba breed, Pogoro, and the Kichi folk who are the core of the Matumbi tribe, mingled their stocks. There, towards 1905, three personalities emerged from obscurity, fashioning between them a weapon that was to convulse the land from far Nyasa to the coast. The weapon was an amalgam of substantial medicine, mystical taboo, xenophobia and Islam. Its creators have been assigned to the Ikemba. But the latter vehemently deny the link, throwing it onto the Kichi who in turn suggest a coastal extraction. Whatever his antecedents, the leader of the trinity, 'Bokera', mystical title of an individual named Kinjiketire Ngwale, gained an immense reputation, attracting clients from all southern Tanganyika. His message was multiple, acquiring such a host of attributes that it is difficult to describe it shortly. All accounts agree however that it centred about water, water possessing magic properties... in fact a sort of elixir. Maji, a word found in most of the surrounding Bantu tongues, means 'water' in Swahili.

By a curious chance, Burton a full half-century before found a similar cult flourishing no great distance north of the Rufiji. Here is his account:* "... hill

tribes (apparently the Luguru, written 'Waruguru') ... have a place visited even by distant Wazaramo pilgrims. It is described as a cave where a P'hepo or disembodied spirit of a man, in fact a ghost, produces a terrible subterranean sound, called by the people Kurero or Bokero; it arises probably from the flow of water underground. In a pool in the cave, women bathe for the blessing of issue, and men sacrifice sheep and goats to obtain fruitful seasons and success in war" (Ref.9,1857). One need look no further for the origin of 'Bokera', which is the rendering favoured by all the informants I have met. Bell however seems to have been told the authentic 'Bokero' pronunciation//(One of the regular Ngindo descent-names, ani-Pokera, sometimes heard as Mbokera, resembles the Majimaji leader's name; probably by mere chance). Since warfare was endemic in those days, Burton's allusion to it may be taken as incidental; that is, not indicative of a militant cult. Majimaji witnesses speak of bogus seances held in a cave, presumably at Nandanga Hill, to which I shall refer, callers being tricked by answers boomed through a tunnel in the rock. Another possible site is the Ndagalala pool, situated at the Ngarambi-Lihenge confluence and later to be discussed. A sketch-map in the District Book marks an adjacent hill called Bwengi. Perhaps Bwengi contains a cave. The alleged scene of the earlier manifestation is only a few marches ... something over 100 miles as the crow flies ... from the later Bokera's home. Von Prince, who spent years in the area during the 1890s, though he dwells on the "wonderful mountains" of Uluguru// (Ref.96), mentions neither cave nor shrine; nor have I been able to elicit any information from the present authorities.

n/p .....

An article on Rufiji geology (ref.87) has a significant discussion of caves in the Mtumbei valley.

Mtumbei lies amid the Matumbi hills about 30 miles inland from Samanga. A contributor to the article, Father Hilmar of the Kipatimu Mission, gives a detailed account of Nangoma, largest of the caves thereabouts. Of these he remarks that the Majimaji "originated from this place", but unfortunately quotes no specific source of information nor does he enlarge on the statement. What is tolerably certain is that numbers of tribesfolk, whether or not Majimaji adherents, hid in the caves at the time of the troubles. A predecessor at the Mission, Father Ambrosius Mayer, visited Nangoma shortly after its discovery by the authorities in 1910. He estimated that 5,000 people could have camped unseen in its "enormous vestibule", where he found traces of numerous hearth fires. This would explain reports of villages unaccountably deserted during the campaign. The Father went on to describe a n/p feature which makes the analogy with Burton's tableau startling. "We noticed an unruffled still pool of water which appeared to be of considerable depth". Of this pool Father Hilmar observes, "the natives state that this stream never dries up even in the driest dry season". One must withold judgement on Nangoma, but it seems not impossible that Burton's mention of the Luguru mountains may have been pure and simple surmise on his part. The somewhat confusing context, with "hill tribes" placed in apposition to "Waruguru", points in this direction. If he had heard that the cave lay amid mountains he would have been more likely to postulate those of Uluguru than the mysterious trans-Rufiji reaches to the south. This n/p theory would appear to be supported by a seeming dearth of noteworthy caves in Uluguru, emphasised by the absence of any significant remark on caves in the comprehensive article of Scheeder and Tastevin (Ref.82). The article

includes a detailed discussion of Luguru religion. Again, the expression "distant Wazaramo pilgrims" would fit Matumbi country better than that of the Luguru, which is relatively close to Zaramoland. The Zaramo occupy the hinterland of Dar es Salaam. On the other hand, although nearby Mtumbei would seem a more probable focus of Majimaji than distant Uluguru, there is no direct evidence showing recrudescence of a hypothetical water cult at Mtumbei. Caves, and even caves with springs, can be no great rarity. But the sheer dimensions of Nangoma must, in that region, make it unique. Some of the earlier European visitors, before emerging from its bowels, reputedly wandered for three whole days.

In the beginning, much the same phenomenon as the one narrated by Burton seems to have given notoriety to Ngarambi (Ruhingo), where Bokera the second, complete with pool and supposed cavern (the former has been visited by European observers, but not so far as I know the latter), presided over the oracle. Native opinion has it that, even when violence was imminent, the movement held no specifically warlike content. Although Bell's essay to some extent, and the German official version flatly, contradict the notion, I am inclined to believe this. Bell concedes the cataclysm to have been "the fortuitous result not the object of the magic water" (Ref.5). He also states, "It should be noted that no particular enemy was mentioned and that the natives who first went to buy the water from Ngameya (another witch-doctor) were more concerned with its power to protect their crops from pig than its power to shield them in war". The water's decisive ingredient, ability to dissolve actual bullets in flight, appears to have come as an afterthought.

Exactly how the initial incidents developed in Kibata is not known to me, though the war never seems to have assumed Liwale proportions along the Rufiji. A solitary reference speaks of the boma at Utete being built to counter the "Wakitseni (apparently the Kichi) ... who were noted as being a most warlike and truculent tribe" (Ref. 60). But, bureaucracy ignoring the urgent warning and appeal from that quarter, the conflagration had engulfed Liwale before the authorities had stirred. Before reviewing their significance, I shall trace the course of events in outline. The emergency call from a Kibata headman, shortly to be beleaguered, emanated early in July 1905. A month later Liwale was lost. Bokera himself had gone to the gallows before then ... the date of execution is given as August 4th, a day before the doomed missionaries under Bishop Cassian left Kilwa for the interior; the place Mohoro, capital of Kibata (Ref.5) .## But the monster of his making was already launched on its bloody career.

Nowhere was the response so immediate or devastating as in Liwale. Mobilization of the Majimaji armies, crudely mustered under the renegade Jumbes, and comprising these same Ngindo who had cut so pathetic a figure in past raiding days, came about in a trice. Mass levies and baptisms, accompanied by threats of physical violence and super#natural sanctions, brought the people out in droves. Only a minority adopted traditional evasive tactics. Three distinct hordes, protected by doses of potent water, in mortal terror of being devoured by wild beasts should taboos be broken, bearing millet-stalk and cloth insignia, sustained by the 'Majimaji!' battle cry, and professing the Islamic faith, converged on the boma. Pivot of the rising was Abdalla Mapanda, most sinister and resolute of the insurgent leaders. Nephew of the same

Mpinga who had first implored German aid, he was a disappointed claimant for the post of Jumbe, and instead had entered trade. The result was debt, apparently towards the rubber interests, who had a European representative at Liwale boma, one of the two European victims there. Extraordinary solution, Mapanda was given a rifle along with a commission to shoot elephant. He met with little success in his quest for ivory ... the yarn attributing his ~~dif~~de-formed thumb to an accident of the chase is denied by some, who make fire or an infantile disease responsible ;// indeed his first quarry may well have been the two askaris sent to investigate reports of disturbances at Kingwichiro, near Mapanda's home, where the trading community suffered pillage a day or two before the boma assault. There can be no doubt that, along with a junta of Jumbes, this ferocious creature ... he went personally to seek the water at Ngarambi, and was to cut the throat of his own daughter in full view of his followers ... roused the timid Ngindo to a moment of frenzy. The worm turning, the Germans called it.

The campaign at Liwale-boma lasted a morning. Made aware of the bankruptcy of the water by the ghastly fact of their casualties, the Majimaji warriors melted away almost as soon. Were it not for its vulnerable thatch, the post would in all probability have held firm. As it was, fire either consumed the defenders, of whom a solitary African NCO is reputed to have got clean away, or forced them out into a hail of poisoned arrows. Only a few gangs of desperate elements persisted; notably those of Abdalla Mchimaye to the east, whose people fell on the

missionaries some days later, killing a Catholic Bishop and his half dozen companions, and made repeated attacks on the subsequently established police-unit at Mpengere along the Kilwa road; and of Mapanda himself who, after vainly contesting the passage of the columns from the coast ... he is said to have gone to the length of digging trenches ... tried to repeat his initial success against the relief garrison of Liwale. There could be only one issue. A party of Government troops reached the latter place within a month of the catastrophe, and a considerable expedition had followed up before the end of the year. The hunt for fugitives began.

Such was the war in the area of its most spectacular triumph. In the distant northern reaches of the Division the energies of the rebels had been directed against alien traders and officials thereabouts, never synchronised with the boma coup. Kapolo, outlawed ex-Jumbe of Madaba who had everything to gain, nothing to lose, from disorder, headed the insurrection in this quarter. As for the home Pogoro, their effort came later. The captured rifles from Liwale gave them the heart to attempt the far more formidable bulwark of Mahenge which, for lack of ammunition, is said to have come within an ace of falling too. Likewise, the Ngoni entered late. Here Kinjala, who years before had figured in the raiding truce, was instrumental. The first clashes found him away in his second Songea home, whence he returned to meet a fait accompli. He showed little enthusiasm for the cause until brought before Mapanda and sentenced to death as a traitor. The condition of his reprieve was that he should give chase to a European planter, Pfuller, and proselytise the Ngoni. The latter task he did very effectively through the agency of his mistress, the influential 'Jumbess' Mkomanire. Bell's claim that her

complicity has "not one shred of evidence from native reports" (Ref.5) seems open to doubt. Africans have confirmed the liaison on both the Ngoni and Ngindo sides. Chabruma, paramount of the eastern Ngoni, vaccillated, but his hand was forced by subordinate hotheads. There ensued a spate of murders and several encounters with Government forces, though the boma itself never became closely invested (Ref.61). That the struggle reached a grim tempo is evidenced by Sir Philip Mitchell. "I have walked over some of the scenes of great fights in the Livingstone Mountains and around Songea ... with headmen who had been there as my guides. Wherever they dug, their hoes turned up human bones in masses. The slaughter was terrible ...". (Ref.51). Elsewhere in the present Southern Province no major fighting occurred. The Yao showed little interest. "The Wayao as a tribe did not join the Majimaji ... (this) ... may be attributed partly to the great influence of Sutherland, the great elephant hunter" (Ref.62). The same source tells of Tunduru boma being 'stormed' by 'Wangoni'. Nor did the Makua or Makonde enter to any extent. However the people living in "the northern half of the (Makonde) plateau joined in ... (there was) sporadic fighting and a number were shot or hanged"(Ref.59). The Mwera seem to have done more damage. At least one Christian mission in the Lukuledi area was despoiled and Weule witnessed frightful suffering among the starving populace in mid 1906 (Ref.97). The Swahili of the coast fought sporadically. The very first brush of all was reported from maritime Samanga and engagements took place at other points. But Kilwa was never threatened. As for the riverine Bena of Mahenge, they would have nothing to do with Majimaji. Their paramount, who had made contact with the Germans from an early date when visiting the coast, actually fought as a loyalist and fell in action (Ref.14).

n/p

Evidently the Mbunga were less docile. According to the Mahenge District Book, the paramount and two other leaders, one of them a woman, along with her son, were hanged for complicity. Though the formidable Hehe abstained, the conflict spread north of the Rufiji as well, but this lies beyond the scope of my enquiries. Suffice it that Dar es Salaam itself, the seat of Government, became jeepardised; whilst Kisiju, 40 miles south of the town, was "burnt down" in October 1905 (Ref.21).

Only in warlike Songea are the mass of the people said to have been subjected to deliberate reprisals. Here the Germans could afford to take no chances. Whereas in Liwale none but the ringleaders were apprehended and 'civilian' deaths occurred only in mopping up around the Kingwichiro trouble-focus, x the Ngoni seem to have suffered dire punishment. Operations were still proceeding when Weule landed in mid 1906 (Ref.97), by which time Liwale had been quiet for months. The Songea District Book has this to say. "Half the district, led by the Angoni, became directly implicated ... disastrous results ... German punitive measures stampeded the Wangoni in all directions ... reduced to waste a fairly prosperous country". Suppression in Liwale did not go to these lengths. Only two categories of offenders were tracked down and publicly hanged. These were the rebel Jumbes themselves, together with notorious figures like Mapanda; and the so-called 'Jumbe Hongos', seemingly not so much emissaries of Bokera as hysterical persons who, reacting spontaneously to the general unrest, circulated far and wide crazily stirring the cauldron of fear.

Some were female. Muslim

Footnote x:
Against this must be set such assertions as that of Joelson, Ref.35: "Crops and habitations had on every possible occasion to be destroyed by fire". The writer here apparently refers to Matumbi country.

Preachers came to no harm; nor did the rank and file of the Majimaji armies, excepting, that is, for self-confessed war-criminals. Sutherland relates how a man came to Liwale-boma some years later seeking legal aid to secure a share of Majimaji loot. Both he and the defendant forfeited their lives! (Ref.89). The peak ferment having coincided with the planting season, scarcely a field was cleared or sown. Owing to panic, dislocation, and physical weakness, cultivation fared little better the following year. The resultant ravages of famine were atrocious. The 'Handbook of German East Africa' puts the casualties at 120,000 (Ref.64), whilst Evans writes that the Majimaji soldiers were "stated to have lost at least 70,000 killed" (Ref.17). Some informants insinuate that villages were burnt down. On the other hand, according to the natives, a certain African sergeant-major, Almasi by name, whose servant Kayanda was found guilty of looting, was arrested by 'Hofman Sembera', as the local German commandant was known, and sent for trial to Kilwa. His dismissal from the service followed.

From this synopsis it is obvious that the Ngindo were prime movers in the rising and that they acted largely on their own initiative. Bokera, soul of the movement, was in his grave ten days before Liwale foundered. And there seems some doubt as to whether he ever preached a militant crusade. In any case the army he or his lieutenants allegedly despatched thither was forestalled. Nowhere excepting in the Liwale and Mahenge sieges, and possibly in Songea, did the conflict amount to more than skirmishing. It was famine, not bullets, that caused the enormous loss of life. And it was the geographical extent of the rising, its demonstration of the essential fragility of administrative control, combined with the

partial disaffection of a martial tribe, that so gravely alarmed the Government. Bell has effectively disposed of the absurdity of a planned conspiracy (Ref.5). The motivation in each area evidently differed according to the way in which the message of Bokera was transmitted, to the manner of its interpretation, and to purely local factors. n/p In the case of the home-Ngindo, Islam played a conspicuous part. Conversion of the 'tribe' as a whole dates from this epoch. The ~~wizard~~ magician-apostles of the cult were anything but orthodox Muslims, but they had a Koranic reader in attendance and contrived to give an Islamic colouring to their campaign. Also, though one doubts whether more than a fraction found its way into their hands, considerable sums were collected on their behalf in the form of baptismal fees. Present Ngindo cynics generally ascribe the entire scheme to greed for money. To postulate a Mahdist belief or direct instigation from Mecca or any other Islamic centre would not in my view be admissible. I shall return to this point. No religious heirarchy capable of issuing orders existed in East Africa. It is undeniable too that the rebels, in their first excess, robbed and killed the very traders who were the pillars of the nascent Muslim community, and that Muslim troops were used to suppress them. The Muslim coast responded but feebly to the summons. Hence the Muslim content of the revolt appears unorganized, a clever adaptation of isolated Koranic tenets to support something primarily African and traditional rather than a holy war of the Prophet.

The principal stimuli are therefore twofold; the power of pagan ritual and supernatural command; and that of actual and would-be native governmental agents. To which I would add the extremely susceptible nature of Ngindo society. How far was the Majimaji specifically

Ngindo ? Mystical aspects will be the first for scrutiny. Next I shall turn to matters political.

But first, lest the reasons for such a detailed digression should not be clear, let me emphasise the paramount importance of the Rebellion for present-day Ngindo life. Not only does the Majimaji, witnessed by the bulk of surviving senior elders, remain a shattering memory; but also its impact has induced permanent, integral changes in the nature of Ngindo society. Without a thorough appraisal of Majimaji teachings, such features as the pseudo-Islamic cult of today cannot properly be understood. Psychologically also, the effects must be of equal magnitude. And though I am not qualified to assess them, no anthropologist can afford to ignore psychology, whether individual or group, as the general climate and setting of his study.

Majimaji taboos seem to have coincided with regular Ngindo ones only in principle. Sexual abstinence, observed during many Ngindo ceremonials, was prescribed by Bokera. Its violation served to explain disaster or failure. But the practice is too common for it to be traced to any one tribe. The cardinal ban on bushpig imposed by the rebels tallies with those on Ngindo clan totems, yet obviously derives from Islam. The great accrescence of associated avoidances, though attributed to Islam, may not be wholly so. A wide range of insects and

small mammals, over and above hippo, warthog and elephant, enters the prohibited category. Another alleged component of the revolutionary message was the injunction to advance against the enemy with never a backward glance ... decidedly a novelty to the inoffensive, individualist Ngindo. One cannot help remarking on the emphasis placed on linguistic formulae during this war. Lions, for instance, were called 'sheep', askaris 'moths'. Now the Ikemba, by contrast with other Ngindo, favour synonyms of this kind. If they go out after beds they can only hope for success if they refer to them as 'flies'. If the Ikemba are unique in this respect, plainly the revolt borrowed a specific element from them. But I suspect Kichi influence to be present. Why else do the southerly Ngindo attach no importance to names ? Again Bokera is said to have forbidden all but pure-black stock. This ruling does not appear Ngindo by inspiration, for the Ngindo had few goats and no beasts, excepting for the Ngoni collaborator Kinjala's herd and an experimental one imported by the Germans. In this as in other moves, Bokera seems to reveal himself eclectic, opportunist.

He utilized the ancestor-cults common to all the surrounding Bantu, but only as a diversion. Pilgrims were attracted to his shrine by the story that spirits would appear reflected in the sacred waters. The theme never recurred prominently once recourse to arms had been made. Disappointed callers were told they were too late or had infringed taboos. The Ngindo hold by contrast that the dead, although they remain active, cannot

be seen. The action of Mapanda in murdering the two askaris on the grave of Mpinga strikes me as untypical for an Ngindo, who will pay scant attention to graves as a rule. No permanent mark is left to show the spot, nor is any observance made there after burial. Some elders remember the sites and might protest if a stranger started farming them. The only exception I have noted is in the case of a specialised prophet cult. Could not Mapanda have got the idea from Bokera ?

The latter's claims as a supernaturally endowed human far surpassed those of ordinary Ngindo sorcerers. Not that his activities were thought anti-social, or dangerous to the people at large (other than loyalists to the German state). He or his agents could threaten people hundreds of miles away, whereas the conventional sorcerer, more often than not a woman, has no power to molest a person living beyond a night's return walking distance. Sorcerers place or administer medicines by stealth, but seldom in liquid form. The luKUTA ordeal in vogue at the present day entails the consumption by suspects of a liquid potion, not plain water but a mixture. It had probably yet to reach Liwale in those days, being an importation from elsewhere. Besides, Majimaji water could take effect from simple bathing or sprinkling and was multi-purpose. The old Ngindo technique, called luGUMBA, of identifying a sorcerer consisted of piercing the ear-lobes and observing the flow of blood. Fear of were-animals controlled by wizards was a feature of

adjacent tribes such as Mwera and Makonde. So the Majimaji device of alliance with wild beasts cannot be laid at the door of the Ngindo. On the other hand Ngindo do believe that a corpse remaining limp may become reincarnated as a wild beast. Such a monster will claim its first victim from among the bereaved kinsmen, the remedy being to place Nyombo-leaves or Ng'hungutwa-bark on the grave. As for the assertion that the water's "power was finally extended so as to make women invisible and secure from capture"(Ref.80), this has the flavour of war propaganda, and therefore no relevance to chance similarities in sorcery. Ngindo sorcerers, who are nocturnal, go abroad stark naked leaving no footprint. They cast a drowsy spell over any passer-by, hence make themselves virtually invisible Only if a victim awakes at the critical moment can he clutch hold of his tormentor, revealing who it is. Bokera can better be compared with a white magician, conferring blessing through medicine, though I never heard him described as an exorcist or champion against sorcerers. It is however on record that he was thought capable of making recipients of sacralised water "immune from witchcraft" (Ref.5).

Today's devil-dances, like the new ordeal, had yet to catch on thoroughly, and the attributes of such devils as they commemorate do not correspond with Bokera's instruments, which were wild beasts rather than disease. The behaviour of the Jumbe Hongos was that of persons harbouring devils in their bodies, but this seems coincidental. Songs associated with the dances have only passing allusions to the Majimaji. The sky-god or creator, ChaPANGANYA, whom the Ngindo acknowledge, received no recognition from Bokera. The customary sacrificial offerings to the spirits and equally popular divination he

seems altogether to have neglected. Bell includes among the rebels' code-names the phrase "kuchecha yihinga", translated as a female dance and signifying the call to arms (Ref.5). Nowadays the seclusion dance for girl initiates is called kuCHIPIRA, the subsequent episodes having various names. The whole process may however be known as kuCHEZA iHINJA, or 'to initiate the little girls'. One is struck by the fact that this and other code-names were rendered in kiNgindo, with the inference that the authors of Majimaji spoke that language; unless the kiNgindo element is local translation or embroidery.

The sacred water came from Ngarambi though containers filled there might be replenished at will elsewhere. As for baptismal water, any pool or stream would do. Excepting symbolically, the two are not thought to be connected. There is some doubt whether baptism by bathing or immersion belongs to Islam at all. Certainly it receives greater emphasis in Liwale than in other Islamic areas. Even there I have heard a Muslim preacher deprecate the practice as if it were something wholly pagan. The pagan Ngindo initiation and other ceremonies incorporate ritual lustration for both sexes. Hence the Majimaji rite may be a synthesis. Nowadays baptism occasionally enters the initiation cycle, but lustration persists as a separate item ... a good instance of the parallelism commonly adopted by Ngindo. I have not visited the Ngarambi pool (Ndagalala), but Kichi living a short march east at Kibaoni stated that it had dried up. I could not establish whether this was permanent or merely seasonal. However, one imagines the supply to have been perennial. Bell relates how a lost youth, Salimu Tagawaka, was miraculously located in the waters of a pool (Ref.5). But it was

Bokera's associate,Ngameya, who performed the feat, to which Ngindo history yields no precedent. He operated in the Kitope area. Could this then have been the same pool ? Beardall's map (Ref.4) marks "Kitope Hill" no great distance inland from Samanga, perhaps a duplication of names. Nandanga, to which the headquarters were shifted, apparently before Bokera's demise, is described as a prominent hill. Lying some distance from Ngarambi, one wonders whether sacred water were available there too. Possibly considerations of defence dictated the move. In that case it may have marked the swing to a belligerent policy. Bell speaks of a Madaba lad being sent for the water to another source, Mpanga, at a point stated to be only five hours' walk from the Pangani rapids on the Rufiji. Mpanga is marked on Bell's map (Ref.5) as being on the river itself downstream from the rapids. Beardall, reconnoitring the Rufiji for the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1880, ascended "Mpanga hill" below the rapids (Ref.4).

Majimaji terminology is consistently aquatic. Take the report that "a great medicine man lived in the Rufiji river in the form of a water monster, and that this supernatural creature could dispense medicine" (Ref. 80). Possibly this account confuses medicinal water and the legend of 'Nyangumi',[x] a title adopted by Njugumaina Ngwale, Bokera's younger brother. Nyangumi, which is the regular Swahili word for whale, was thought to be a spirit haunting the same Pangani rapids just mentioned. Another source, referring to the journey to Nandanga of Kapungu, the Ngoni emissary, believed that "the God of the sea ((water)) could be consulted" (Ref.61). In the doomsday story current in Muslim Majimaji circles it is significant that inundation should be the mode of destruction

[x] Footnote:
Prima facie,both the name and the attributes of this monster resemble those of "Namungumi" or "water-mother" of the Nyasaland Yao (Ref.79b). According to this source, Namungumi is a mythical creature, drawn on the ground with flour and designed to instruct boy initiates.

of alien rule. There would be darkness for seven days, the prophecy ran, and then the people would find every boma submerged beneath the sea. This motif of punition by floods occurs, among two neighbouring tribes, Yao and Makua (Ref.27). In central Liwale I came across a small thicket which lay under a taboo to cultivators. The explanation was this. Not only had a man who attempted to farm it perished mysteriously, but also its interior was dank and gloomy 'like an underwater place'. The taboo dates from before the revolt. Up country, the Europeans were at first taken for water-creatures ... 'Fish from the sea', the Ngoni called them.

The ominous water, almost to the exclusion of all else, dominates Majimaji symbolism. No appeal was made to the familiar millet-flour and Ntogo-sprig of Ngindo ceremonial. One written account (Ref.80) describes the sacred liquid as a thin paste made from maize- and millet-flour mixed with water. Maize has no ritual significance for the Ngindo, nor do they doctor flour in this manner. Only as a pure expedient did the stalks of millet make a warrior emblem. Over and above the wide variety of herbal remedies known to Ngindo, there is a medicine thought to bring death to thieves. If a man finds his beehive rifled and cannot discover the culprit he may mix the substance with the smeared vestiges with fatal results to consumers of the stolen honey. As a deterrent such medicine might also be placed in advance. In the same way a jealous husband could sprinkle Majimaji water on his bed, upon which any adulterer would be paralyzed and remain helpless until apprehended. The resemblance however is probably a chance one. I have heard the water credited with

being a stimulus to crops but not to childbirth or as a salve for ailments. Rain-making does not appear to have been among Bokera's accomplishments.

One concludes the revolutionary cosmology to have had little in common with that of the Ngindo. Its authors, if they drew on Ngindo sources, did so sparingly. This seems to support the theory of the phenomenon's northerly derivation. The Kichi, who evidently entered its inner counsels, live to the north of Ngindoland. The Pangani rapids, home of the fabulous Nyangumi, in turn lie to their north. And the heralding 'Bokero' of Burton's day had supposedly arisen further north again.

How far were the Ngindo politically geared for warfare ? One must recapitulate the outlines of their social order for review in the light of the rebellion. The Ngindo had never achieved distinction in war. Far from being aggressive they failed lamentably to check the inroads of Ngoni raiders, and motley Ngoni satellites at that. The cause lay in chronic separatism. Even members of adjacent hamlets could lend each other no support, each family-head preferring to stand his ground or hide in his home woodland or thicket. Mostly, despite their deadly arrows, they hid. The compact Ngoni formations would have been highly vulnerable to hit-and-run tactics in that close country, but seldom met resistance. In those days the effective limit of social cohesion would appear to have been the circle of kinsmen, mostly agnatic, occupying perhaps a dozen loosely clustered huts. Certain individuals held a wider, though at best tenuous, influence. These are the dubious forerunners of Indirect Rule's local instrument, the MWENYE. The period of Ngoni effervescence sufficed to atomise any pre-existent form of Ngindo organization. There are signs that it smashed a clan system

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among the Ndonde. Therefore, whatever had gone before, what came after was automatically fragmented. On the other hand, even as far east as this, the Ngoni set up local turncoats or notables as collectors of tribute. Called NDUNA s, they may have created the germ of headmanship.

Anonymity pervaded the Ngindo culture ... not a single place-name in all Liwale, with the possible exception of Mangirikiti, from the minor Ngoni raid-leader of that name, honours an historic figure. It contained but one line of stratification, that between slave and free. Slaves, a minority, got very benevolent treatment. Usually, by a kinship fiction, they entered the families of their owners. There was no way of holding them unless one anticipated a truant by selling the fellow at the coast. Those that remained were docile, hence prepared to do dirty work such as reconnoitring in war, porterage, and attending school, the latter duty leading to the ironic sequel of a servile aristocracy! Their status, of which the aftermath persists to this day, remained distinct. Yet the Majimaji leaders appear to have paid no attention to the institution, still in existence under the Germans.[x] Pim shows that slavery was already on the way out before the revolt came. "Domestic slavery

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Footnote x:

Whilst it is undeniable that the ~~latter~~ Germans acquiesced in slavery ... I have even heard a man say that the way to dispose of a slave was to 'sell him to Usagara', evidently the German firm of that name ... it is not fair to assume that the abuses of slavery were condoned. At the coast where, by contrast with the interior, abuses abounded, they were checked. Here is an example from Mafia island. "When the Germans came they forbade these practices (invariable daily task of cultivating a strip over 100 yards long, etc) and reduced the daily task to 50 yards. Similarly they reduced the work to four days a week for the master. From Friday to Sunday the slave could work in his own fields. The Germans promised to free the slaves in 1920" (Ref.71).

was not forbidden, but provision was made for its gradual extinction by stopping the trade and declaring all children born after 1904 to be free" (Ref.72). The superior position of the freeman could in no wise be regarded as an index of leadership in such enterprises as war. The master, if more dignified, was no less cowardly than the slave. Bell makes the interesting inference that work on the Government cotton-plots offended Ngindo ideas of caste (Ref.5). Alien supervision in central Liwale does not seem to have been close enough for such tension to arise.

The conclusion is inescapable that the chief Liwale insurgents, excepting in so far as they were aided by so uniform a mass of individuals, had their inspiration other than in the native culture. Who then were these leaders ? The answer is German agents. The official version, seeking to shift responsibility, blamed African inferiors not for prosecuting rebellion, but provoking it. Governor von Götzen wrote, "the harsh self-seeking conduct of the coloured, alien, subordinate agents of the government contributed still further to the unpopularity of government regulations" (Ref.95). No doubt this was true of other areas, but the reverse obtained in Liwale. According to the natives nineteen out of twenty headmen, exercising the brusque authority delegated and taught to them by the Imperial Government, both provoked, deliberately provoked, and prosecuted the rebellion. The sole abstainer, Jumbe Mpwanga of Mtumbati, personally won acquittal, but his fire-eating brother Nassoro filled his place among the revolutionaries. As for Mapanda, he was son and cousin of successive headmen, and himself a candidate. Seemingly the sinews of discord gained strength through German exercise. How else but from their masters could the Liwale Jumbes have learned to become aggressive

war leaders. ? Prior to their appointment, not so much as a tendency in this direction had shown itself. And after the débâcle the Germans displayed their disregard for the specifically political contribution of the Ngindo by retaining in positions of trust several of the traitors' heirs. For instance, the condemned Mpule's son became Jumbe of Barikiwa. To this extent therefore would I endorse Bell's general indictment of the Germans (Ref. 5), that in particular they schooled African leaders in despotism without bothering to cultivate their loyalty. The folly of unleashing an élite, rather than oppression of the mass, brought them to the brink of doom.

During their brief hegemony the rebels carried on only a semblance of government. On mobilization, Mapanda despatched letters, written by scribes in Arabic script, both south and west. And a meeting convened by him several weeks later actually sat at Kitandandongora, his home village. From it a policy of sparing Muslim lives but not property is said to have emerged. But the only eye-witness I could find remembers nothing but threats and bluster on the part of Mapanda, who sought to rally the wavering Jumbes. Kinjala came up for 'trial', and Rupembe (a prominent Ngindo personality still alive today, ~~His name recurs~~), who was lucky to escape with his life on a second attempted 'arrest', likewise. The latter episode shows the sort of power ~~authority~~ wielded to have been one of disorderly raids and lynching, unrestrained by any deliberate machinery.

There remain the Jumbe Hongos. These were unbalanced fanatics who rose to prominence by virtue of their extravagant conduct. The Majimaji doctors, credited with placing six Hongos at the head of the belated force assigned

to Liwale, appointed ~~launched~~ certain of them. Some were to the fore in battle, for instance the Likui who directed the furious Nautupi (or Nakatupi) engagement in the west. Before the outbreak the Jumbe Hongos were nobodies. They appear to have arisen as a pure psychological response, excepting for those formally appointed by Bokera, mushroom growths without political past... and without political future .// The Germans saw to that! They were not however altogether without precedent. Ngindo legend relates that when the Ngoni satellites first impinged on the Ndonde, a traitor from their midst went hither and thither simulating madness. He would approach the homesteads, mount an antheap, and sing incomprehensible ditties, behaviour closely resembling the overt activity of a Jumbe Hongo. Meanwhile he was busy kidnapping children wherever he circulated. By this means, in a forest hideout, he collected about him a bandit army. Finally, in obedience to his Ngoni friends, he struck, and the Ndonde fled east. The bracketing of Jumbe with Hongo seems devoid of significance beyond implying that the Hongos took a certain initiative. Here and there the word Hongo seems to have been used for Bokera himself. This was the case among the riverine Bena of western Mahenge, judging from the Culwicks' account (Ref.14).

If Ngindo social organization gave little to the Majimaji, the Majimaji gave much to Ngindo social organization. This tremendous event forms the watershed between past and present. In its crucible were born a new consciousness and a new ethic. The statements 'We Muslims' and 'We Ngindo' cannot be dissociated. No matter if the Muslims stray from orthodoxy, if the Ngindo stray from unity, the two together are a force to be

reckoned with.

After many frustrations in quest of data on the rôle of Islam I was rewarded with a find. This was a man who not only had the privilege of helping give Islam its decisive impetus in Liwale but also proved frank and intelligent as an informant. His evidence deserves to be set out in full ...

"I was an apprentice Mwalimu (Muslim Preacher) at the time of the outbreak, and had done about a year's study with an experienced Preacher, Abdalla Msham Kinduli of Mlembwe Kinjacha (20 miles north-west of Mochera). The latter was a comparative newcomer, having emigrated from the Machinga country near the coast, though he had relatives in Ngindo-land where he settled. When first I heard about the Maji-maji water it was announced that only those whose parents had died were permitted to go and collect it.[1] This was why I did not go. I was a suitor in marriage at that time. Anyway my maternal uncle, Msham Ngajuwa, made the journey. On his return he announced that everyone had both to receive the water and adopt the Muslim faith. This was under pain of being devoured by lions, which were called sheep.[2] I therefore had no alternative but to comply".

Footnote 1.
Bell's material, (Ref.5)) relating to Madaba seems to refute this. A certain Sefu was sent by his father to get water at Mpanga. Possibly the lad's physical parents had in fact died.

Footnote 2.
There were other less direct sanctions at work. Refusal to join became something almost unpatriotic, a mark of stigma. Thus a certain Kapilima is the butt of a song still preserved in the repertoire of the 'kiNgindo' devil-dance ... 'Come along, devil, and get drunk with water! Kapilima refused the water. Kapilima!'.// If this was the Jumbe of that name who betrayed more than one rebel leader, he deserves to be pilloried. Rupembe, on the other hand, who had cause to abstain and did so openly, escapes criticism. He recurs later in this text.

"I acted in concert with my mentor and carried out mass conversions at a pool situated near the Mlembwe-Chumu confluence (near Mlembwe Kinjacha). We were inundated with work and had to escape to get our meals. The people were panic-stricken and raised an outcry whenever a Preacher stopped work. The manner of baptism was to make the novice face Mecca, when once he had been smeared with clay and washed down by his attendants[1]. Then he had to raise his forefinger beside his ear and repeat an Arabic creed three times. Then water was ladled over him thrice. I do not consider that baptismal water was associated with medicinal water. Both sexes followed the same procedure. Women were not naked but still wrapped in their garments. Nightfall did not interrupt the work. This was during the dry-season, but before the war at the boma. There were no flying-ants then."[2]

Footnote 1:

The informant uses the same word, WaRombo (aka Rombo in KiNgindo) as that designating the relatives who steer an initiate through the circumcision and allied ceremonies.

Footnote 2:

A sound source states that the insects swarmed at another such session held at Barikiwa, when the waiting crowds received a special dispensation to eat them ... alleged Islamic law bans consumption of ants. This must have been some while after the boma's fall with the first showers of the ensuing rains; whereas the present informant's activity could not have come long before the flare-up. The dry weather seldom settles down before June. Why there should have been such a lag between points only thirty miles apart is obscure. Possibly Barikiwa had no resident Ngindo Preacher. At all events the one who presided over the ant-ridden assembly was a stranger.

"Petty Preachers from the Mpotora coastal area came to Liwale for easy money,[1] but I do not know their names. Nor do I know of Abdalla Magera.[2] Kingandawala and Mmeleke[3] were acquaintances of mine. If there had been a senior Preacher[4] thereabouts, he would have questioned the Majimaji authority as being that of laymen. But we were small-fry without the intelligence to see this. It was conversion through intoxication, not real conversion. We charged eight pice a head, or a thumuni for a couple. For a party of eight we would get a rupee. We amassed a lot of money. Behold, a Preacher living further down the Mlembwe sent word to us that we should transfer our takings to himself, since we were operating without proper credentials. His name was Msham Ngapawa. This we refused to do."

"Instead we ourselves set out for Nandanga hill in the Rutete area. That was Ngameya's[5] place. We had with us the money collected. I myself had 60 rupees.[6] But Ngameya took only one rupee in exchange for verbal permission for a document to be drawn up authorising further conversions. Ngameya's appearance was as follows. He was dark-complexioned and clean-shaven, his height moderate, his build robust. He appeared a youngish man and did not impress particularly as a speaker. His dress consisted of a black Kaniki loin-cloth and a white Merekani toga. He wore neither hat nor shoes. He spoke Swahili correctly and used that language to speak to me. I only

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Footnote 1: The interior, unlike the coast, was largely pagan.

Footnote 2: A Preacher active on the Ndapata and around Barikiwa.

Footnote 3: Two associate Preachers in the movement, both still living.

Footnote 4: Mzito, meaning literally 'heavy' or 'fat'.

Footnote 5: The informant favours the name Ngameya, whose honorific title he took to be Bokera. As do most Liwale folk, he confuses the two. Very probably the person he interviewed was in fact Ngameya.

Footnote 6: Equivalent of about 500 converts at the stated rates.

saw him briefly. He was lodged with a Pogoro called Likomba Nkwachu. In private conversation he spoke Kichi. I took him for a Kichi."

"He had a man in attendance called 'Mwalimu. Sufiani'[1] who acted merely as a scribe, although a competent Preacher. Sufiani handled correspondence. I only saw him momentarily. He was an African, but of what tribe I do not know. Ngameya on the other hand could not write, nor could he recite the scriptures. He had many callers, but no fixed retinue. He was without a bodyguard and unarmed excepting for a German breech-loader."[3]

"Neither Ngameya nor his followers said anything about war. They prophesied that if people obeyed and took the water, darkness would descend on the earth for seven days, whereupon it would lift revealing a stretch of ocean where each boma had stood."[4] Now, in Liwale it was Mapanda who induced the Jumbes to fight. He told them this intelligence was too dangerous to be kept secret. Soon it would get to the ears of the Germans and arrests would follow. They would be cast into irons."[5]

Footnote 1: The Swahili word Subiani means 'a spirit or large Jinnee', from the verb kuSibu, to foretell, (Ref. 36).

Footnote 2: There is no fixed yardstick of a Preacher's proficiency. He is merely a person, slightly more accomplished than the rest, who is able to read or recite the Qur'an and commentaries.

Footnote 3: The one issued to Mapanda, one is tempted to think.

Footnote 4: This notion does not seem to have been generally held. Even fairly knowledgeable survivors confess themselves unaware of it. It may have been confined to Preacher circles, or to those who did the pilgrimage.

Footnote 5: The chain-gang system inspired great fear. It is said that the metal collars, becoming heated in the sun, left permanent weals on the throat.

"Worse, they might be inside the Liwale prison when the floods rose. They should therefore seize the boma first. I took no part in the campaign, nor did other Preachers. We people of Mbweho[1] shielded the Swahilis[2] and helped them to escape disguised as Majimaji warriors.[3] But an Arab was killed at Mochera[4] and a Swahili at Nambinda."[5]

"I knew some of the Jumbe Hongos. They were not lieutenants of Ngameya, but local people who 'became drunk' and roamed about. They would sing like this ... 'Stand erect, Jumbe Hongo! Laugh all of you! Down!'. Their words had no meaning and they would dance like persons possessed. They pulled people into the war. One of them was Ngurugamiga of Mlembwe and Mkwihi,[6] and another Abdalla Mkina of Madaba... also Juma, a Matumbi. All three were hung. Women became Jumbe Hongos as well. Binti Ileka of Mochera did so; but she went underground and escaped detection. She has since died. Ngameya never came to Liwale, or to Mkwihi. He had no court. If Rupembe[7] came before anyone, that person must have been an itinerant Jumbe Hongo. The Jumbe Hongos had a certain power, but only

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Footnote:1. A thicket area bordering the lower Mlembwe.

Footnote 2: Coast-dwellers, come to trade or settle. Remember that coast-Muslims and Ngindo-Muslims, coast-Islam and Ngindo-Islam, were, and are, two different things.

Footnote 3: From other sources I learned of such fugitives being hidden in granaries till the hunt had passed on.

Footnote 4; Where the informant now lives.

Footnote 5: A few miles up the Mlembwe.

Footnote 6: A thicket area north of the Matandu.

Footnote 7: Jumbe Saidi Rupembe of Makata, who remained loyal to the Germans, becoming prominent as a result, assets that his father, represented by himself, was fined five slaves by Ngameya sitting at Mkwihi. Rupembe, probably the oldest and most distinguished survivor, cannot be considered wholly reliable as an informant. His claim to have acted as guide in the operations leading up to the first clash between Germans and Ngoni in those parts appears likewise suspect. He was not made Jumbe till after the Majimaji.

by the threat of NTINDI; that is, drinking blood."[1]

"Those Jumbes who rebelled, and all Jumbe Hongos, received the death penalty if caught, but no action was taken against Preachers. I served as headman in a patrol during the course of which Jumbe Mbembetu of Mlowoka fell into our hands. He was hung. After that I worked for Kinoo.[2] He was congenial and made me a sub-trader. I was never beaten whilst in his employment, but his wife was a bit of a trial. She was fussy, and in reality ran the business."[3]

Who were these men, prominent among the faithful yet willing instruments of an infidel power ? Some, as the foregoing account reveals, were mercenaries from afar, but Liwale itself evidently produced the bulk of them. I have the names of ten, said to have been active in the centre, west, north and east. And there were others. Only two besides my informant are still living. One, today an important native authority in the Kilwa District, has little of substance to add. He was juvenile at the time but, having started his Koranic studies, was inducted as an emergency Preacher, and indeed performed a number of baptisms. But his age naturally limited his grasp of outside events. That he should have been called upon at all indicates the urgency of the demand for

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Footnote 1: Although Ngindo sorcerers have a reputation for cannibalism, I suspect NTINDI to be foreign. Bell alludes to it in these terms. Any defaulter was to be killed "and his blood would be food for the great doctor at Ngarambi" (Ref.5).

Footnote 2: A German trader who came to Liwale directly the rebellion was over.

Footnote 3: Statement made by Mwalimu. Abdalla Liyere, Wakili of Mochera Juu (Turira) on 15th September 1953. It was made in Swahili. My text is not verbatim but a close paraphrase.

Preachers. More, seeing that his people were living well down the Matandu, the influx of Preachers from Mpotora somewhat further downstream would seem to have come later; unless converts preferred to have a home Preacher or wished to dodge paying fees. The remaining survivor resides in the same area. Unfortunately my arrangements to meet him there narrowly miscarried. From no one else, to my knowledge, is verification to be had. One thing is remarkable about these men. None was penalised by the Germans. On the contrary a large proportion ultimately acquired responsible Government positions. Three of the ten were to become senior Jumbes or Mwenyes, and at least two others have held lesser office. My informant's zeal in tracking down outlaws and service with a German master makes it seem as if the Preachers in question tried to engratiate themselves. If this is so, it both incriminates them ... plainly, unless they knew themselves to have acted in a subversive manner, they would not have bothered to make amends ... and explains their success in getting appointments. On the other hand, being well known and literate, they were no doubt equipped for leadership.

Here are their names. Nasoro Limbwilindi of Tandamanga Kati, Saidi Ngapenya of Liwale Chini, Msham Mmeleke of Muhinje, Hemedi Lipupu of Liwale-boma, Abdalla Magera of the Ndapata, Abdalla Kinduli of Mlembe Kinjacha, Abdalla Kigogo of Kingwichiro, Abdalla Kingandawara of the Matandu, Msham Ngapawa of Mlembwe Chini, and finally Abdalla Liyere, whose statement I record.[x]

Footnote x:
Another three, all African rubber traders now deceased, are alleged to have operated in south-west Ngindoland. Since they were evidently strangers, known only by abbreviated nicknames, I do not include them with the rest. They were 'Ndoka', a Kilwa man; 'Pongolani', from the Mihumo area of south-central Ngindoland, who later lived in Tunduru District; and 'Wajiri' (Waziri ?), from somewhat further south on the Ruhuu river. He later moved to Kilwa.

The latter's valuable testimony both stresses and limits the Islamic content of the revolt. It shows the stampede for conversion, the synchronization of proselytism and war. But it also shows the garbled nature of the message, its tenuous hold over the inner Majimaji enclave. Without knowing the career of the mysterious 'Mwalimu Sufiani' one must withold final judgment. But his influence appears meagre. If it had been great, and if he had been a strict Muslim, would not the conduct of affairs at Nandanga hill have been different, and the persecution of Muslims averted ? Admittedly the spoliation of Muslim property, in Liwale at any rate, was attributed to the need for funds to purchase more medicinal water, hence further the cause; so that the murders were at first incidental; later they were prohibited. But the argument does not convince one that any real accord linked true coastal Muslims and the bogus Ngindo ones the Majimaji conjured into being. Certainly their behaviour showed, and still shows, marked divergence.

In this connection the theory of Driberg, to whose article on the Yakan movement of northern Uganda (Ref.16) my attention has been drawn, calls for appraisal. Briefly, disturbances broke out amohg the Lugbara tribe immediately after the first World War. These seem to have been on Majimaji lines, centred around 'Yakan', which was "known to Europeans as the Allah water cult" (Ref.16). Driberg's description of its precursors reveals striking similarities with Majimaji. The Atwot Dinka "believed that Nyelik, the deity, resided in their pool, and that its appearance was followed by miracles, including the resurrection of the dead, which is one of the benefits also conferred by Yakan". Driberg traces a series of n/p Sudanic water cults which had the characteristic of uniting normally hostile tribes. In other respects however the

reported attributes of Yakan contrast with those of Majimaji. Apart from water, its symbols were quite different. Thanks to Nubian disseminators, formerly under the banner of Emin Pasha, it also incorporated specific parade-ground features. The Yakan idea's earliest known manifestation was "during the Mahdi rising, though it is uncertain on whose behalf" (Ref.16). Later it turned against Emin, and still later infected his troops who were to prove responsible for the "Uganda mutiny" of the 1890s. It is to the residue of these troops that Driberg tentatively attributes the Majimaji. "The next serious ebullition of this cult takes us to what is now Tanganyika Territory. We find it giving the final impulse to the movement which culminated in the rebellion of 1905 against German rule, and was probably carried down to that territory by 'Nubis' who enlisted in the German forces" (Ref.16). Now it is true that Nubians are said to have served with the Germans during the occupation phase in southern Tanganyika, where they won evil fame as bloodthirsty ruffians. In view of this last, and of the alternative local derivation furnished by Burton, it seems unlikely that these Nubians should have precipitated the Majimaji, though they may have contributed in some measure towards it. Driberg makes the n/p interesting observation that certain of the Yakan-type water medicines possibly contained a substance, extracted from plants, which acted as a heart stimulant. This would account for the ephemeral but reckless bravery shown by ordinarily timid rebels, but I can recall no evidence that the sacred water was or could be so adulterated. Besides, the stimulant in question, being a poison in overdose, would not lend itself to mass consumption. The commonplace Swahili and Ngindo phrase applied to the rebellion ... "intoxicated with water" ... can be taken to be figurative. Likewise, its alleged effect on the Jumbe

Hongos was probably through suggestion alone. Next to the water theme, perhaps the most remarkable parallel between these various cults was the evident but obscure Muslim factor. Presumably the Dinka were pagan, but the concept of divine water appears to have both adopted and spread by Islam.

The Mohammedan religion, though it undoubtedly entered the superficial Majimaji propaganda, did not afford much gain to the faith, excepting to pave the way for a Muslim stronghold in Liwale. Even there, mark you, most converts relapsed into paganism directly the famine grew so severe that bushpig came to be at a premium. General progress of orthodoxy has been slow. Sutherland describes an amusing episode in late German days when some Ngindo passers-by, including an elder with prayer-board, succumbed to the temptation of elephant meat (Ref.89). No network of mosques was established until after the first World War, and it is only around the time of the second World War that observances other than Ramadan have been adopted by a quorum of the people. Even now, though it is unfair to probe the theology of the illiterate rank and file of any religion, it must be owned that the Liwale folk carry on the most rudimentary cult. They have been well described as "bush Moslems" (Ref.55). Sceptics aplenty are to be found, though the weight of opinion inhibits them from open apostasy. If for instance a man holds bushpig to be both palatable and harmless, there is the problem of getting someone to cook it and of making the necessary eating arrangements without contaminating vessels used by others; not to mention the contempt and ridicule of the devout. Yet, if it were not for the isolation Ngindoland has ~~they have~~ enjoyed, one wonders whether Islam would be in the Ngindo saddle at all.

Elsewhere
~~Other~~ than in Liwale, it scarcely made any headway during the revolt. Mahenge recruits underwent no baptism, nor in that District, where missionaries are active, have the Muslims ever got the upper hand. The same applies partially to Songea. Here the strong development of Islam in the eastern section may be due as much to early missionary neglect in favour of the Nyasa quarter as to participation in the Majimaji by the eastern chiefdom, the western Ngoni remaining quiescent. Remember too that the east is Ngindo (Ndendeuli) speaking. Among the Yao of Tunduru, where Islam has swept the board, scant attention was paid to the call to arms. On the other hand, of the Mwera, who responded to it with some arduur, comparatively few were followers of the Prophet. The Ngoni rebels are reported to have sent to the Yao 'Sultan' Mataka, a "flask of the Prophet Mohamed" (Ref.95). But this, adds the Tunduru District Book, was a move inspired by the Ngindo leader, Kinjala. Also, the written medium of the revolt would naturally be Arabic in both script and style. Mention of the Prophet may therefore be a literary convention, nothing more. Kilwa's history shows Persian and Arab influence to have been present for centuries in this hinterland. If you doubt the fact of Arab penetration, look at this observation made by Elton on the east shore of Nyasa in 1873 ... "there is a 'Mwalimu' (author's own parenthesis) established here who teaches reading and the Koran. We passed the school-house and saw the row of slates on the verandah" (Ref.17).

No matter how misleading the Islamic idiom in which the pagan doctors ~~wizards~~ spoke, it lent universality to their accents. Memories of Bushiri's desperate stand in 1888, a distinctly Arab and Muslim reaction aimed directly at the nascent Imperial authority, must have

lingered ... it had cost the lives of both Germans stationed at Kilwa. Thirty years again before that event Burton, whose ~~qualifications in this direction were~~ knowledge of Islam was unique, had this to say: "The Mrima (coastal belt) is populated by two distinctly connected families, the half-caste Arabs and the coast clans. The former are generally of Bayazi or Khariji persuasion, the latter follow the school of El Shafei; both, though the most imperfect of Moslems, are fanatical enough to be dangerous" (Ref. 9). Despite Coupland's view to the contrary ... "Islam has never been so fanatical or militant in East Africa as elsewhere" (Ref.13). I incline to ~~the earlier~~ Burton's opinion. Again, the murder of Roscher, if not connived at by the Muslim slavers, arose out of the conditions of bloodshed they created. The slavers had opposed his entry, and later thwarted von der Decken (Ref.40). Besides ~~those~~ that already listed there ~~are other touches to show~~ is evidence to suggest that even if 'Sufiani' carried little weight and was under orders from no outside religious authority, the Majimaji detonated an atmosphere tinged with the Arabian. For instance it gave an Arab title, 'Saidi', to its leaders ... an obvious retention of Zanzibari 'Seyyid', designation of the Sultan, whose realm is still referred to in Liwale as 'buSaidi'. Ngindo allege it to have been in use as a password before the Germans came. A traveller would exclaim 'Saidi!', to which the correct response was 'Hasa!'. Even the commoner 'Hongo', though there are alternative derivations[x], seems a relic of caravan days, when every petty chieftain demanded his hongo or tribute. Finally, Bell comments as follows ...

Footnote x:
kiHONGWE is the 'scarlet chested sunbird' and the name of some important mysteries in the initiation cycle. Again, HONGWE denotes an apparently mythical serpent, the 'crowing crested snake'. Word-endings in 'o' are frequently pronounced 'we' in this manner. (Animal identifications by Mr. C.J.P. Ionides, Senior Game Ranger).

"There is evidence that Islam was behind the initial rising in the Matumbi country north of Kilwa" (Ref.5).

In balance, the latter's conclusion that the Majimaji "must not ... be thought ... a religious war" (Ref.5), that is in the Jihad sense, holds good. At the same time the contribution of Islam was far from negligible. To resolve this ambiguity, one must postulate the ambiguity of Islam itself, differentiate its Ngindo modification and that followed by competent Shaf'i adherents. The latter seemingly had no part in the revolt. The revolt gave birth to the former.

The subsequent history of Liwale has for the most part been sketched in with the evolution of migrant labour (see Capter II). Up to the time of the first World War little of note occurred. The Rubber industry continued to expand, reaching a peak just before war broke out. German East Africa's output of cultivated rubber was over 1,000 tons in 1913 and still rising (Ref.7). Then, catastrophically and finally, it slumped. The reason for this eclipse lay overseas ... "competition of the "Herea" (author's own parenthesis) plantations in Malaya and Sumatra brought ruin to the industry ... by the middle of 1914 this ruin was apparent, and there was no revival after the war" (Ref.72). Some while before this, however, thanks to the superiority of plantation methods, the wild-rubber markets had been contracting. "Wild rubber had practically disappeared by 1912" (Ref.72). Yet even as late as 1911, Brode could declare, "Most of our rubber is still the produce of wild-growing vines" (Ref.7). Gum copal, mined on the northern fringes of Ngindoland, showed a less spectacular decline:" ... of this ... it has been found that the natural resources are diminishing" (Ref.7), by which

was meant that production had fallen off, gum and beeswax being bracketed in the full quotation. Therefore the Ngindo had begun to experience with a vengeance the general downhill economic trend which coincided with the establishment of Mandatory government in Tanganyika.

Although fierce engagements took place in their country,[x] the East African campaign by-passed the Ngindo for the most part. Yet they suffered many impositions and hardships including severe famine. This seems to have arisen from the use of the Kilwa hinterland as a commissariat zone by the Germans. However German wages and debts were honoured by an arrangement ... 'Karemu' (claim?) ... made some years later. The war naturally added to the cynicism and bewilderment of the native population. The Jumbe system, which had remained in force after the Majimaji Revolt, persisted into the opening years of the Mandate, during which attempts were made to induce the Ngindo to live in compact riverine villages, the so-called 'Laini' (lines?). In 1928, however, Indirect Rule took its place. Owing to the virtual absence of indigenous authorities, though personnel were reshuffled, the change was negligible. Some 'Jumbes' remained in office as 'Mwenyes'. Proposals to coalesce the home-Ngindo with the Ndonde outliers of Lindi and Mahenge came to nothing, but administrative boundaries shifted somewhat. Old Kibata District (or 'Division') was dismembered, a share of it going to Liwale which, although strictly a Division of Kilwa District, received recognition by the Provincial authorities as a District in its own right. It remained a 'one-man-station' (i.e. run by one European

Footnote x: For instance, in "the positions inland from Kilwa and Lindi and in the Luwegu and Mbarangandu valleys in the second half of 1917 ... Here he (Von Lettow Vorbeck) fought desperately"(Ref.51).

administrative officer) throughout the 1930s and war years. Thereafter it went the same way as Kibata, becoming incorporated in a new District, Ruponda, with headquarters 100 miles south of Liwale-boma near the Groundnut Scheme centre of Nachingwea. The latter has since been gazetted the District's name.

Spontaneous tribal movements, apart from disorderly fluctuations during the Majimaji, have been rare since the European occupation. The Germans tried to repopulate their lines of communication, notably between Liwale and Songea and between Mahenge and Kisaki. The first drive led to a drift back of Ndonde to their former home-areas and to their co-mingling with Ndendeuli. The second affected the Mbunga, who had however seemingly founded their Kisaki bridgehead before Bushiri's revolt. The only other significant move was that of the neo-Hamba, ascending the Lumesule. In 1906 Fuelleborn found a nucleus still at Majeja on the river's lower reaches. In the "Massassi-Madjedge (Majeja) area were just a few ~~("nur ganz wenig")~~ Wangindo villages with several Wandonde amongst them"(Ref.19).

The second World War made little impression on the home-Ngindo, of whom over 1,000 were examined with a view to conscription for military service ('Keya' i.e. KAR) and compulsory sisal labour ('maNamba' i.e. number); but 80% had to be rejected as medically unfit. It was peace which brought war to the Ngindo, in the shape of the Closer Settlement Scheme of 1946-8 ... a popular tribal song has the refrain 'Evacuation is war!' The Scheme, which had been preceded by curtain-raisers emptying the Luwegu region in 1941, only partially achieved its object of eliminating Liwale. Ngindoland to-day represents the residue regurgitated or left undigested by the Scheme.


SKETCH-MAP SHOWING THE PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE KINGINDO-SPEAKING PEOPLES.
PRINCIPAL RIVERS.
LINDI PLACE-NAME.
MBUNGA (10,000+) KINGINDO-SPEAKING GROUP AND ITS APPROX STRENGTH.
APPROX SCALE IN MILES
200
150
100
50
0
KISAKI
MBUNGA (1,000)
RUAHA
RUFIJI
KIBEREGE
IFAKARA
MBUNGA (10,000+)
KILOMBERO
MADABA
MBINGU/MOFU
LUPIRO
MAHENGE
KISWAGU
ILONGA
WESTERN-NDONDE (5,000)
LUWEGU
MBARANG'ANDU
NJENJE
LUHANYANDO
PITULANGA
MPEPO'S
MATANDU
HOME-NGINDO (30,000+)
LIMALE-BOMA
EXILE-NGINDO (10,000+)
NJINJO
KILWA (KIVINJE)
ZINGA
LINDI
MILOLA
MIKINDANI
COAST-NDONDE (10,000)
MBWEMKURU
ILULU
LUKULEDI
KILIMARONDO
NEO-HAMBA (2,000)
LUMESULE
MASASI
MAHUTA
NEWALA
SOUTHERN-NDONDE (1,000+)
PORTUGUESE E. AFRICA
LAKE NYASA
LUTUKIRA
NDENDEULI (10,000+)
LIKUYU
SONGEA
TUNDURU
RUVUMA
404

CHAPTER X OUTLIERS.

The home-Ngindo have been described, and the overall Ngindo histories traced. It remains to assess the relationships between the Ngindo-proper and peripheral-Ngindo outlier groups (as defined in Chapter I, page 9) on the one hand and the home-Ngindo on the other.

What I am now seeking to do is to define in some detail the extent of the Ngindo culture-area. Linguistically, this has already been done (see Chapter I, Ngindo Outliers); but language is not the sole criterion on which rests the case for postulating a far-flung, broadly-conceived Ngindo culture. This is where I elaborate the associated characteristics of culture or custom, including territorial arrangement, marriage, ritual, and so forth. As in the linguistic analysis, I have been scrupulous to contrast rather than to identify the various outliers. In the forthcoming discussion, for example, I devote considerable attention to examining the differing degree of matrilineal emphasis present in each. In an attempt to test the hypothesis of cultural unity, I have been on the lookout for differences rather than for similarities. Therefore, if the case I put forward still seems to indicate unity, then it can confidently be assumed that unity exists.

Ngindo-proper outliers.

Coast-Ndonde.

The 'coast-Ndonde', the crescent-shaped body of immigrants referred to in the historical outline, form the natural prolongation of the predominantly

Ndonde sector of southern Ngindoland, the dialect being almost constant throughout, and descent-names corresponding to a large extent ... 38 of those commonly attributed to the Ndonde (i.e. about two-thirds) are alleged to be present amongst the coast-Ndonde, along with 10 Magingo or other names. It is somewhat surprising therefore that the proposed merger of ~~these two groups~~ Ngindoland's Ndonde and the coast-Ndonde should have met with a cool reception. More especially since in those days (about 1930) the nearest market to southern Ngindoland was Lindi; which meant a constant stream of travellers traversing almost the whole length of the crescent. Nowadays, thanks to the presence of markets nearer home, that fraternization has been discontinued. Hence it is understandable that the Ndonde of Ngindoland should now have come to regard the coast-Ndonde somewhat askance ... "They are just like Swahilis, and their womenfolk become spoilt by being used to eating coconuts". No doubt this criticism was also present a generation ago. But what probably counted for more were the twin factors of Magingo expansion in Ngindo-land[x] and Mwera expansion south of the Mbwemkuru[xx]. With this last can be coupled the factor of Islam, relatively few Mwera adhering to it. Except in the case of the radically altered neo-Hamba there seems to be a pronounced tendency towards friction between Ngindo and Mwera. In speech they are mutually unintellig-

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Footnote [x].
i.e the home of the Ndonde element among the home-Ngindo, increasingly subject to Magingo influence and therefore losing their Ndonde identity.

[xx].
i.e. the area inhabited by the coast-Ndonde, who, as a minority amongst the numerically preponderant Mwera, cannot help surrendering something of their identity.

ible, despite extensive correspondence of words. Again there is the difficulty that the one is matrilineal, the other agnatic. Even in the heart of the coast-Ndonde crescent, where the two are bilingual and have rubbed shoulders and intermarried for close on a century, relations between them are far from cordial. The current situation is that the coast-Ndonde, even where they are densest ... that is, around Milola and Nahino ... none the less figure as a minority ethnic group.

According to them they found the country empty, excepting for a few Makonde, only to be swamped by subsequent Mwera infiltration and natural increase. Most of them have a clear though unspecific notion of their origin. "We came from the interior, beyond the Mbarang'andu" is the commonest explanation offered. The manner of their coming was evidently piecemeal, judging by the numerous 'leaders' mentioned. The village-survey (Survey H) shows something of this ethnic admixture ... the Makemba valley is exceptional, or even unique, in having uniform Ndonde settlement along about 2 miles of its length (Note: scale omitted on the plan. The distance from end to end can be taken as 3 miles). 'Ndonde' in this context means 'people consciously belonging to the Ndonde culture rather than 'people of pure Ndonde descent'. A peculiarity of the coast-Ndonde is a vague but pronounced 'Mbomoke' (Ngindo sub-group) element not found elsewhere. To a lesser extent there is also retention of other definitive Ndonde labels such as Hinjantulo, Mandumba, etc. I have even heard the coast-Ndonde dismissed by other Ndonde as 'just a lot of Mbomoke'.

The territorial system as shown by this survey retains only a semblance of the agnatic principle, each

Master-Key for all Village-Surveys (top-left, reading the maps upright), with Block-Maps I (mid-left), II (centre), and their relevant Village-Surveys, J. Both the Villages (top-right and bottom) are composed of outlier Ndonde. For the Genealogy relating to Village-Survey J, turn ~~overleaf~~ to page 506.

"H" and "J".

Block-Map III (top right-centre, reading the maps upright), with sub-divisional map (upper-right), and Village-Survey G. This is another Ndonde outlier.
For the Genealogy, turn ~~overleaf~~.
to page 504

Survey "G"

Hamlet	Hut	Occupants.	
I	a, b, e	Male head-pivot. 3 wives. 3 Ch (plus 2 Ch of ex-wives). An influential headman and Preacher, he can afford dependants. His numerous ex-wives must have children with them. One of his sons by a current wife is adult and living a couple of miles away with matrilineal kin.	9
	c	Step-fath (decd moth's new husb). His dtr (not certain whether by the same woman as Head's mother. He calls her 'sister' and thereby draws hamlet (I) into his orbit). Her 2 Ch.	4
	f	Brother (same father). Wife (getting divorced) (he has another wife at VIII).	1
	d	Son. Wife. Child (Another of Head's sons has a field but no hut, works as a clerk 15 miles away, and has his wife with him).	3
(I)	-	(Woman in Ic has a hut and 4 Ch here, but (I) not treated fully, being described as 'Matambwe').	
II	b	Female pivot (widow).	1
(same father)	c	Son (head). 2 Wives (one lives mostly at X). 2 Ch (issue of this wife by 2 previous husbs).	5
	a	Dtr (widow). Her dtr. Her decd sist's 2 Ch.	4
	d	Mat grand-dtr (dtr's male mat coz's dtr). Her decd sist's 3 children.	4
III	a	Female pivot. New husb (another wife nearby) (NB. Head is her brother at XII).	2
	c	Mat niece (decd sist's dtr). Husb. 2 Ch (One from a previous divorced husband).	3
	b	Son. Wife. 2 children (Head of IX).	4
IV	a	Male head-pivot. Wife. (householder is)	2
	b	Mat niece (moth's sist's dtr's dtr). Husb.	2
V	c	Female pivot. New Husb (semi-head...competing) Grand-son (son's son). Husb's neph (his decd male pat coz's son). (pat)	2 2
(different fathers)	b	Son (semi-head). Wife. Child (from decd wife).	3
	a	Dtr. Husb. Grand-dtr (pivot's sist's son's dtr).	3
	d	Pat niece (broth's dtr). Husb. Ch (from ex husb).	3
VI	a	Male head-pivot. Wife. 2 grand-ch (dtr's ch ... their mother divorced and remarried out ... uncertain whether she was born of this moth).	4
	e	Dtr. Husband.	2
	b	Son. Wife.	2
	c	Mat neph (unspecified mat coz's son). Wife. 2 Ch.	4
	d	Dtr. Husb. 2 Ch.	4
VII	a	Male head-pivot. Wife (plus adult dtr... her husb is a polygynist with hut elsewhere).	3
	b	Son. Wife. 2Ch.	4
		Total occupants c/f ...	80

Survey "G" (Cont).

Hamlet	Hut	Occupants.	b/f 80
VIII	a	Male head-pivot (unattached).	1
	b	Pat grand-niece (broth's son's dtr). Husb (he is head's mat g-neph ... broth's dtr's son).	1
(same parents)	c	Pat neph (broth's son). Wife (she is pivot's mat niece ... sist's dtr). 6 Ch.	8
	d	Mat neph (sist's son)(at present unattached).	1
	e	Sist (she could equally well be regarded as pivot). Husb. Grand-son (decd dtr's son) (Note: Husb in c has a hut at hamlet I).	3
IX	c	Female pivot (widow).	1
	a	Son (head). Wife. 5 Ch (another wife at IV).	7
	b	2 g-dtrs (decd dtr's dtr, other uncertain).	2
X	b	Female pivot. New husband (he is either head or a senior member of a hamlet just off survey).	2
(same father)	a	Son (head). Wife.	2
	g	Dtr. Husb.	2
(same father)	f	Grand-dtr (dtr's dtr): Husb.	2
	e	Dtr. Husb. Child. (Different parents)	3
	d	" " 3 "	5
	c	Grand-dtr (dtr's dtr): Husb (her mother, with 2 Ch, from II usually sleep here).	2
XI	a	Male head-pivot. 2 wives. 5 Ch (NB. He is virtually uxorilocal, his wife's moth and broth being at IX a few yards away).	8
(Different mothers)	b	Son. Wife.	2
	c	" "	2
XII	b	Female pivot. New husband (he is head of III). 2 Mat grandsons (both decd sist's dtr's sons) and their wives (one each)(Note: but neither husb has the same father or mother).	6
	a	Mat neph (decd sist's son) (he is Head here).	3
(same father)		Wife. Grand-son (pivot's decd sist's dtr's son).	
	e	Mat grand-dtr (decd sist's dtr's dtr). Husb.	2
	d	4 Mat grand-dtrs (ditto but all from different fathers).	7
		Mat niece (sist's dtr). Husb. Mat grand-son (decd sist's dtr's son).	
	c	Mat niece (decd sist's dtr). Husb. 2 Ch (from a divorced husband).	9
x(different fathers)		Her son. Wife. Child.	
		" " " "	
		TOTAL OCCUPANTS ...	161

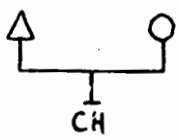
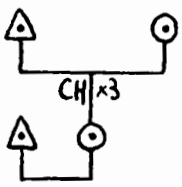
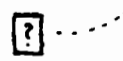
x One of these has the same parents as one of the two Mat g/sons in XII b.

NOTE: 'Pivot' By this is meant the senior genealogical member of the hamlet, by means of whom the rest can be stated. Such persons are held in great respect, i.e. in no way comparable with a hanger-on widow, and the like, in an agnatic unit such as those found in Ngindoland.

'Head' By this is meant the recognized executive head, who must be male in order to negotiate, etc.

Notes on the Genealogies for the Village-Surveys.

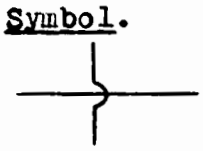
(to be correlated with the "Legend for all Forest-Chart Genealogies".

Symbol.	Meaning.
	Man(left) and woman(right) living in the Village surveyed.
	Polygynist(centre) and four co-wives. The same convention is used for a woman who has had more than two husbands.
	Divorced man(left) and woman(right).
CH	One juvenile child living in the Village surveyed. Two such children are indicated ... "CHx2", and so forth.
	One juvenile child living in the Village surveyed, but whose parents do not live there.
	Parents with four children, one of whom is an adult daughter already married-out, and the rest juvenile (assuming that they all still live in the Village).
	PARENT, OR PARENTS, OF PUTATIVE SIBLINGS.
	Each of the code-letters a,b,c,etc., refers to a particular hut, and specifically to its senior male occupant. If there is no adult male, then the senior female is assumed to be the house-holder and therefore carries the code-letter. In the case of a polygynist with co-wives quartered in different huts, each code-letter goes with the respective wife.

Note I. The series of Cell-symbols employed for the Forest-Charts does not correspond with that that employed for the Villages

2. In the Village-survey genealogies, I include only such kinsfolk as are directly relevant to the tracing of interconnections between persons living in the Village surveyed.

Exceptions occurring in Diagrams illustrating Chapter IV, 'Kinship'.

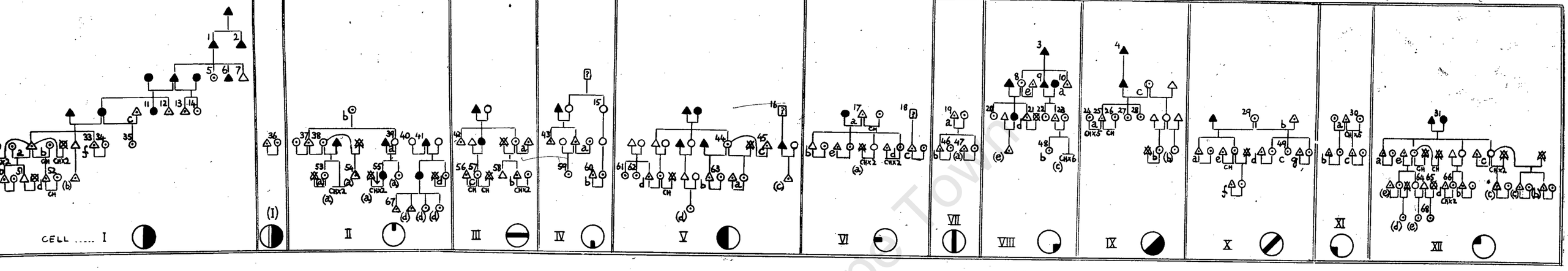
Symbol.	Meaning.
	The line of descent with the 'kink' in it crosses over and by-passes the straight line of descent.
	Polygynist(left) and two co-wives.
EXOG EXOGAMOUS	The persons in question belong to the same descent-name group and prohibit mutual inter-marriage between members of their respective sub-groups.
NO EXOG NON EXOGAMOUS	The persons in question belong to the same descent-name group, but permit mutual inter-marriage between members of their respective sub-groups.

Note I. Deceased persons are not marked as such in the Diagram on page I43.a.

2. The blacked-in symbols in the Diagram on page I76 are not deceased persons, but persons belonging to a particular sub-section of a particular descent-name group.

3. Likewise in the Classificatory Kinship Tables(pages I34 and I35), the blacked-in symbols refer not to deceased persons, but to Ego's matrilineally-named kin.

GENEALOGY FOR VILLAGE "G".



I. This is Mkumba, foremost of the Ndonde leaders at the time of their exodus from the Songea region a century ago.

I-3. Same person.
2-4. " "
5-8. " "
6-9. " "
7-10. " " .He has children of his own living elsewhere. Being an ex-"Chief", he had numerous wives and progeny, but is now a solitary invalid.
II-31. Same person.
12-17. " "
13-19. " "
14-42. Wife and husband. The couple live at XII.b. They have no children, though two of the wife's married matrilineal grand-nephews now lodge with them.
15-16. Unspecified classificatory siblings.
17-18. " matrilineal " "
20-23. Same person.
21-59. " "
22-29. " "
24. She has a sixth child living at I.a.
25-56. Same person, dividing his time between wives in Cells III and IX.
26-57. Same person.
27-30. " "
28-63. " "
32-65. " "
33. He divides his time between wives in Cells I and VIII.
34-48. Same person.
35-36. " " . Her husband, who is of the Matambwe tribe with a Cell of his own nearby, divides his time between her and another wife at his home Cell which, although virtually a satellite of Cell I and therefore depicted as 'allied' with it, is mainly Matambwe in composition, hence excluded from the detailed survey.
37. He divides his time between wives in Cells II and X.
38-49. Same person.
39-41. Unspecified matrilineal siblings.
40-44. Same person (besides being once divorced, she was twice widowed).
43-45. Same person.
46-61. " "
47. This man, a polygynist, has another household outside the area surveyed.
50. Absentee, working as a Govt. clerk elsewhere in this same administrative District.
51. He is away, living more or less permanently with matrilineal kin.
52-62. Same person.
53-54-55. These half-brothers and -sisters divide their time between Cells II.a and X.c.
58-64. Same person.
60-67. " "
66. One of her two children is living at "a" in this same Cell.
68. She lives with her mother at I.e.

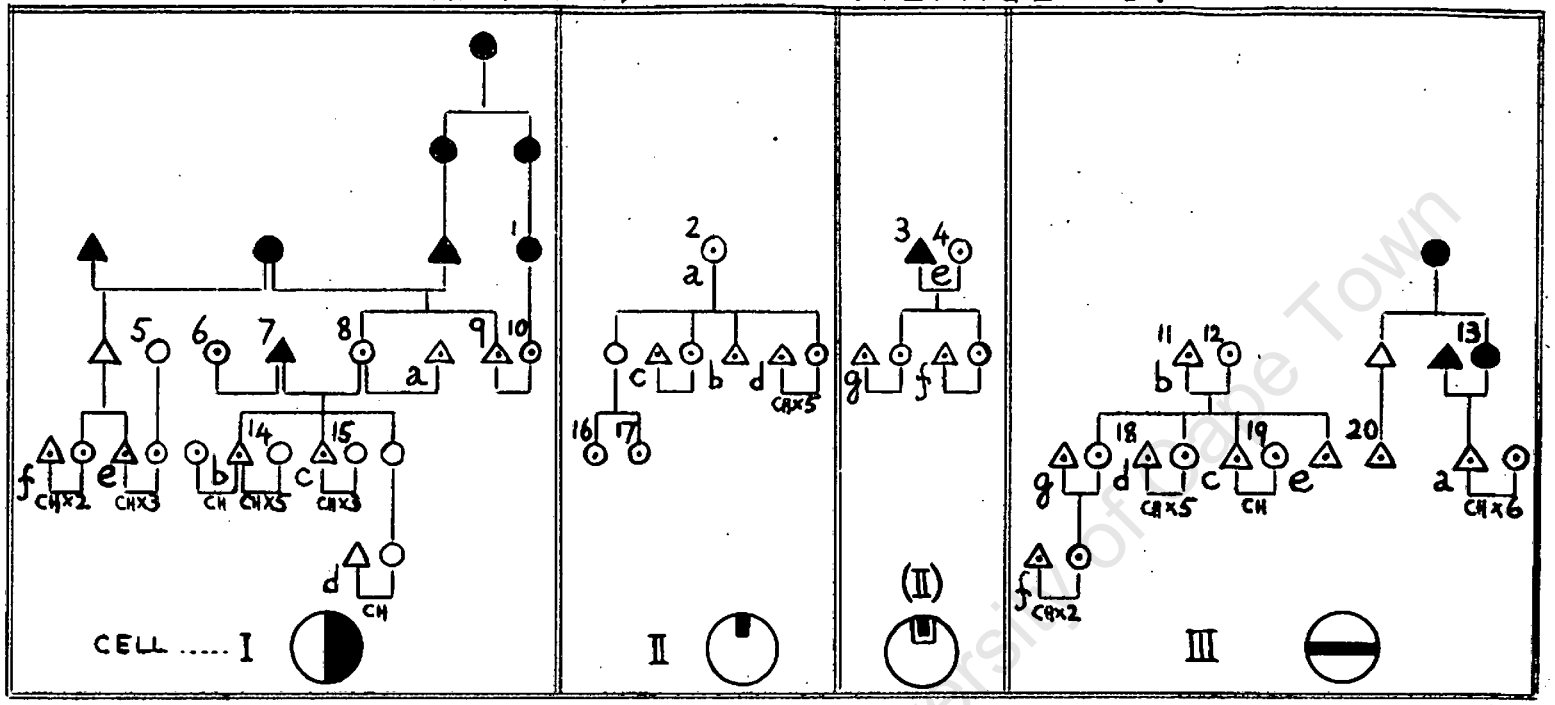
Survey "J"

Hamlet.	Hut.	Occupants.	
I	a	Female pivot. Husband. (no issue from union).	2
	b	Son. Wife. Child (2nd wife and 5 children at Chiwangautama 5 miles away).	3
	c	Son (wife and 3 children living at Chimbendenga, 30 miles away).	1
	d	Grand-dtr (dtr's dtr). Husb. Child.	3
	e	Mat niece (female uterine coz's dtr). Husband. 3 children.	5
	f	His sister. Husb. 3 children. (i.e. e's husband's sister)	4
II	a	Female pivot. Husband (no issue from union).	2
	b	Son (at present unattached).	1
	c	Daughter. Husband.	2
	d	" " 5 children (2 in hut alongside, with pivot's dtr's dtr).	7
		.....	1
	e	Allied female pivot (widow).	1
	f	Daughter. Husband.	2
	g	" " .Child.	3
III	a	Head-pivot. Wife. 6 Ch (he is effective head of all 3 hamlets which are territorial quarters or genealogical segments of a single unit. He runs the mission [school]).	8
	b	Sist (same mother only). Husband. Husb-	2
	c	Mat neph (sist's son). Wife. Child.	3
	d	" niece (sist's dtr). Husb. 5 children.	7
	e	" neph (" son).	1
	f	" grand-dtr (sist's dtr's dtr.) Husb. 2 Ch.	4
	g	" Niece (sist's dtr). Husband	2
		(c to g offspring of sister in b).	
		Total occupants ..	64

Survey "H"

I	a	Head. Wife.	2
	b,c	Pat neph (decd sr broth's son). 2 wives.	3
	d x	No apparent kinsman (same descent-name and builds close by). 2 wives.	3
II	a	Head. Wife.	2
	b	Uterine grand-neph (fath's fath's sist's son's son's son).	6
	x	2 wives. 3 Ch.	
	c	" " " (" " " " dtr's "). Wife.	2
	d	Mat niece (decd sist's dtr). Husb. His 2 Ch.	4
III	a	Head. 2 wives. Step-son (i.e. from previous union of one of his present wives).	
	b	Mat neph (moth's class. sist's dtr's son).	6
	x	2 wives. 2 Ch (plus 1 illeg Ch of wife's sist).	
	c	Neph in-law (moth's class sist's uterine neph). Wife.	2
IV	a	Head. Wife. Child (her step-sist .. Fath's dtr).	3
	b x	Son. 2 wives. Child.	4
	c	Ut. coz (fath's female ut. coz's dtr). Husb. (has 2 Mwera wives elsewhere). Her dtr's dtr.	3
V	a	Head. 2 wives.	
	b	Son. Wife. Child.	3
	c	Mat uncle (fath's fath's sist's son of the hamlet). His dtr (he is the senior member, but gone blind).	3
	d	Pat coz (fath's broth's son). 2 wives. 4Ch.	2
			7
x Not indicated as polygynists in chart			59

GENEALOGY FOR VILLAGE "J."



I-I3. Same person(as I3, she is an inherited widow).
2-4. Putative matrilineal siblings.
3-7. Same person.
4-6. " "
5-8. Unspecified matrilineal siblings.
9-II. Same person.
I0-I2. " "
I4. This co-wife and her children are living at Chiwangautama(5 miles).
I5. This wife and her children live 30 miles away at Chimbendenga.
I6-I9. Same person.
I7. She occupies the hut marked 'juveniles only', along with three of the five children recorded under Cell II.d.
I8-20. Same person.
N.B. Cells I and II being 'allied', the serial-letters of their members follow in one sequence from a to g.

unit being on a miniature scale, and only one of the five wholly agnatic in composition. However the general layout is similar to that found in Ngindoland ... a straggling community, with ~~periodic~~ knots of huts at intervals. Actually there is some pressure on the riverine soil resources, whence the presence of numerous fields belonging to somewhat far-flung owners. This is more especially true of the Nahino, which contains a perennial flow of water and intermittent coconut plantations. A certain number of these palms belonged to persons included in the survey, but I was unable to establish the detail of ownership. Although the area enjoys relative freedom from ~~Another factor is the relative freedom from pests.~~ elephant and other pests, food is stored inside the huts, not in granaries. This last feature provides the Ndonde n/p with ammunition for their customary grouse about the Mwera, whose thieving propensities allegedly made the granary obsolete. They also complain that Mwera have grabbed the best jobs, the best land, and breed like flies. About matriliny these Ndonde are non-committal. They show some respect for it, conceding that uterine descent is the surer vehicle of kinship, but at the same time adhere to their agnatic descent-names and proclaim themselves patrilineal. Another facet of friction with the Mwera already mentioned is the disproportionate following of Islam among the Ndonde. Ironically, the Ndonde even claim to be superior in the degree of social cohesion they achieve, as expressed in their big collective initiation-ceremonies. The Mwera on the contrary are classed as hermits, accustomed to living in plateauland far from water. Ndonde say "We must be riverine".

The gist of statements made by informants was that points of difference between coast-Ndonde and home-Ngindo custom are numerous, though with underlying uniformities. Statistics collected in the course of the village-survey will be set out later as a complement to these

statements of opinion (see combined table at the end of this Chapter//). Marriage-/or betrothal-age of girls is higher, with consequent rarity of suitor-contracts. This seems to be offset by a tendency on the part of grooms towards semi-permanent uxorilocal residence. Bridewealth (HETO) is payable, but at approximately half the home-Ngindo rate for pagan marriage, of which the ratification is/here marked by the consumption of maHABA beer. The level of kiBANI is not commensurately low. ViTUNGA restitution for a deceased wife, here called JAMANDA (note archaic home-Ngindo NAMANYANDA), is both customary and roughly equivalent. MKANGE payments, given to a woman on her daughter 's initiation, must be made. Islamic marriage (NDOA but not HARUSI) comes about in a slightly different way, as is the case with most other Islamic activities. For instance, the MAHARI is said to be entirely at the bride's disposal, except for Shs. 4/- to buy sandals for her father. NDOA is fairly prevalent. There are the same objections to it, the parties being aware of the difficulties experienced by wives in getting their freedom. A woman's remedy is sorcery, about which identical beliefs are held. Divorce-suits, if heard by a Government-recognized court should rest on proper grounds. Adultery compensation or punishment is graded on the basis of Islamic and pagan marriage, the latter warranting far less. The seducer of an Islamic wife must pay a fine of Shs. 40/-, the woman paying another Shs. 20/-. The pagan equivalents are half the value, the money paid by the seducer going to injured husband. Offenders are at liberty to marry one another after divorce. Widow-inheritance is practised, but without any compulsion. Paternity of and compensation for children follows the same lines, but residence with agnatic guardians cannot be compelled by law. Inherit-

ance of property appears diffuse; that is, to say, not necessarily the monopoly of any one line of descent.

Culturally, though some customs are identical (i.e. on childbirth), thecoast-Ndonde are quite distinct in detail, similar only in outline. Retention of genuine Ndonde features no longer found in Ngindoland, along with Mwera contact, appears responsible. For instance the initiations, though corresponding almost point for point, have local names for many episodes. Also they are on a scale far exceeding anything seen in Ngindoland nowadays. Eligible children are allowed to accumulate over several years until a hundred or more can be initiated at once. There are certain ways in which coast- and southern-Ndonde, as distinct from other Ngindo, come together. Thus female seclusion is called by both groups maNAWA, a term not used by the home-Ngindo. Other features, such as the NGWANGWANGWA preamble to male circumcision, seem unique. Again, whilst the mSOLO (mHORO) sacrifices persist, the sequel to already obsolescent NCHOPI funeral feasts go by a special name maJITA (Ngindoland, NGURULA iBIGA). Popular dances overlap considerably. Sorghum is not so prominent, nor beekeeping carried on to any extent. Goats are not uncommon, but neither are they used as bridewealth. It should be emphasised that these paragraphs amount to a series of impressions rather than a considered judgment. There was time neither to seek documentary support not to interview a wide cross-section of informants. The same applies to the other outlier-surveys. About a week was spent in each. Wherever comparison is implied, the yardstick can be taken to be the home-Ngindo.

Average bridewealth levels were as follows ...

	All-Ndonde.	Mwera, etc. brides.
Pagan HETO.	Shs.18/- (8 to 40)[x] (20% of these curtailed)[xx]	Shs 25/-(10 to 35)
Islamic HETO. (i.e. cum MAHARI)	Shs.27/- (10 to 70)	Shs 31/-(20 to 40)
MAHARI. (Cum HETO)	Shs.57/- (30 to 100) (Almost all Islamic marriages combine the two)	Shs 55/-(20 to 100)
" alone.	Shs.77/- (60 to 90)	-
KiBANI.	Just under 3/-(2 to 6) (½/- less for infant betrothal)	Just over 4/- (2 to 6)

(from 38 marriages of persons with huts shown in the survey

[x] these bracketed figures are the upward and downward limits in the sample (in shillings).

[xx] i.e. by divorce, etc. In such cases the bridewealth instalments may not have been fully paid over.

Inter-tribal marriages amounted to a little under a quarter of the total, all of which, with one exception, united Ndonde husband with Mwera, etc., wife; the exception being an uxorilocal half-Mwera husband who had irregularly adopted his father's (matrilineal) clan. The relatively high amounts in respect of Mwera, etc., brides indicate the matrilineal parties to have more than acquiesced in the system of payments. 24% of the husbands were polygynists, each with two wives. Two thirds of the marriages were Islamic (See combined table at the end of this Chapter).

Types of marriage, on the basis of wife-categories, were ...

Betrothal	27%
(remember that the age of girls at initiation is relatively high among the Ndonde, frequently post-puberty)	
(Note: suitor-labour performed in all but one case)	
Post-initiation ..... (Suitor-labour performed in one case)	5%
Widow-inheritance ..... (heirs: (i) Deceased's senior paternal cousin (ii) " blood-brother (no kinsman))	5%
Widow	24%
Divorce ..... (One of these divorced at the time of her initiation, Another warranted suitor-labour from her new husband)	39%
	100%

(Note: (i) owing to the paucity of properly recorded inter-tribal marriages, it did not seem worthwhile to add them.

(ii) the figures are based on the same 38-marriage sample, of which 20% ended in divorce).

By relation to the other Ngindo groups surveyed these figures show the coast-Ndonde to occupy an intermediate position between the southern-Ndonde ... with low payment levels, few betrothals, frequent divorce ... and the opposite extreme of Ngindoland. Although the samples ~~do not~~ are too small to demonstrate this fully, the same would seem to be true of adherence to orthodox Islam and other characteristics.

Southern-Ndonde.

The 'Mchichira' or 'southern' Ndonde have some contact with the coast-Ndonde, whose periphery can only be some 50 miles distant; but they have none at all with Ngindoland. Weule in 1906 devoted considerable attention to them, even showing pictures of personalities and huts (Ref.97). Unfortunately he gave scarcely any inkling of their social organization or local affinities. To repeat his conclusion, the Ndonde were comparative newcomers to the Makonde plateau and failed to measure up physically or in reputation to what was known of the 'Ngoni', by whose name they went. The Newala District Book recorded in 1928 that their weapon had not always been the Ngoni spear but "originally bows and arrows". Southern-Ndonde descent-names indicate that they are of specifically Ndonde rather than Ndendeuli stock, judging by the lists of 'clans' given in the Songea District Book. The southern-Ndonde answer to 21 of the known Ndonde descent names ... something under half ... as against

only two names of unknown origin (out of the four clan-names cited by the Newala District Book, two are included in my lists; the other two should be added). On the other hand the 'Hanga' country of origin is said by these people to lie close to the Matengo escarpment (central Songea District). There is a tributary of the upper Lutukira called Hanga flowing through Ndendeuli country. Also the concentration of leadership in few hands points to Ngoni influence. Of five leaders mentioned ... Nnola, Mkula, Liosi, Makacho, and Mkumba ... the last-named was head and shoulders above the rest. As previously shown, a remarkably pure dialect of Ndonde is spoken, approximating more closely to Ndendeuli speech than do those of the other Ndonde outliers.

The southern-Ndonde form a small non-continuous enclave amid an overwhelming Makonde-Matambwe population. They hold political control of three Jumbeates on the Tanganyika side ... Mchichira, Nhyaba, Mkundi ... in which it is open to doubt whether they predominate ethnically. Since there seems very little friction between the tribes this is of no account. Thus, although theft is acknowledged to have become rife owing to Makonde proximity, tolerance not rancour appears to be the prevailing Ndonde attitude /// (in 1928 theft was "regarded as a very serious offence", /Ref.59) /// which may be correlated with adequate political representation and ready absorption of Makonde culture. The head of Mahuta barasa, the rich and populous superior native authority area, also happens to be Ndonde. The enclave's neighbours are mostly Makonde on the plateau side, mostly Matambwe on the river side; Makonde and Matambwe are close to one another in both speech and culture. At the Mkundi end is a similar enclave of Makua. Odd Yao pockets occur

as well. The bulk of the Ndonde appear to live across the Ruvuma, but widely dispersed among the Mawia and other people under Portuguese rule. Judging by the number of pockets reported, the trans-Ruvuma element must number well over 1,000[x], whereas the 1948 Census,

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[x] Footnote: trans-Ruvuma Ndonde
(from information supplied by the southern-Ndonde)

Place.	Head.	Boma.	Estimated Nd.hamlets
Chingwale (upper Luneke) (including 3 hamlets at Nangadi Bondeni)	Lg.Halamba	Nangadi	11
Kibaoni and Namalamba	"	"	3
Chikungu (above the upper Huluwe, a tributary of the Nangadi)	Lg.Ngoliro	"	10
Chingwale (pool)	Cm. Hamisi Jumukira	"	5
Nangadi (lake)	" Manjabila	"	3
Miwanga (above the Mwiha, a tributary of the Nangadi)	" Matumura	"	7
Nnenje (flows into Lake Nangadi)	" Chiputura	"	10

Note: Lg ... Legu (headman). Cm ... Capitamoro (subheadman)

Lung'embe (flows into the Ruvuma)	Lg.Ntutuma	Nangadi	7
Chikundi (" " " ")	Cm.Wolera	"	4
Lake Nguli	Lg. Negehuti	Mwidumbe	20
Chipingu (pool)	Cm. Nambelema	"	5
Nchalo na jumu (island in the Nchalo, which flows to the sea)	" Halamba (II)	"	5
Chahi (pool)	Lg.Lihigiri	"	3
Libemba hill (north bank of the Nchalo)	Cm.Mahunda	"	7
Nambungadi (nr the Mweda, tributary of the Chinyonga, Somba, and Nchalo)	Lg.Ling'wata	"	10
Nalama (tributary of the Nchalo)	" Gambagamba	Kweo/ Nkukutuku	10
Ngoronji (north bank of the Nchalo upstream from Libemba)	Cm. Chiko	"	5
		Total hamlets ...	125

cited earlier, puts those living in Tanganyika at only 619.

The southern-Ndonde have an agnatic tradition, retain their agnatic descent-names, and still count themselves agnatic. However their groupings appear to have become largely modelled on those of their matrilineal neighbours, even down to the circular hamlets mostly comprising uterine kinsfolk. The ~~survey itself~~ people surveyed (Survey G) ~~has~~ have an agnatic backbone, in which ~~it~~ they may be exceptional; for ~~it~~ the group hinges around the son of the great Mkumba, till lately a Native Authority with the title 'Mkulungwa', but superseded on the abandonment of Indirect Rule. Internally, the bulk of hamlets surveyed have a typically matrilineal structure. And this was amply borne out by another 20 hamlets inspected at random throughout the Ndonde enclave. Weule discerned two political segments, of one of which the head was Makacho, "chief of one of the two clans into which the Wangoni living here are divided" (Ref.97,1906). Apex of the other was Majaliwa, whose name I never heard mentioned by the natives, though I was not able to check it with them. The southern-Ndonde are of course divided into many descent-name groups. Two of these may at that time have been predominant. If this dichotomy persists, it is in the form of the two Jumbeates of Mchichira (under Makacho's son) and Nhyaba (under Mkumba's maternal grand-nephew). To this day the Ngoni term 'Bambo', meaning overlord, has currency among the southern-Ndonde.

The 'village ' surveyed lies close to the escarpment which, in time of drought, has to be negotiated by the water-drawers. It conforms with the remainder of the

plateau in its dependence on cassava/, and on cashew, vast orchards of which are to be found nearby. Both these are important cash-earners, making the area more prosperous than that of any other Ndonde. Some few members of the hamlets surveyed have fishing interests down on the Ruvuma, where one or two have plots in the new (1951) Government rice-scheme. The density of population makes that part of the plateau a uniform belt of fallows ... the typical 'Makonde' - or cultivation-thicket. Settlement is continuous in all directions, with the various tribal elements overlapping. It is not surprising therefore that tribal inter-marriage should be common. More than a quarter of the marriages examined came under this category. Marriage types were found to be ...

	All-Ndonde.		Wife Makonde, etc.
Betrothal (One case without suitor-labour)	20%	... ...	13%
Post-initiation	12%	... ...	22%
Widow-inheritance (Heir: deceased's maternal grandson)	2%	... ...	-
Widow	2%	... ...	13%
Divorce	64%	... ...	52%
	100%		100%
	(from 41 unions of which 35% ended in divorce)		(from 15 unions of which 70% ended in divorce)

Note: insufficient details were to hand about the 3 unions involving Makonde and other such husbands. There were only 5 unattached mature women, 2 of whom were senile, one a youngish widow, and 2 divorcees in-between husbands. Of the 4 unattached adult males one was senile. The rest had recently got divorced/ (see combined table at the end of this Chapter).

The southern-Ndonde and immediate neighbours are strongly Muslim, but subject to direct Christian mission influence in the shape of elementary schools. However, not all marriages are validated through Islam ... only just over 50% of all-Ndonde matches were found to be Islamic, the percentage for extra-tribal ones being higher, over 60%. None at all were Christian. The MAHARI payable on Islamic marriage appeared in most cases to be exclusive of HETO; though sometimes the latter was paid as well, as is done elsewhere among the Ngindo. Detail ...

	All-Ndonde.	Makonde, etc. brides.
Pagan HETO.	Just over 13/- (2 to 27) (2 out of every 3 curtailed)	Just over 10/- (Nil to 25 (75% curtailed)
Islamic " (i.e cum MAHARI).	Shs. 10/- (4 to 20) (with a goat thrown in in one case)	Shs. 10/- (4 to 15)
MAHARI (cum HETO).	Shs 45/- (30 to 100) (25% curtailed)	Shs. 43/- (30 to 70) (In one case HETO allegedly paid in cloth, followed by cash MAHARI)
" alone.	" 46/- (30 to 100) (15% curtailed)	Shs. 35/- (30 to 40) (all curtailed)
KiBANI.	Nearly 3/- (Nil to 12) (Plus 2 instances of cloth as medium)	Just over 3/- (nil to 6)

Newala District Book material of 1928 vintage holds that KiBANI ("earnest") warranted only a fowl, and that HETO ("dowry") was low ... "Nowadays 10/- the highest dowry" ... whereas formerly it had comprised a musket, a couple of slaves, cloth, or a bull (see combined table at the end of this Chapter.)

Spouses very commonly live uxorilocally, either for the first few years or permanently. The southern-Ndonde, whether juvenile or adult, have no obligation to live with their agnatic kin. Choice of residence being left to the individual, kinsmen compete in attracting dependants. I

heard a man jokingly chide his neighbour for 'robbing' him of his own son. Statistically this is amply proven ...

	All-Ndonde.	Makonde, etc. brides
Virilocal	24%	36%
Spouses' home-groups adjacent, or separate huts built in each.	18%	-
Uxorilocal up to 5 years.	34% (50%-plus curtailed)	46%
" more than 5 years.	9%	18%
Still uxorilocal	15%	Non-applicable.
	100%	100%

Note (i). detail incomplete in the 3 cases of Makonde, etc., husbands.

(ii). as in the previous tables, 'curtailed' means that the marriage has been prematurely broken by divorce, etc., i.e. such a marriage might have remained uxorilocal for a longer period.

Under fifteen percent of husbands could be shown to be polygynists. However the true figure may be somewhat higher owing to omissions on my part ... the practice of building huts for ~~polygynous~~ co-wives in widely separated hamlets makes it difficult to verify the extent of polygyny outside a given sample area. The maximum number of wives married to one polygynous husband was 3, the minimum 2, giving a 2.5 average. These are figures relating to a moment in time. The high incidence of divorce must lead to constant fluctuations in the polygyny rate of a particular cluster of hamlets. One man had at various times acquired 8 wives, of whom he retained 3 at the time of survey.

Marriage among the southern-Ndonde, it has been said, represents an accentuation of the trends shown by the coast-Ndonde. In each, the extent of inter-tribal

marriage is about the same, but the former give evidence of greater uxorilocal residence ... informants state that suitordom was formerly even more extensive, seldom coming to an end before the birth of children ... less in the way of payments, and rampant divorce, which, despite the commanding position of Islam, is evidently not hard for a woman to get. Custody of children is fluid, depending on the wishes of the children themselves ... if they choose to live with the father on his divorce, bridewealth-refund is evidently cut thereby. So says the Newala District Book, which adds that two children (sex unspecified) would altogether cancel it out, i.e. the southern-Ndonde used to pay not more than Shs. 5/- apiece a generation ago. ~~Likewise~~ widow-inheritance as compensation for the loss of custody over children (see p.515). ~~which~~ is acknowledged, but seldom practised. Apparently, adultery committed with an Islamic wife is punishable by fines alone, Shs. 60/- for the male and Shs. 20/- for the female party, whereas for pagans there is no fixed level and compensation takes the place of fines. Whatever compensation is awarded, the pagan wife must pay half that amount in fines. The typical marriage-procedure follows a distinctive course. Sometimes, in lieu of kiBANI, a like payment called NDARUHO may be made direct by the groom's people. The fruits of suitor-labour (which ~~contracts~~ usually come after, not before, the bride's initiation) accrue to the newly-weds, who have fields separate from those of parents or guardians. About inheritance, one school of thought states that it goes primarily to the deceased's brothers and thence to his sons, whilst uterine kin stand to get lesser portions. According to the Newala District Book (1928) the favoured heir was the son or the "deceased's relations traced through his father". Islam is held to support this type of inheritance. However in the past, it was uterine kin who had the lion's share. This the second school of

thought endorses by opting first for the deceased's brothers, then for his maternal nephews. The mother's brother ~~still has a grip of the reins~~ has considerable prestige and authority. He may get half his maternal niece's bridewealth. The inconsistency of statements like this can be attributed to the ~~double~~ opposite pull of Makonde-Matambwe-Makua-Yao matriliny and of Islam; and there is ~~with~~ the additional variant of a swing away from matriliny taking place within these same neighbouring tribes, impelled by Islam and other agencies. Clearly the determination of native law thereabouts entails a complicated reckoning of the tribal and religious leanings of litigants and of their respective status.

~~Whilst impressive in the light~~ Although surprisingly intact after the passage of a turbulent history, the Ngindo culture-elements persisting among the southern-Ndonde have been much eroded by tribal culture-contact and by Islam. largely insulated from that of the other Ngindo, On the one hand southern-Ndonde perform the chiKOCHA (Makonde) and liNGAKA (Matambwe) dances. On the other, Islam has imposed an apparently effective ban on fermented beer; which automatically sweeps aside the bulk of pagan ritual. So that only a shadow of such customs as mSOLO (mHORO) sacrifices lingers. An exception is made of devil-dances "because we absolutely must fight devils!"; but these are something of a novelty, besides being common property to a number of tribes. Pagan funeral-rites appear to be inspired by non-Ngindo sources. The burial itself is marked by a feast called SHAMBA MOTO, followed at an interval of a week by maNDAPATAPA beer. The subsequent rite of commemoration, counterpart of Ngindo NCHOPI, goes by the name (UGIMBI ya ... beer of) maTANDA or kuTEMELERA ku liHINGA. Beliefs about sorcery very largely correspond, but the old MAHA poison-ordeal cedes to the shaving procedure of the Makonde, who are thought

to know the secret of controlling were-animals. To give Another index of local Ngindo variation, these Ndonde had in slaving days a marked preference for the SULIA (child by a slave mistress) system of succession, allegedly introduced by the Arabs. Thereby the heir's loyalty to his home-group was assured. The coast-Ndonde have the same concept, whereas the home-Ngindo only grudgingly concede its advantages, such is the stigma of slave descent. Again the initiations, claimed to be true Ndonde, though Yao circumcisors have to be employed for the boys, differ substantially from those held by the coast-Ndonde. The southern-Ndonde explain this by the instrusion of home-Ngindo influence among the ~~latter.~~ coast-Ndonde.

The initiations in their southern-Ndonde guise, though extra-tribal rites (i.e. the liKUMBI cycle of the Makonde) are clearly differentiated, probably have a composite, hence uneasily defined, form. But their main contours ... separate male and female rite-streams meeting to form a joint bi-sexual confluence shortly before the finale ... have a like shape. Female seclusion is called luKINGULO (Ref.59 calls it "Kuhina Nya'o", seemingly a version of regular kiNgindo 'kuHINA uNYAGO', 'to dance the initiation'), actually a formal meal of porridge followed by shaving of the hair. It also has the name 'maNAWA. The Newala District Book describes its opening phase as "Magumbiri Ndiwito"; but this source makes male circumcision a purely Yao affair. Present informants denying this, the material may be inaccurate in other respects as well. Like those of Ngindoland, girl-Initiates are ~~likewise~~ shielded from view by bark-cloth, termed liWONDO. Other subsidiary female rites are liGULUBE, of which the name at least finds an echo in home-Ngindo practice, iGungu mpuga chanting, and maNDUNDU, name of a type of drum everywhere associated with the Ndonde ... the

maNDUNDU dance figures as the climax in the account given by the Newala District Book, which may well be correct since the coast-Ndonde accord it like precedence. ~~and iBUNGU MPUGA chanting~~. Their instruction, or part of it, is called NGOLA MBYOMBYO. They also enact maBUNDI (reed-games), liNAMUMI (digging ridges), and LOMBOI (building a miniature lodge). Of these the first almost certainly duplicates home-Ngindo maBUNDE.

Meanwhile the circumcised boys, having been shaved (NGHANJO or NGINGUHI), perform dances called luPUNGA and liKUMBI (not known if the Makonde one). LuPUNGA uses beeswax as a symbol. Circumcision is said to be preceded by a maHEBE or MKUTURU dance and by erection of the luPANDA pole, seemingly a Yao borrowing. Next, instruction (distinct from that of the bush-camp, which is ~~likewise known as~~ known by the Yao and home-Ngindo term NDAGALALA) is given and, with their own LOMBOI rites, boys and girls come together. Subsequent male elements are chiNG'UNDANG'UNDA luBALA, the initiates being daubed with flour and regaled by mystery charades; chiMBWANDA, where clothing is ritually discarded; the familiar NIRA gwa naNG'OMBE and NULA ordeals; and the kiLIBWINDI hand-dance. After a second liKUMBI dance the boys are washed (kuJOHA bALI) and arrayed (kuHWIKA NGUBO bALI). Synchronised with these are female maHULU (probably the home-Ngindo tortoise-dance) kuHANGUA bALI (girls paraded at shoulder height), and kaPECHA ventral dance.

Both sexes take part in the ritual meal (NDELEHI), flour sacrifices (naNDULIRO and kiLIGALIGA), identification of initiates by their kin (kuHIHA bALI, equated with home-Ngindo NTANGENTANGE), lustration (NAMBANGO/NAMBANGO),

and skipping-dance (kuHANGA bALI). Note that the coast-Ndonde expression kuHANGULA Has a like meaning ... the home - Ngindo say liHEGERE. Last of all, the initiates 'pierce the lodge' (kuHOTOLA liWIGII for home-Ngindo kuPOJOLA liWIGII). MiZIMU masked and stilt dances, probably of Makonde inspiration, punctuate the closing festivities. Even without knowing the content or exact function of these episodes, one sees enough surface similarity towards the home-Ngindo sequence to make it certain that the two stand in a close relationship. The overall designation of the Finale, for instance, is identical ... the southern-Ndonde call it ruPIHO (for the ruPIYO of Ngindoland). Certain names or features are reversed. Home-Ngindo say iHONGWE (plural) to mean the same mysteries as those staged by the southern-Ndonde, who know kiHONGWE (singular) as a mock-snake in the LOMBOI rite. Negative evidence of rapprochement with home-Ngindo is to be had from the accounts of Makonde (Ref.27), and Yao (Ref.41) initiations, both of which show marked divergence from Ngindoland procedure.

Of all the Ngindo outliers the southern-Ndonde present the most arresting evolutionary product. Completely outside the orbit of Ngindoland, they nevertheless preserve their Ngindo character. At the same time, receptive to alien ideas, they have taken to Islam with an orthodoxy quite unlike the lax home-Ngindo cult; and to Makonde-Matambwe borrowings with an eagerness quite foreign to the coast-Ndonde, who resent the comparable Mwera influence. In their case therefore the matri-patrilineal antithesis reaches its acme. The coast-Ndonde, despite the powerful matrilineal attraction of the Mwera, remain primarily agnatic; whereas the neo-Hamba, as will be shown, welcome matrilineal organization with scarcely a hint of ambiguity; but the southern-Ndonde stand squarely between the two extremes.

~~self-expression, the buffeting leaves them virtually intact.~~

Neo-Hamba.

The 'neo-Hamba' are an enigma. As their alternative name 'Mwera-Hamba' implies, tribal admixture has been pronounced. On strict linguistic grounds they are definitely Ndonde, hence 'Ngindo'; but by a paradox refuse to answer to the name Ngindo, which they apply instead to their patrilineal neighbours of Ngindoland, some of whom live right on their doorstep south of the Mbwemkuru. Therefore there is some ground for regarding the neo-Hamba as 'peripheral-Ngindo'/. (for definition see Chapter I, page 9) They are included here owing to their present spatial proximity to Ngindoland and their historic proximity to the remaining Ndonde outliers. Again how the name 'Hamba', properly applicable to the erstwhile aborigines north of the Mbwemkuru, has come to designate this primarily Ndonde group is obscure. Yet 'Ndonde-Hamba', or simply 'Hamba', holds tenaciously ... there are splinter groups clearly distinguished as 'Hamba' 100 miles and more east of the nucleus, mere hamlets amid true Ndonde and other populations; //~~for instance, that of~~ such as Mihati in the Matepwe Jumbeate of Milola Baraza//. It is of interest to note that the one situated near Mnero (Mandawa) dates from the 1880s or earlier ... vide the quotation already made concerning "the Donde villages near Ilulu hill" (Ref.37), which carries no hint of 'Hamba' about it.

Kilimarondo, where lies the main body of the neo-Hamba, forms the meeting-point of agnatic Ngindo and matrilineal Yao, Makua, Mwera, with all of whom miscegenation has taken place//, least with the former// owing to friction over agnatic descent//, most with the last-named. ~~latter~~. An appreciable

Matambwe element is also present, giving rise to scathing comments by true Ngindo that the neo-Hamba are "nothing but Matambwe slaves from the Ruvuma!" . Most neo-Hamba are conversant with Mwera speech and have drawn largely on Mwera custom. Thus the Mwera initiations ... chiKWEMBO for girls, liKOMANGA for boys ... have been adopted wholesale; and indeed their mode of organization as a whole. The village-survey groupings (Survey J)[x] prove this beyond doubt. Agnation amounts to no more than a vestige//, notably the agnatic descent-names (kiRAGWA ... kiRABWA in Ngindoland), of which I recorded nearly twenty. However, less than half of these tallied with recognized Ngindo ones, and were paralleled by matrilineal names (chi-PINGA or AINJA) of unknown derivation, making a dual system. In other respects, despite the combined opposition of Islam and the Church, each of which has a large following, the neo-Hamba are wholly matrilineal. A man's inheritance goes to his brother, or failing that to his maternal nephew. Marriage is largely uxorilocal//, with the interesting consequence that the viTUNGA payments made on the death of a man's wife to her kin ~~only~~ become obligatory only if the marriage be virilocal. Certain culture-items, such as the mSOLO(mHORO) sacrifice happen to be observed by the Makua and others, hence imply no direct Ngindo connection. The same can be said of the broad outline of beliefs about the occult. A dance called NGUMBULI is here described as 'Ndonde'//, but among Ndonde groups elsewhere as specifically 'Hamba'.

The definition of 'Hamba', in the case of individual neo-Hamba, holds even greater difficulties than one meets in the other Ndonde outliers. Probably very few indeed are more than three-quarters 'pure' Hamba (i.e.

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[x] Footnote: I omitted to include a scale with this plan. The distance from end to end of the section of motor-road shown can be taken to be about three miles.

Ndonde). Yet, for the purposes of my survey, even a person known to be only half Hamba who is regarded and behaves as Hamba will pass as such. On this basis, inter-tribal marriage is roughly commensurate with that found among the coast- and southern-Ndonde, being somewhat over a quarter of total marriages. Of a 21-marriage sample relating to occupants of the village surveyed just under a third were sanctioned by the Church, the majority of survey-subjects being nominal Christians. Although there was a sprinkling of Muslims as well, none appeared to have effected an Islamic marriage. Despite the prevalence of matriliny, marriages generally fetch bridewealth payments (see combined table at the end of this Chapter). Detail ...

	All-Hamba.	Mwera, etc. husband.
HETO	Shs. 29/- (Nil to 90) (apparently paid for Xtian marriages too)	Shs. 25/- (Nil to 60)
KiBANI	Just over 2/- (2 to 3) (in one case paid in cloth)	ditto

Note: An isolated case of a Mwera bride occurred, but can support no conclusion.

Lack of information on payments made for nearly half the total marriages leads one to suspect that little or no bridewealth passed hands in the queried sector.

Marriage-types for both all-Hamba and other unions were evenly divided between the three categories of 'betrothal', 'post-initiation', and 'divorce'. Ten percent of them ended in divorce. None at all was through widow-inheritance. Polygynists appeared to be only 5% of husbands, but tax records, which I was able to study in this outlier alone, showed the overall incidence to be about 12% throughout Kilimarondo baraza (court-area). Remembering that in it (the presence of home-Ngindo would tend to step up the polygyny-rate Mwera and Ngindo-proper constitute a considerable minority. Unattached adults were rare, comprising two elderly widows, two recently divorced women, and a young bachelor not yet married.

The neo-Hamba give rise to the curious spectacle of adjacent villages in uniform country, populated by the same Bantu stock, speaking the same language or close dialects of it, with a common history and similar culture//, in fact superficially identical communities ... except that the one will be agnatic, the other matrilineal//, with a consequent rift between them. Such situations occur anywhere along the Ngindoland 'frontier'//, for instance, between Nanjii, the village surveyed, and Nambwa a few miles down the motor-road towards the Mbwemkuru crossing: If they were not Ngindo-speakers, admitting to the same origin, and sharing a modicum of customs, the neo-Hamba might well be thought totally dissociated, such is their incompatibility with the home-Ngindo. This divorce can be understood as the outcome of the process seen in its incipient phase among the coast-Ndonde, in its advanced phase among the southern-Ndonde, and here carried to its extreme.

Western-Ndonde and Ndwewe.

In Mahenge District is to be found perhaps the largest single Ndonde concentration in existence today, but one ill-suited for study since it is the artificial product of Government sleeping-sickness policy. Within a radius of 5 miles of Ilonga hill on the Luhombero river some 5,000 Ndonde and associates live in enforced proximity. Formerly, in communities even more dispersed than those of the home-Ngindo, they occupied the region between the Luwegu and Mbarang'andu rivers, especially around a tributary of the former, the Luhanyando. In 1941 however a scheme similar to the Closer Settlement Scheme described earlier was launched. The area then became Game Reserve, an accretion to the Selous Sanctuary further down the Luwegu-Rufiji, whilst the inhabitants

had to move to the Ilonga reception-area where specific sites were allotted. The evacuees were of course free to migrate north into the settled Pogoro and other country, but relatively few chose to do so. Those that did went to swell the scattered Ngindo elements already present in the interior of Mahenge District. Around 1946 both these and Ilonga itself received a further augmentation in the shape of people evading the Closer Settlement Scheme. Would-be migrant-labourers from Ngindoland had an added inducement in ~~bearing in mind~~ that Mahenge lies on the well-beaten route to the sisal-estates at Kilosa; but many of these truants have since made their homes in the shrunken Ngindoland.

Although till recently in their country of origin, the western-Ndonde are perhaps less typical of the Ndonde than are some of the far-flung outliers in the east. This stems from two things; first, from the imprint left by the Ngoni, resulting in a tendency towards political centralization; second, from ~~and~~ fusion with Ndwewe, a process accentuated by the Ilonga concourse. Yet the index of descent-names shows them to be unequivocally Ndonde ... they answer to well over half the stock Ndonde names, and embody only one or two strange ones. They show a lively awareness of the old Ndonde subdivisions ... when asked their tribe (KABILA), several people replied 'Mandumba' or 'Kipengere', only adding Ndonde as a qualification. But of all these subdivisions the 'Njenje' alone seem to have preserved a semblance of corporate identity. The Njenje pose their own problem. Linguistically they ally themselves with Ngindo, yet admixture with Pogoro makes it likely that their culture differs appreciably ... on the assumption that the Njenje river gave them their name, Pogoro, who from an early date encroached eastwards from Mahenge to Madaba and beyond, would long have been their northerly neighbours. I was able neither to carry out any detailed

survey in greater Ilonga, in which I spent less than a week, nor to visit its alleged Njenje quarter. Odd 'Njenje' members are to be found 300 miles away amongst the southern-Ndonde. As for the 'Mbomoke' type of Ndonde prevalent among the coast-Ndonde, they are not even recognized as such by the western-Ndonde who class them as trans-Ruvuma immigrants to old Ndonde country of about the time of the first Ngondi.

The western-Ndonde cannot be considered without reference to the Ndwewe, with whom they are now largely integrated. It will be remembered that the two were contiguous in the first place and later thrown together as a result of Mbunga aggression. Some half dozen 'Ndwewe' headmen, presumably with Ndwewe rank and file, were living in Ndonde country prior to the Evacuation, which has almost completed the merger. Even so, Ndwewe separatism, seemingly as much prompted by personal political ambitions as by genuine tribal feeling, is not dead. Attempts have been made since the time of Evacuation to establish Ndwewe units elsewhere in Mahenge District, notably around Kiswagu, near the upper reaches of the Ulanga, where about 1,000 have assembled ... as a rule, any suitable man with a following of 75 tax-payers stands to be made a Government headman. But the mass, like their fellow Ndonde evacuees, prefer to bide their time in Ilonga, trusting that the wheel of fortune will turn. Many Ndwewe are said to conceal their identity for fear of being shifted yet again into a new 'Ndwewe-land' of Government choosing. There are probably ~~two or three thousand~~ a thousand and more Ndwewe amongst the Ilonga folk. As early as the first World War they were being bracketed with Ndonde. The 'Handbook of German East Africa' put them at between ten and fifteen thousand together (Ref.64).

The indications are that the original Ndwewe differed sharply from the Ndonde ... certainly the specimen of archaic speech I recorded bears this out in the linguistic sphere. Possibly the differences in culture, including language, persist among the Ulanga groups, who must lie the best part of 100 miles west of Ilonga from what used to be predominantly Ndonde areas ~~though,~~ bearing in mind that evacuees make up the greater part of their membership, ~~I doubt it.~~ However... I never one doubts whether these groups are substantially different. had the chance of visiting them. The 1948 Census lists the Ndwewe as a sub-tribe of Pogoro, on what grounds I am unaware. To classify them thus may be not altogether an error ... before being ravished by the Mbunga, thrown into the arms of the Ndonde, the Ndwewe may well have had affinities now no longer evident with the Pogoro to whom, likewise shy and hill-dwelling, they were the nearest southerly neighbours. Thanks to Evacuation, Pogoro and Ndwewe- Ndonde live cheek by jowl. Indeed one Pogoro group, composed of evacuees from the Madaba area, comes under the jurisdiction of the Ndonde leader, 'Mwenye' Msham Mponda, of whom the District Book remarks in 1928," (he) appears to be a person of some influence, styles himself Sultan of the Luhanyando Wangindo". The viability of this arrangement seems doubtful. Tribal antipathies threatened to be too strong to allow Ngindo and Pogoro ~~them~~ to live in harmony under joint political control. In the eyes of Pogoro and other outsiders, Ngindo, and especially the home-Ngindo, are barbarians with an exaggerated reputation as sorcerers and denizens of the forest.

The Ndwewe enjoy great renown in the realms of the supernatural. The western-Ndonde say, "The Ndwewe have no temporal power, but without them we would never recover from our ailments". Their prophets or rainmakers,

called MBUI (the same word as goat in most Ngindo dialects!), have become ~~a feature of~~ popular among the western-Ndonde as well, and attract a large outside clientèle. From ~~their respective cantonments~~ individuals living in their respective neighbourhoods at Ilonga they receive annual contributions of grain with which to brew beer for parties, when the course of the season may ~~be~~ be publicly predicted. I heard an MBUI declaiming within easy earshot of the local mission. To the Ndwewe is attributed the kiNJINDO dance, alleged by some to be at the root of the tribal name Ngindo; also the very widespread and popular liPUGA, a devil-dance among the home-Ngindo, and performed at their initiations by the Mbunga, who also retain an Ndwewe funereal dance, the liNDENDE. Another specifically Ndwewe trait is an interesting system of descent-names, which I had not the time to explore thoroughly. ~~These I could not therefore verify, but~~ The principle appeared to be that a man's offspring received different descent-names according to their sex. Sons would simply take their father's descent-name in the agnatic line, whilst daughters took that of the mother or father's mother. It further appeared that these names were peculiar to each sex. For instance, male names were kiHOMA, kiTENGA, MLIAYU, NGWITWA, MGENDWA, NKWERA; and female naMTULI, luWANDA, CHANWA, MWINGA, naHENE, naBWITE. These correspond scarcely at all with Ndonde or other Ngindo descent-names. A custom peculiar to the Ndwewe was their NYINE coming-of-age ceremony for boys, in which stones were suspended below the initiates' testicles, but no circumcisions performed. NYINE has now disappeared. The descent-names just discussed may be called NDUNGA (divination) names as opposed to the NYINE (initiation) personal names.

The combined Ndonde-Ndwewe communities of Ilonga in many respects contrast substantially with those of Ngindoland. Quite apart from the Jumbeates being an hour instead of a day apart, cotton has given Ilonga[x] a superficial prosperity. Bicycles for instance abound. Nevertheless migrant-labourers are said to multiply, a high proportion returning home empty-handed. The penetration of Islam has been relatively slight ... as proof of the imperfect notions held, a man told me proudly about his five wives, each one of whom he had married according to the Islamic rite (four is the orthodox limit); whilst even my home-Ngindo porters turned up their noses, expressing surprise that a man seen to be disfigured by leprosy could practise as a Preacher. Christianity has gained next to no converts; however, the presence of a mission with its network of schools cannot be without its effect. Certain home-Ngindo customs, such as their initiation ritual, have only just caught on ... in recent years, it is said, many a father and son have been circumcised on the same day, i.e. the father has tardily decided to conform. The Mponda family claim to be priests for an unusual sacrifice back in their Luhanyando homeland centred around elephant-tusks planted in the ground, over which libations of beer are poured. In fundamental ways, such as the attitude to theft, divergence occurs. The offence is fairly prevalent at Ilonga, especially when it comes to cotton. It should be recalled that proposals made in 1934 for amalgamation between the Ndonde of greater Ngindo-land and the western-Ndonde, though in principle acceptable to the people, came to nothing. A fair reflection of the cross-currents at work among the western-Ndonde are the dances they favour. Besides the maKINGDANGA, an old Ndonde dance which the remaining outliers have largely forgotten, they know the Ndwewe, kiNJINDO and liPUGA. They also dance the liGWAMBA, normally associated with the Ngoni, but

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Footnote x.
(Reminder) This is the settlement-area into which the formerly scattered western-Ndonde and associates were concentrated by Government order some ten years ago.

here modified to denote a westerly variant of the kiNGINDO dance popular in Ngindoland.

The western-Ndonde and Ndwewe, now cut off from Ngindoland by a broad corridor of Game Reserve ###(a mere trickle of travellers, under sufferance from Government which fears trypanosomiasis infection, gets across in the dry season)### and subject to intensive alien contacts, might seem to be destined to lose their Ngindo character. But this is not necessarily so. Home-Ngindo ~~culture advance~~ cultural influence, Islam included, appears to be ~~on the up-grade~~ growing, whilst evacuation has served to harden a tribal consciousness. It is noteworthy that, despite the erstwhile matrilineal Pogoro nearby, matrilineal leanings are here conspicuously absent; which, unless Ngoni intrusion be made responsible, supports the theory of pristine Ndonde agnation. Whether the physical fact of separation from Ngindoland, or the ideational pull towards it, will prevail remains to be seen.

Remaining Ngindo-proper outliers.

Njinjo, principal reception-area for the Closer Settlement Scheme, contains the bulk of outlying Ngindo over and above the four major groups so far described. Even before the Scheme, that area had a thin Ngindo population, for the most part a minority among Matumbi and other inhabitants. So there remains a substratum of old-established settlers who, together with the residue of evacuees, form a fairly solid Ngindo belt from Zinga to Njinjo township and some distance across the Matandu. Having visited the area twice, each time in hurried transit, I can give no detail whatever. The position appears to be somewhat similar to that at Ilonga, only the settlement is far more diffuse. The composition of these Ngindo is

likewise mixed. The original settlers were Ngoni-war refugees of mainly Ndonde extraction, as are many of those since evacuated from the Njenje-Mbarang'andu area. The other big contingent is 'Ikemba', placing a broad interpretation on that word, from the country north of the upper Matandu. The land around Njinjo seems less promising than Ilonga. Therefore the evacuees cast even more longing eyes on their immense former domain. Scarcely any seem content to move into Ngindoland as at present constituted, although conditions there must approximate far more closely than does Njinjo to the ones with which they are familiar. There must be well over 5,000 Ngindo of various descriptions, controlling several Jumbeates, still resident at Njinjo.[x]

This by no means exhausts the Ngindo outliers. Tunduru and Rufiji Districts in particular abound with miniature Ngindo pockets. Even Songea, seat of the Ngoni terror, has or had its quota. W.P. Johnson's map (Ref. 37) marks "Nindi and Gindo villages" in the Matengo hills, no great distance from Nyasa. Bracketed with "Ndendauri", they also appear in a later German map (Ref.63). So far as I am aware, none of these pockets can boast its own ~~warrants~~ Government headman of Jumbe calibre; but they frequently run to village scale and even larger. Some, as allusions by Burton, Maples, Beardall, and others show, date from pre- German days. A great many more followed in the wake of the Majimaji and of the recent upheavals of Evacuation.

Footnote [x].

This figure refers to the immediate Njinjo area alone. The number of Ngindo resident in Kilwa District probably exceeds 20,000, depending on the number re-absorbed into Ngindoland since 1948 or attracted elsewhere during the same period. The 1948 Census total of Ngindo in Liwale and Kilwa Districts together was over 60,000 (see Footnote on page 9). If, as I have assumed, the present population of Ngindoland is something over 30,000, then a good 20,000 Ngindo are likely to have remained in Kilwa District. But this is mere deduction. For these exile-Ngindo on page 15, and in the map on page 499, I give the conservative figure of 10,000 +.

Ndendeuli.

The Ndendeuli of to-day comprise three elements; first, a political hub, the recently created chiefdom of 'Undendeuli'; second, a contiguous and inclusive block of Ndendeuli (i.e. Ngindo)-speakers, namely the whole of the eastern ('Mshope') Ngoni chiefdom, excepting for some Bena in the north; and third, some outliers, principally in Tunduru District. The extreme confusion of the linguistic position in Songea has been indicated. One must therefore be very cautious in using the word 'Ndendeuli' to denote a linguistic community. ~~The use of 'Ndendeuli' to denote a linguistic community must therefore be very cautious.~~

Easterly Ndendeuli speak of westerly ones as 'Ngoni' or even 'Pangwa' and get called 'Ngindo' in return. Ethnically, even in the hub, the population is by no means wholly Ndendeuli, whose incidence there has been put at only a third on the average. To pick up the threads, the original Ndendeuli stock is thought to have been present around the Matogoro hills and also westwards on the lower Lutukira river well before the Ngoni invasion of a century ago. In those days their eastern neighbours were the Ndonde, who lived mainly to the east of the Luwegu. Some of the latter evidently occupied the west bank too, for the Songea District Book tells of their flight across the river after the fifth wave of Ngoni raiders under Huwahuwa (Ref.61). x

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FOOTNOTE x:

Elsewhere it ascribes to the slaughter of the Ndendeuli "Wahuhu or elders" by incoming Ngoni the start of ~~their~~ the Ndendeuli peregrinations. The word 'huhu' in various guises frequently punctuates the early history of Songea. Since the stem '-huu', '-huhu', or '-hoho' means white in the Ngindo dialects/... thus Machi Mahuu, or white waters, on the old Songea-Liwale road, reputedly at one time the border between Ndonde and Ndendeuli. ~~its~~ its repetition leads to confusion. It also figures as a personal name, as instance Lihuhu, foundation ancestor of the dominant southern-Ndonde line of Mkumba. When used in this or a tribal context, it must be interpreted as 'hero' or 'warrior'. Pfeil bears this out. "In the mountains at the north-east end of Nyasa the genuine Mafiti (Ngoni) who because of their yells in battle with the neighbouring tribes, have received the distinctive name "Walihuhu's"" (Ref. 69,1885). Raiders went by this name as far afield as the lower Rufiji. R de Z Hall calls an Ngoni aggressor thereabouts 'Luhuhu' (Ref. 26).

Therefore the two cannot have been far distant. The puzzling thing is that nowadays Ndendeuli belittle the Ngindo connection, and have no feeling of affinity towards the people of Ngindoland. One can only presume that this arose out of Ndendeuli acceptance of Ngoni suzerainty ... that is to say, political severance from other Ngindo-speakers ... and out of spatial separation brought about by the Ndonde decamping east. In German days there was a drift back, aided by official resettlement policy, but the buffer population was always of the thinnest. With the 1941 ### (people were in that year brought in to a reception-area at Likuyu, the Songea counterpart of Ilonga) ### and 1946 Schemes, the physical rift became absolute. The direct route from Undendeuli to Ngindoland now lies across more than 100 miles of uninhabited Game Reserve.

Another agency of separation may have been the stigma of being thought Ngindo. The eastern Ngoni, the bulk of whose armies were Ndendeuli, subjected the Ngindo to intolerable persecution. Many they brought back with them as captives, hence slaves, giving rise to a standing joke among the home-Ngindo, who ridicule the Ndendeuli on that account i.e. Ndendeuli used to regard all Ngindo as potential slaves, who in turn came to regard all Ndendeuli as servile. To recapitulate, the name is thought to be a corruption of 'nDENDE BULI ?', a scatterbrained phrase meaning 'What am I to do ?'. The Newala District Book invokes Lyndon Harries' authority to back its diagnosis of a "deprecatory nickname". The etymology is however neither proven, except by concensus, nor were all the Ndendeuli, though at the beck and call of the Ngoni, technically slaves. None the less, the Ngindo element has been rated as high as a quarter of the present Songea

Ndendeuli. It is significant that this sector should keep its origin dark, tending to be aggressively Ndendeuli; whilst the trace of Ndendeuli in western Ngindoland only reluctantly concedes its true stock, using the name 'Ngoni' instead. If I had not put Ndendeuli speech to the test, it would have been impossible to establish any satisfactory nexus; although Ngindo-proper are usually quite ready to admit that they understand what Ndendeuli say and that they have other things in common. More than one observer has plainly failed to distinguish Ndendeuli from their closest Ngindo-proper cousins, the Ndonde. Fuelleborn, with his "Wandendeuli or Wandendauri ... apparently another name for Wandonde" (Ref.19#, 1906#) ~~from the German)~~ ##, followed by Schnee (Ref.83), did so; the 1948 Census did likewise. The District Book describes the Ndendeuli as "rustic Ndonde". Again, the Songea District Book states that both Ndonde and Ndendeuli groups participated in the exodus towards the east.

In speaking further of the Songea Ndendeuli, I do not distinguish between those living within the political unit of Undendeuli and the remainder who form a minority of the Ndendeuli-speakers of Mshope chiefdom. Admittedly the former seems strongly Islamic by comparison with the rest. But 'Undendeuli', by virtue of its geographical consistency, must be largely arbitrary. Agitation for the recognition of Ndendeuli autonomy first came to a head in 1932, but counted so little support that it collapsed feebly. Since then the Ngoni legend and hegemony have evidently waned. The Ndendeuli, so defined, have many cultural links with the home-Ngindo. They live in the same sort of wooded country and in the same sort of atomised communities, ill-knit by borrowed Ngoni centralization. They favour a similar type of

virilocal marriage preceded by uxorilocal service, though increasingly subject to distortion by strict Muslim fathers and migrant-labourer grooms; and likewise are fairly strongly agnatic. Certain of their rituals are alike. For instance the almost universal 'mSOLO' (mHORO) sacrifices. In descent-names, however, called by them kiBONGO (plural iBONGO), scarcely any corresponding words occur, judging from the somewhat scanty lists in the Songea District Book. The only one of note is PONERA, here allegedly a totem animal, but commonly found as a descent-name among the Ndonde, who say naPONERA. Indeed in every sphere the differences generally have the upper hand. Bridewealth and bridal age are apparently a good deal higher, and marriages clinched with a nuptial feast. Formerly marriage-by-service was more strictly observed, resulting sometimes in permanent uxorilocality. It was set in motion by the groom presenting his prospective father-in-law with a fowl with which to provide the ritual meal. Ngoni-type initiations, including an MTANGA regimental system (Ref.61), and Ngoni dances such as the liGWAMBA are in vogue. There is a pronounced mother-in-law avoidance, but little concern over petty theft.

Not having had the opportunity to do village-surveys or other systematic work among the Ndendeuli, excepting on their speech, I am unable to give a thorough comparison. About the Tunduru Ndendeuli again I could obtain no satisfactory data, having done no more than motor through that District a few times. By relation with the Yao they are extremely diffuse; they are also territorially distinct, occupying the north-western corner of the administrative area, where they are politically represented. ~~By the same Yao yard-stick they were thought by a boma official to be 'by no means wholly matrilineal' which indicates that they may~~

~~have undergone modifications in the direction of the Yao.~~ In a non-continuous sense they ~~are~~ connect up with their Songea compatriots. Also they overlap with Ngindo elements. In fact the terms Ngoni, Ndendeuli, Ndonde, Ngindo appear to apply haphazard to pockets distributed throughout the District.

Mbunga.

The Mbunga are, and admit themselves, Ndendeuli. However thanks to the lapse of nearly a century since their parting and to the influence of neighbouring tribes, heightened by absorption of captives, Mbunga and Ndendeuli are now far from identical. Of this process, historical references give some glimpses. Evidently the Mbunga took with them from Songea the Ngoni idea of rank. Thomson took 'Mkomokero' to be the paramount (Ref.91,1878); and the Germans must have installed one when in the 1890s they started administering the Ulanga valley, for the Mahenge District Book speaks of the kingdom being split into four as a precautionary measure after the Majimaji outbreak. To this day, though discipline is said to be much impaired, the deference accorded to a chief or his deputy is impressive. The designations used ... NKOSI (chief) and NDUNA (deputy) ... are Ngoni.

The culture-contact resulting from the restless Mbunga history must have been considerable. Again the area which the Mbunga

made their home originally belonged to Ndamba fishermen, by whom they admit to having been powerfully moulded. With them the Mbunga had to make ~~xxxxxx~~ blood-brotherhood in order to get ferried across the Kilombero. How on their way there they mopped up the Ndwewe has already been related. Extensive watering-down of this kind probably accounts for the fact that whilst the 1948 Census records only 10,034 Mbunga, their three chiefdoms xx must contain three times that population. Mofu has a complete Hehe Ndunaship. Hehe, Bena, Luguru, Kutu, (The 'Handbook of German E. Africa', Ref.64, was under the impression that the Mbunga spoke ~~xxxxx~~ kiKutu), Zaramo, Rufiji, Ngindo, and other elements must be present. Indeed one neighbouring group, the Vidunda who lie to the north-east of Mbungaland, have by one source been classed with the Mbunga, not singly, as having a significant ratio of individuals in common, but in toto. Discussing

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Footnote x.

Page 539 has been omitted from the sequence of page-numbers.

Footnote xx.

Ifakara (including trans-Kilombero Lupiro), Kiberege, and Mbingu (or Mofu), giving a total of 7,200 taxpayers.

the people round about the Luguru, Scheerder and Tastevin write, "to the south west (are) the Wa Mbu-n-ga, better known under the name of Wa Vi Dunda (those of the hills)" (Ref.82). These authors postulate the meaning of "magical force" for 'Mbunga'. Possibly Mbunga hill in the first instance got its name, ~~which has a wide distribution,~~ on this account. An alternative I can offer is the edible grass known as luMBUNGA, though there are the objections that the plant grows best on low-lying ground and that the name may be a derivative of Swahili 'Mpunga' (rice). An 'Mbunga' on the western verge of the Makonde plateau is attributed to "the fruit of the bamboo" (Ref.97).

My material on the Mbunga is little better than on the Ndendeuli. No village-survey was possible, and my enquiries, mainly linguistic, had to be conducted at Ifakara, a large cosmopolitan township much subject to Ndamba influences, being only a couple of miles north of the Kilombero-Ulanga. However my informants were good; and a paper written by a native Mbunga (Ref.52) brought to light some useful details. It is worth noting that the political centre of gravity has in the last generation swung in favour of the Pogoro for whom some Mbunga, doubtless recalling their former relationship[x], profess great contempt. This follows from the closure of the old supplementary boma at Kiberege, leaving Mahenge, in the heart of Pogoro country, undisputed political hub of the region. Mbunga, alleging probably without proper

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Footnote x:

"On the right bank, descending the Ulanga, we next find altogether peaceable tribes, who live without headmen and only pay tribute to their tormentors (Mbunga) on the left bank. So we find the Wagangi (Pogoro) on the right bank of the river who recognize Mtangwira (Ndwangira, paternal grandfather of the present holder of the Mbunga chieftainship of Mbingu/Mofu) living on the left side, as their overlord" (Ref.69,1885).

grounds that they suffer discrimination, grumble about the change. Another thing worth noting is the persistence of a martial tradition, however ill-founded in fact. Numbers of Mbunga enlist as soldiers and policemen, passing themselves off as 'Ngoni' for the purpose. The Ngoni legend still lingers here. Thus, despite their dissociation from the Ngoni country of origin[x] Mbunga take joint credit for old Ngoni exploits. I heard an Mbunga say, "We found Mataka's Yao a tough nut to crack, so we made peace instead". On the other hand, such unfamiliar features of Ngoni culture as their liGWAMBA dance are now dismissed by the Mbunga as "just an Ngoni affair".

The Kilombero plain, home of the Mbunga, is promising and likely to be intensively developed. Its prime crop is rice, which the Mbunga consume as their staple. Knowledge of this potential is nothing new. Thomson reckoned the area "one of the most fertile tracts in Eastern Africa ... All the cereals, and most of the vegetables of the coast are grown. Tobacco is produced very extensively" (Ref.92,1878). Much of it however is still tsetse country, so devoid of stock ... along the

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Footnote x.
The later community founded in southern Mahenge by Mpepo, though much of its rank and file must be Ndendeuli, goes by the name 'Ngoni', never 'Mbunga', its dialect also reportedly differing sharply. Mpepo's entry, say the Mbunga, was by treaty with the Bena. Pfeil may have been referring to this group when in 1885 he found Mtengere installed as the paramount of the 'Lipingo' (central Mahenge) hill region "where he with those remaining loyal to him was subjugating the great race of the 'Wamatschonde' (Ngoni) and gave to the newly conquered lands the name of his old homeland of Ubena" (Ref.69). Beardall (Ref.4,1880) had already confirmed the ascendancy of Mtengere over the Pogoro.

eastern frontier Mbungaland borders on the original Selous Game Sanctuary. The plain is relatively open, and certainly not forested on the Ngindoland scale. It is not surprising therefore that the pattern of life of its inhabitants should be distinctive. Mbunga, though their speech might be described as a marginal Ngindo dialect, have next to no conscious Ngindo affinities. Yet they have the characteristic found among other peripheral or distant-outlier Ngindo of frequently referring to the home-Ngindo as either 'Hamba' or 'Matumbi'.

Chiefly genealogies show the Mbunga[x] to be agnatic so far as succession goes, with precedence accorded to brothers rather than sons. There is no obvious sign of their having adopted the matrilineal traits of tribes roundabout. The Luguru are definitely matrilineal, the Zaramo apparently so, and the Pogoro until recently likewise. About the Kutu I have no information, but the Ndamba are rumoured to have matrilineal leanings. Mbunga descent-names (called kiLAWA,' plural iLAWA ... cf Ngindo kiRABWA) coincide with Ngindo ones only here and there. What resemblances exist might well be due to Ngindo

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Footnote x:

The tardy emergence of 'Mbunga' is curious. Von Prince's 'Mbungu' allusion of the 1890s has been discussed (Ref.96). As late as 1885 Pfeil (Ref.69) omits all reference to it, using instead Thomson's (Ref.91,1878) 'Mahenge' label. If modern Mbunga are to be believed, 'Mahenge' was a person; but of what tribe I could not discover. None of the Mbunga exodus leaders was so called; unless it was a nick-name. The same would seem to ~~be true of~~ have obtained with 'Pogoro'. Both the authors cited, along with Beardall (Ref.4,1880), called them 'Wagangi' or 'Ganga'. Not until around the turn of the century did observers begin to speak of them confidently as Pogoro (Arning, Adams, Fabry, Hendle, etc)., Beardall (Ref.4) did however bracket the terms: "the country between the Uranga and Luwego rivers is called Ugangi or Upogoro, the two words being used indifferently for both the country and the people, the only explanation I could get for this being that the old Wagangi had died out and the present inhabitants were Wapogoro".

ex-captives or immigrants, who are known to be present in force. Ndendeuli acknowledge extraordinarily few of these names. Their origin must therefore lie with the Ndamba, Bena, and others. Along with the descent-names are ~~With them are associated~~ totems, of which I recorded only a limited number, and certain of which seem to be used as descent-names as well, a tendency I suspect to be present among the Ndendeuli too. Mbunga marriage follows the same lines as that of the home-Ngindo. Though abolished by Government, infant-girl betrothal seems to be the ideal. Many suitors evidently work for their prospective in-laws up to the time of their affianceds' initiation, which occurs at puberty and involves a full season's seclusion. Thereafter the pair become virilocal. Payments are similar, bridewealth having the slightly modified name maHETU. In former days produce, hoes, beasts, or ivory might serve in place of cash currency, which has now become the universal medium. The bride's mother stands to get Shs.20/- 'Mkaja', Swahili equivalent of Ngindo MKANGE, of which the current level in home-Ngindo is Shs. 12/-. A nuptial feast takes place at the groom's, responsibility for providing the beer resting with the bride's people ... a few shillings should be sent along with the emptied pots ... at whose home ~~are~~ is held the initiation of both spouses.

The initiation ~~latter~~, for boys, is curtailed and did not formerly involve circumcision. It ends with a KUMBI dance. For girls it is on the contrary prolonged, lasting a season or more. The beginning of female seclusion goes by the name kiLULU. About a week later the initiate is ritually washed and shaven at a dance called luNAFI. Removal of the next growth of hair (luKETU)is also celebrated. Instruction(MwALI kuLIWANGULA) is in the hands of an aNYAGO. Mbunga believe in keeping the

girl wrapped up and hot so that she may grow pale. A few days before her coming-out a rite known as liHU (the word can mean 'ash', 'dust', or 'eye') ~~(probably 'ash', though I did not check this)~~ must be performed. Finally she emerges to the accompaniment of kiMONDO or liPUGA dances. The Ngindo word ruPIYO, pronounced luPIHU by Mbunga, denotes the climax. On the first pregnancy MwONGOYO (Ngindo "maUNGOYO") instruction becomes necessary.

Polygyny does not, excepting in the case of prominent personalities, appear extensive; though where it does occur, the status of offspring depends on the seniority of the mother, not on overall primogeniture. Remember that Christian missions have a considerable following, estimated to vary between about 40% in Ifakara to 10% in Kiberege. Islam if anything has somewhat more adherents, with greater relative strength in Kiberege and rough parity elsewhere. Though the African essay (Ref.52) holds that compensation used to be stringent, the Mahenge District Book (Ref.56) states that the Mbunga formerly regarded adultery-compensation as degrading to the recipient, and instead subjected offenders to exposure in public stocks. Nowadays this is no longer so; Shs. 20/- ~~allegedly being~~ are paid for a seduced pagan wife, and up to Shs. 50/- for an Islamic one. Amounts payable by the seducer are stepped up on second offence, whilst the female party always pays a fine of between Shs. 10/- and 20/-. Procedure on divorce, including disposal of children who warrant Shs. 10/- for a boy and double for a girl, corresponds, though in theory women may not get their freedom without grounds. Whether this is so in practice I could not discover. Widow-divorce, called kuMHWALA follows the same lines, as among the home-Ngindo with that of Ngindoland but MALI MAUTI reductions hold good only for Islamic marriages. There are some curious

inversions of names. MaLEKWE, which to the home-Ngindo means widow-inheritance, here connotes the death of a suckling child brought about by the infidelity of its mother. The luKUTA, a poison-ordeal for sorcery-suspects among the home-Ngindo, is here the taboo on swearing by one's father's name at a grave-shrine. Here the NDENGERA dance is equated with the Zaramo 'Mbunge'; whereas this last is bracketed by the home-Ngindo with their own maNDIRU dance, an exorcist rite as opposed to their version of NDENGERA, which is purely dedicatory. Alternatively the Mbunga call their 'Ndengera' MTEMA, in which case the Ndamba are made its authors. They also dance the SILANGA, unknown to the home-Ngindo and said to be coastal. Their funereal rites they call HEMBE (probably to do with the old Ngindo UHEMBE flour offerings) or NGOSA luSAPO, followed at an interval of a few days by miTAPATAPA; that is, formal discarding of the mourning clothes (miKUNGI). MBUI priests also flourish among the Mbunga. One concludes that home-Ngindo – Mbunga uniformities occur only in the broad outline of custom, scarcely at all in the detail of such matters as ritual.

There remain the Mbunga of Kisaki. This pocket has been separated from the main body at a distance of over 100 miles for the best part of three generations. So it is to be expected that they in their turn will show a different pattern of variation from Ngindo-proper, a trace of whom live in this same area ... a contributor to the Morogoro District Book (date 1926) alludes to them as "stray Wandonde from the Rufiji area". The same source estimated the strength of the whole pocket to be 700 – 800, nowadays placed somewhat lower. Perhaps it is steadily losing ground, for the first World War figure was just over a thousand (Ref.64). There is also a tiny offshoot at Mvuha to the east. Both communities lie in Kutu

country; and what is known of their history is tortuous, being buffeted by local Kutu intrigues, by the German occupation, by the Majimaji, and by subsequent settlement policies.

I never visited Kisaki, ~~habitat of the Mbunga off-shoot lying some 100 miles east of Mbungaland,~~ but some topical information has been supplied by Morogoro boma. Evidently marriage-by-service to infant-girls is the preferred type, default from the labour-contract being punished by what would locally be considered astronomical fines. The figure quoted was up to Shs. 200/-. Cash bridewealth-payments range up to Shs.150/-, half of which should be paid before consummation. Full marriage appears to be virilocal. The mother-in-law is treated with respect but not avoided. Divorce is not readily granted. Adultery must be adjusted by cash compensation up to the Shs. 100/- mark. These Mbunga must be agnatic ... the primary heir is the deceased's father, whilst political succession goes to the eldest son. The seniority of children follows that of their mothers. Female initiation falls due at puberty. Boys are not circumcised as a rule. Both liPUGA and NDENGERA (each presumably of the Mbunga type) are danced.

Before their flight from the Songea region, Mbunga and southern-Ndonde could not have been dissimilar, Parting in almost opposite directions, each carved out a minor raiding-empire hundreds of miles from home before settling amid numerically superior subject peoples. Accordingly they have evolved along almost opposite paths. Whilst the less militarized southern-Ndonde now yield to their neighbours in respect of social organization, but not language, the Ngoni-led Mbunga have done the reverse. It is their language rather than their institutions that has suffered change. Difference of scale... the Mbunga must have been by far the bigger of the two...,along with a firmer structure of rank,

× Footnote. Page 546 has been omitted from the sequence

explain the resistance to change shown by the latter in the political sphere. Why they should have lost more ground linguistically is not so clear. It cannot be argued that kiMbungwa represents a purer form of old kiNdendeuli ... the African essayist frankly admits that "to tell the truth, kiMbunga has become mixed with kiNgoni, kiNdendeuli, kiNdamba, along with a dash of kiPogoro and kiHehe" (Ref.25). He adds that Mbunga find none of these languages difficult to master. Perhaps what requires explaining is, rather, the extraordinary resilience of southern-Ndonde speech.

Conclusion.

The Ngindo material is of great theoretical interest as it gives evidence of a change from patrilineal to matrilineal descent. Professor Murdock has argued that there is a "complete lack of historically attested cases of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal institutions" (G.P. Murdock, 'Social Structure', 1949, at page 185), and testifies that "No such case has been encountered in our sample, nor has the author ever encountered one in his ethnographic reading" (op.cit. at page 190). From this he is led to formulate a categorical law. "As will shortly be demonstrated, the explanation turns out to be quite simple. There can be no recorded cases of such a transition because it cannot occur" (ibid). Whilst other mutations are conceivable, "Only the direct transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent is impossible" (ibid).

Now, of the Ngindo outliers treated in this Chapter, two can be regarded as having made a distinct move in the direction of matriliny, if not wholly adopting that type of system. They are the southern-Ndonde and

neo-Hamba. The southern-Ndonde, it is true, still accord partial recognition to patrilineal descent, as evidenced by their persistent agnatic descent-names; but in other ways they are very far removed from the practice of their more truly agnatic compatriots, such as the home-Ngindo. As for the neo-Hamba, their matrilineal status is so obvious that it leads to no little friction with agnatic home-Ngindo neighbours immediately to the north. Even the coast-Ndonde show signs of being influenced by the matrilineal Mwera around them, though not to the extent that it would be worthwhile examining them afresh here. Were it not for the two other clearer and more pronounced instances, however, a case for the admissibility of change from patrilineal to matrilineal institutions might well have been based on the coast-Ndonde alone.

To substantiate my claim that these two groups have changed from patrilineal to matrilineal descent, it is necessary to show two things:- that they were once agnatic, and that they are now matrilineal. The first of these propositions, in the case of the southern-Ndonde, is tolerably certain. Besides their retention of certain agnatic characteristics, such as agnatic descent-names and agnatic local-groupings in a minority of the hamlets surveyed, the history of their migration from the westerly Ngindo cradle-areas is well attested (see pages 439-446). Maples, writing in 1880, even called them "the Gindos on the Rovuma". Despite their penchant for claiming Ngoni status (see pages 339-340), they are still fully Ngindo-speaking and still fully conscious of Ngindo (or Ndonde or Ndendeuli) origin. Incidentally, the Ngoni are and were strongly agnatic. Descent-names bring further proof of the specifically Ndonde character of this group (see pages 511-512). Other evidence of their kinship with Ngindo groups elsewhere is to be found in the field

of custom. Pagan marriage (pages 514-517) and pagan initiation-ritual (pages 519-521), for instance, show multiple parallels.

If one concedes the southern-Ndonde to be of Ngindo stock, does it follow that they were originally agnatic ? The answer is affirmative. Firstly, the vast bulk of present Ngindo are mainly agnatic; and significant matrilineal features have appeared amongst them only when, as in this case, an Ngindo outlier has been cut off for generations in a predominantly matrilineal area. Secondly, my own efforts to prove a theory of anterior matriliny among the home-Ngindo had to be abandoned; whilst Dr. Gulliver's researches in eastern Songea point to fairly marked agnation among the past inhabitants of that region, even before the Ngoni invasion.

Turning to the present evidence of matrilineal organization among the southern-Ndonde[x], the most obvious sign of such organization, and the one I could demonstrate most fully, is the form of local-groupings (see plans on page 501b). Half the hamlets surveyed are entirely matrilineal in this respect //, and the rest of either agnatic or mixed composition. Marriage-types (see table on page 514) show marked divergence from those of Ngindoland, and the high incidence of divorce appears consistent with

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Footnote x.

~~Admittedly pieces have existed over a~~
~~period in all local transactions, but~~

The fact that the unit surveyed includes a very prominent scion of the old (i.e. agnatic) régime, namely the grandson of Mkumba (see pages 439-445 and 513a), may mean that the agnatic inertia of this sector is greater than that of other southern-Ndonde round about.

the sort of instability of marriage associated with matrilineal societies. Again, by Ngindoland standards, bridewealth-levels appear extremely low (see table on page 515). This is more especially true of pagan marriages ... Islam, which has a strong local following, would have the effect of boosting the payments. Of course, Islam tends to promote agnatic descent/ (though it by no means necessarily achieves it/, vide the strongly matrilineal, strongly Muslim, Yao of Tunduru). Hence the forces of Islam and matriliny exert an opposite pull on the southern-Ndonde. It is not surprising, therefore, that their bridewealth of a generation ago should have stood at a much lower figure still (see page 515);[x] for at that time they had already long been exposed to the pagan matriliny of the Makonde and others, whereas the major growth of Islam came later. Note well that the source, then a contemporary one, speaks of much higher bridewealth in the more distant past, i.e. in the days when the group was thoroughly agnatic.

Another way in which southern-Ndonde marriage appears matrilineal is in its emphasis on uxorilocal residence (see table on page 516). And yet another is the absence of widow-inheritance (see page 517). Polygyny is less common among them than among the home-Ngindo, and it takes an uxorilocal form. That is to say, instead of being concentrated in a single homestead, as in Ngindoland, they/ co-wives generally live apart, each one at her own natal or home hamlet. By contrast with Ngindoland practice, the southern-Ndonde permit adults to live with whom they

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Footnote: x.

Admittedly prices have risen steeply over the period in all local transactions, but not to this extent.

choose; hence junior kinsmen often opt to live with their matrilineal seniors, rather than with the agnatic ones ... a case in point is the episode reported at the top of page 516. Succession and ~~inheritance~~ inheritance may go to kinsmen in either line of descent, but the sister's son is often the favoured heir (see page 518). Finally, there is much the same division of opinion about the allocation of authority and privilege, with the mother's brother always getting a share, if not actually in control himself.

The known history of the neo-Hamba does not run as continuously as that of the southern-Ndonde; nor is there the same confidence in the group's uniformly Ndonde character. However, it is certain that at least a nucleus of the neo-Hamba set out from about the same starting-point as the southern-Ndonde (see pages 446-447), and the route of their migration can be traced quite accurately. The entire group, which is a good deal more coherent than either the southern-or coast-Ndonde as a demographic unit, now speaks kiNgindo. Further, it is unlikely that the neighbouring Ngindolanders should have brought this about; for their Magingo and Ndonde dialects differ appreciably from that of the neo-Hamba. Also, the period of their close proximity dates from well after the start of the present century. Though they readily acknowledge the Ngindo (or, more specifically, Ndonde) connection, the neo-Hamba differ sharply from the remaining Ngindo in a number of important respects. For instance, in their initiation ritual, they are said to follow the Mwera pattern throughout. Yet, such borrowings as these can be bracketed with the most crucial borrowing of all, namely that of matrilineal organization. On balance, though at present they manifest only the barest vestiges of agnation (as instance, the secondary kiRAGWA descent-

matrilineal Newala). In marriage-types, going from north to south, one observes like contrasts. Infant-girl betrothal easily heads the Ngindoland list; among the southern-Ndonde, marriage to divorcees does so. Much the same sort of variation is to be found in the number of matches ending in divorce ... the Ngindoland rate comes to less than a quarter that of the southern-Ndonde, with the coast-Ndonde occupying an intermediate position. Polygyny shows the reverse trend; very common in patrilineal Ngindoland, and moderately so among the indeterminate coast-Ndonde, it occurs comparatively rarely among the matrilineally-minded southern-Ndonde. As for Islamic marriage (no figures available for the neo-Hamba), it does not accurately reflect the incidence of Islam in the groups compared, but rather the degree of orthodoxy prevailing in each ... Ngindoland, probably the most solidly Muslim, has the lowest Islamic marriage-rate.

So much for the variations. On the other hand, such comparisons reveal certain broad uniformities. Both kiBANI and HETO are payable in all four groups, and the infant-girl-betrothal type of marriage is present in varying degrees throughout. The same is true of polygyny. Evidently divorce is quite easy to obtain in each group, although its incidence in agnatic Ngindoland remains low, thanks to the stability of virilocal marriage. Within this one sphere, marriage, can be seen the interplay of variables that divide the Ngindo into culturally as well as geographically distinct communities, and yet so combine as to bring them all within the definition 'Ngindo'.

To summarise the position, the primary factors making for Ngindo solidarity are linguistic consistency; consciousness of real or imagined past unity and present similarity; a common agnatic heritage; territorial fragmentation throughout, and an atomised political structure; like marital institutions (some aspects of which have already been compared in detail); actual and reputed peculiarities in the mode of subsistence; certain behaviour-norms and specialised status-attitudes; corresponding features in pagan cosmology and ritual; broad coincidence of customary legal rulings and their observance, along with the methods of settling disputes; and a distinctive interpretation of Islam. Not all these characteristics apply to every member-group within the Ngindo complex. Some apply equally well to ~~xxxxx~~ non-Ngindo groups. But cumulatively, they amount to a definition of the Ngindo, clearly distinguishable from the rest.

Language provides easily the best index. Essentially, the Ngindo belong to one and the same 'linguistic community'. The dialects they speak to-day, with the exception of kiMbunga, resemble one another so closely (see Appendix B) that there is no room for argument against the proposition of their unity. Even kiMbunga, viewed historically as an Ndendeuli off-shoot, amply warrants inclusion.

Awareness of their derivation from a single localised Ngindo stock is fairly widespread among the scattered Ngindo communities of to-day. It remains latent for the most part; for spatial separation between most of the outliers is now so formidable that mutual visits scarcely ever prove feasible, and a

mutual appraisal scarcely ever becomes relevant. Within the same limitations, fellow-feeling exists on the score of current similarities in speech and custom. But here again, the feeling is seldom explicit, seldom so comprehensive as to embrace more than two or three outliers at a time. For instance, though the southern-Ndonde appreciate their kinship with the coast-Ndonde, and even inter-marry with them, they know next to nothing of the home-Ngindo, who lie beyond their social horizon. This is an extreme case, the southern-Ndonde forming the southern periphery of the Ngindo culture-area; but it is generally left to the investigator to piece together the puzzle before the whole Ngindo picture can emerge.

The question of agnation has already come under scrutiny. I repeat that, apart from the two anomalous cases discussed (and perhaps a third case, the coast-Ndonde, about whom insufficiently conclusive material is available), all the Ngindo groups display a fairly marked degree of agnatic bias. Their adherence to this principle of descent is not greatly lessened by the very considerable recognition they accord to cognatic kin.

The tendency to live apart characterises most of the Ngindo groups. And there are grounds for thinking that the main reasons for such dispersion have an identical basis, namely a ruling concept of prestige demanding separate residence for its full expression. The generalization does not, of course, apply to the southern-Ndonde, who live in one of the most densely populated belts in the Territory. Yet, even they can be seen to favour small independent hamlets, as opposed to the village proper. Universal competition for prestige at the

same time inhibits the growth of political authority.

The topic of marriage needs little further commentary, for those outliers that have already been compared [in this respect] represent a degree of variation from the home-Ngindo datum which is at least as pronounced as that of any other outlier, remembering that the other outliers have been relatively free of matrilineal influence. Marriage, among both Ndendeuli and Mbunga, reflects the local tribal milieu, more especially in the formal procedure, but in neither case does it seem to have deserted the ideal of infant-girl-betrothal, associated with temporary uxorilocal residence and labour on the part of the groom, and with payment of bridewealth in cash instalments.

It follows from the Ngindo habit of forming widely dispersed residential units that the mode of subsistence will have something in common from one outlier to the next. More often than not, it is forest that surrounds and separates the huts; therefore the owners grow accustomed to the forest. Neighbouring peoples regard the Ngindo, and especially the home-Ngindo, as virtual forest-denizens, and are regarded in their turn as timidly field-bound. Of course, the southern-Ndonde could not be described as forest-people; and the coast-Ndonde and many of the Mbunga retain little of their bush-craft; but the forest-label is still highly relevant to the remaining groups.

I have said that the kiLUNGWANA Complex (see Chapter VIII, 'Special Ideology') holds sway primarily inside Ngindoland itself. Whilst this is true, the outliers evidently subscribe to a diluted form of the

Complex, which helps to account for the fragmentary trend amongst them. One finds the coast- and southern-Ndonde complaining that the Mwera and Makonde are thieves; the western-Ndonde complaining of Ngoni subservience to rank; the exile-Ngindo complaining of the promiscuity of Matumbi adulterers; the neo-Hamba complaining of Yao failure to entertain; and so forth. Even the Mbunga partake of the anti-slave feeling, dismissing the Pogoro as a lot of cowards fit only for servitude; whilst the intense aversion of the ~~MdeNdeMIX~~ Ndendeuli to the Ngindo connection can be attributed to fear of incurring the stigma of servile origin. Again, non-Ngindo neighbours remark on such stereotypes as the dumb, disingenuous Ngindo women.

Individual rites, or even whole ritual sequences, form a pattern of superimposed mosaics throughout the Ngindo culture-area, many of the fragments of which are found to be identical in two or more groups. Thus, no two outliers have exactly the same initiation-ritual, but each set of rites will contain common elements. For instance, some of the episodes stated to take place in the coast-Ndonde initiations occur also in the home-Ngindo ones; others, which the home-Ngindo do not know, occur among the southern-Ndonde; and others again, probably local borrowings, have no other Ngindo counterpart. Much the same sort of situation can be discerned in other branches of ritual. To take dances as a test-case, the NDENGERA , or a version of it, is danced by the Ngindo nearly everywhere; the liPUGA and maNDIRU, though of northerly genesis, appear almost as widespread; the kiNGINDO occurs mainly in the centre and north-west, though not among the Ndendeuli who prefer the Ngoni liGWAMBA, also performed occasionally by the home-Ngindo; other dances, such as the Magingo kiMBETEMBETE and Hamba

NGUMBULI, appear peculiar to individual Ngindo groups; others again have been copied from tribal neighbours, as instance the liNGAKA and chiKOCHA of the southern-Ndonde. The subject of pan-Ngindo ritual uniformities is immensely complicated. However, analogous linkages can be traced in birth, harvest, burial, and other rites, all of which rest on a foundation of similar beliefs about the supernatural. Even though each contributory chain of corresponding features may be incomplete, their totality amounts to an appreciable corpus of Ngindo custom, its tangled, often foreshortened strands binding together the Ngindo communities in a loose, yet tenacious fabric.

From the foregoing paragraphs, it will be evident that the Ngindo as a whole possess a body of customary laws that are present to a greater or less degree in each group. Further, the indigenous methods of upholding such laws appear fairly consistent throughout. That is to say, the kiLONGELO system of the home-Ngindo (see pages 157-160) applies universally. Such resemblances are only to be expected, seeing that the social groups between whom disputes arise are mostly of a like scale and composition

Islam provides the final important factor entering into the definition 'Ngindo'. My study of the Majimaji movement (see Chapter IX, 'War and the West') and of the subsequent Islamic evolution of Ngindoland (see Chapter VII) shows home-Ngindo Muslims to be very far from orthodox. Their blend of paganism and Islam, though peculiar to themselves as opposed to non-Ngindo Muslims, is shared to a large extent by the Ngindo outliers, all

of whom contain a substantial proportion of Muslims ... only among the Mbunga and neo-Hamba have Christian missionaries made any real headway, and their converts in both groups are balanced by an equally large Muslim element. Not all the outliers took an active part in the Majimaji Rising, and none received the Islamic message with the same impact that the home-Ngindo did; but their similar pagan cultures have resulted in broadly similar Islamic adaptations; and the superficial Islamic stamp they all possess gives them a certain uniformity of atmosphere, a familiar setting for the other uniformities I have described.

So the Ngindo, though rent by internal forces, mutilated by outside forces, both now and in the past, survive as a coherent lingual-cultural entity. Their far-flung, atomised communities diverge along a labyrinth of paths, one of them so unexpected as to be declared impossible. Yet, through obstinacy, or inertia, or both, they stay Ngindo.

APPENDIX A.

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Notes on the Linguistic Evidence.

(Ngindoland included)

My purpose in collecting data on the dialects spoken by the main Ngindo outliers, alleged or suspected, was to establish whether in fact these groups were Ngindo-speaking, hence 'Ngindo'. To this end, in each of the seven that were accessible, I completed a uniform questionnaire, which comprised a comprehensive basic vocabulary together with a narrative text. The vocabulary, numbering 530 words, included 215 verbs, 255 nouns of 6 different classes, 20 adjectives, and 40 other parts of speech. My choice of words depended primarily on their presumed utility as words in common usage in a known similar culture , that of the home-Ngindo; subject to the proviso that any word in the datum dialect, kiMagingo, identical with or strongly resembling a kiSwahili term, should be excluded. Unfortunately, when planning the enquiry, I had not the benefit of expert advice in the linguistic field; therefore the choice of vocabulary has been common-sense rather than scientific. The same can be said of the text, which was composed more with an eye to intelligibility and interest for informants than to demonstrating grammatical features; though, of course, I tried to fit in all the better-known constructions. Again my orthography,[x] though an attempt at straight phonetic rendering of the sounds, did not employ the full range of accepted phonetic symbols; for instance I was unable to register the finer gradations in between the vowels 'e' and 'i'. In place of more technical 'c' (as in English 'chief/tʃi:f') I favoured conventional 'ch'. As for the difficult breathy snort associated with certain 'm-' prefixes (as in kiMagingo 'Mhw-ILU', totem), I used the arbitrary spelling 'Mhw-'.

The medium of the enquiry was kiSwahili.[xx] This was because of my familiarity with it, and because of its wide currency as a lingua franca throughout the area ... thanks to these two factors I never used a kiNgindo dialect at all as a means of direct interrogation. The level of kiSwahili-speaking competency among the home-Ngindo who, if nearer to the coast than some, are more backward and remote than any of the outliers, is quite high. Scarcely any adult males are to be found who cannot carry on a fluent conversation in kiSwahili; and many use that language with ease, delicacy, and force. Even the womenfolk, though they favour the vernacular, frequently understand, and sometimes speak, kiSwahili. I have no doubt that kiSwahili provided an adequate vehicle, and that my knowledge of it, along with that of my informants, was sufficient to prevent any serious distortion of meaning in either vocabulary or texts.

Footnote x:

In principle I use capital-letters for the stems of verbs, nouns, pronouns, and adjectives; small-letters for prefixes, suffixes, concords, other inflexions, conjunctions, particles and so forth. My use of such lettering should not be taken to be authoritative, but rather a guide to the probable structure of words and sentences. Many cases arose where I was in doubt as to the lettering to use. For instance was I to construe as inflexions those past-tense endings in 'ile' where the infinitive of the verb in question already ended in the almost identical form '-ila'? Of course, '-ila' itself, in such a case, cannot be regarded as part of the stem, but I wrote it down as if it were, so as to avoid over-complexity. Again I hesitated in cases where pronouns had no fixed stem (i.e. cases analogous with kiSwahili 'JAMBO hili', this matter, and 'MAMBO haya', these matters).

Footnote xx:

Occasionally, in the text of this thesis, where no ambiguity could arise, I have deliberately dropped the 'ki-' prefix.

The method adopted had to conform with my meagre linguistic attainments and qualifications, and with the meagre margin of time at my disposal in any one outlier. The problems of covering this enormous area, mostly on foot, severely limited my enquiries in both depth and lateral extent. In each outlier, on the average, I spent a week, of which only three intensive days could be devoted to the dialect. No second visits were possible; therefore cross-reference from one dialect to another was out of the question, excepting cursorily among the dialects that received attention last. Where a full cross-check proved feasible was among the home-Ngindo alone. Had I been able to refer back thoroughly from one dialect to the other, the case for Ngindo linguistic unity would certainly have been strengthened out of all recognition. However it was my concern not so much to find similarities as to determine the speech-norm applicable to each group. If a prima facie case for inter-dialectal unity was to be proven, it seemed to me only fair that the yardstick for comparison should be the norm, as opposed to the secondary choice of terms or constructions that might be held in common by two dialects. Time and again I rejected tentative translations when, although volunteered and satisfactorily in accord with the versions attributed to other Ngindo dialects, it became clear that they yielded precedence to some local alternative form. If, bearing in mind the approach followed, the reader considers that the case for Ngindo linguistic unity holds good, then he can be confident that unity does in fact exist.

My sources for each dialect generally comprised two or three individuals considered to be especially conversant with the dialect of the locality. These men almost invariably worked with me collectively, not one by one. Sometimes I had ground for believing that they were inclined to be purists, insisting on archaic usages where simpler 'kiNgindo' ones might have been in more frequent use; but I always let their verdicts stand, lest I should allow a pan-Ngindo bias to influence the enquiry. Here is the detail of my informants in each case ...

(i) KiMagingo.
Initially I recorded this dialect in full with the aid of Amiri Msham Mkira of Barikiwa, a task which took several weeks of intermittent work. Amiri was literate in both Roman and Arabic characters, having attended the Government school at Liwale-boma for a few years in his youth. He was perfectly at home in kiSwahili, having worked as a seasonal road-foreman outside Ngindoland for a number of years. Later, Mohamedi Ali Kiganja, also of Barikiwa and with a similar background, though somewhat more intelligent and polished, took over for harder assignments such as the transcription of texts, of which he completed a considerable volume. Ih addition, many casual informants gave their co-operation; for instance when on safari I made a practice of examining my Ngindo porters in rotation; by which means I progressively enlarged my general knowledge of the dialect, besides doing specific tasks such as the inter-dialect cross check. The men were all personally known to me as bona fide inhabitants of Barikiwa and adjacent settlements, but since I do not recall the exact contribution of each, it would be idle to give the list of names.

(ii) KiNdonde (Hamba or neo-Hamba).
En route to Kilimarondo, centre of Hamba country, I camped a day's march away at the most westerly outpost of the Hamba, Nakanandi, the Headman of which answered the first part of my questionnaire. His name

was Amuri Mangochi. At Kilimarondo itself I obtained the services of the Headman, Machemba Mparuka, and of the Native Court Clerk, Patience Issa Hassani. Together they completed the bigger part of the vocabulary and the whole of the text. All these informants spoke kiSwahili well.

(iii) KiNdonde (coast-Ndonde).
Two men, Mwichande Nassoro Mhuja and Abdalla Mohamedi Mwichande Lijoka, both of Milola, furnished the entire linguistic material. Working together, I found them a well-balanced team. Mwichande was elderly and steady, Abdalla young and bright. They seemed to enjoy the work. Milola is virtually at the coast, so the standard of kiSwahili is high there.

(iv) KiNdonde (southern-Ndonde).
My informants were a group of three; Halfani Liwanda, Headman of Nhyaba; his brother, Hassani; and Iddi Bushiri Lindo, Sub-headman of Nhyaba. At times, one or the other could not attend, but there were always at least two present to corroborate each others' statements. As a distinguished Muslim Preacher, Halfani spoke excellent kiSwahili; as did his companions, living in this relatively sophisticated area.

(v) KiNdendeuli.
I found this dialect more difficult to determine than any other. At first, thinking that I might never get a chance to visit distant Songea, I ran through everything but the text with a young safari Guide, Rashidi Bagaya of Likuyu (eastern Songea District). Subsequently, however, though vouched for by my home-Ngindo porters who had accompanied him to his home, doubt was cast upon this informant's worth as an Ndendeuli-speaker. It therefore became all the more necessary to verify his renderings. Ultimately I was able to do this, and found Rashidi's answers to be substantially correct. My subsequent informants were Faraji Makuti, Headman ('Nduna') of Likuyu-Mtonya, and Iddi Rashidi Lijoka (no connection, of course, with the coast-Ndonde informant of like patronym) of the same area. Temporarily, in the course of the enquiry, I transferred my attention to the Headman ('Jumbe') of Gumbiro (new-Gumbiro). I recorded neither his name, nor those of his retinue, but he was presented to me as a reputable kiNdendeuli authority. All these men appeared thoroughly familiar with kiSwahili.

(vi) KiMbunga.
A pair of conscientious residents of Ifakara, Marselini Mhwumbira and Matonga Matonga, steered me through this dialect. Marselini, a Roman Catholic convert, was a retired school-teacher. Though very slow-thinking, he produced careful answers, and later filled in some minor omissions in reply to a letter I sent him from the coast. Matonga provided a good counterpoise, being less meticulous and more active mentally. KiSwahili is much spoken in the cosmopolitan township of Ifakara.

(vii) KiNdwewe.
Personally, I doubt whether such a dialect as 'kiNdwewe' is still in currency at all. However, since the version supplied to me might be taken to represent the furthest extreme of divergence on the part of the western-Ndonde from my kiMagingo yardstick, I thought it more profitable to record 'kiNdwewe' than the commoner type of kiNdonde spoken by this Ndonde-Ndwewe group. Preliminary enquiries showed the relationship between the western-Ndonde and coast-Ndonde dialects to be at least as close as that between the coast-Ndonde and southern-Ndonde ones. Moreover, the bulk of the so-called Ndwewe among the

western-Ndonde spoke nothing else but the standard ki-Ndonde prevalent among the avowed Ndonde elements of that group. This was the case with several elders who were introduced to me as venerable guardians of Ndwewe culture. Only when my single chosen informant, Hassani Mzigo of Malinyi, appeared was I able to discern any appreciable degree of divergence between 'kiNdwewe' and kiNdonde as spoken by the other Ndonde outliers. Malinyi lies in the far west of Mahenge District, where are to be found the residue of allegedly pure Ndwewe. Being unable to visit the area, I could find no one to corroborate Hassani's evidence. He was an elderly, conservative man of apparent integrity. Possibly his version of kiNdwewe is authentic; though I think it just as likely that the Ndwewe pockets in the west, a minority of the survivors of the original Ndwewe, may have become influenced by the Bena or other neighbours. Even if this 'kiNdwewe' I record were to be judged a distinct language, standing apart from the recognised Ngindo dialects, this would by no means exclude the western-Ndonde from the community of Ngindo-speakers. On the contrary I found western-Ndonde speech so strongly Ngindo in character that I preferred to experiment with obscure 'kiNdwewe'.

The prima facie conclusion I reach is that all the dialects listed, with the exception of kiMbunga and 'kiNdwewe' obviously belong to the same language, and that their users must in my definition be Ngindo. Now, despite the oddity of a lingering, archaic 'kiNdwewe', no one can seriously doubt the essentially Ngindo speech-characteristics of the western-Ndonde. The Mbunga therefore, among the outliers, pose the only real ambiguity. The home-Ngindo porters I took to Mbungaland claimed to find kiMbunga scarcely intelligible; though I myself, listening to Mbunga passers-by, was struck by the numerous superficial similarities to kiMagingo. Native statements of opinion on linguistic matters are notoriously treacherous. Again, I noticed that my Mbunga informants frequently picked on an Ngindo term at first, but on second thoughts substituted for it an alien one. Historically, the Mbunga are simply an Ndendeuli off-shoot; and modern Ndendeuli are certainly Ngindo-speakers. Bearing in mind Thomson's revealing comment, made three-quarters of a century ago, on the linguistic prowess of his Ngindo porter among the strange Mbunga (see Chapter I. Ngindo Outliers), it seems that kiMbunga must have started out as an Ngindo dialect ... the argument that the home-Ndendeuli might subsequently have been swamped by Ngindo captives, so adopting their language, does not appear well-founded. KiMbunga has since acquired many alien features. Whether these accretions now outweigh the Ngindo content is a matter which only further research can confirm. My own impression, based on the present material, is that the Ngindo elements are still sufficiently marked for kiMbunga to be treated as an Ngindo dialect. And this is why I include the Mbunga among the Ngindo outliers.

APPENDIX B.

1. DETAILED COMPOSITION OF THE "SIMILAR" CATEGORY IN WORDLIST ANALYSIS.

Dialect. / Word Categories.	Magingo.	c-Ndonde. Hamba.		s.Ndonde.	Ndendeuli.	Mbunga.	Ndwewe.
Exactly or nearly similar in only one or two of the other dialects.	21	12	4	5	10	14	18
Recognisably the same in some of the other dialects but considerably changed.	2	5	-	2	5	21	27
Similar in form to some of the other dialects, but different in meaning.	2	10	5	15	11	18	35
Identical term found in other dialects, but not in popular use.	2	-	-	1	1	2	1
Found only among the Ndonde group.	-	12	10	12	-	-	-
Found among two or more of the Ndonde and peripheral-Ngindo groups.	-	3	2	8	17	33	18
Common only to the Mbunga-Ndwewe dialects, i.e. the Mahenge groups.	-	-	-	-	-	7	7
Expression belongs to kiNgindo, but a circumlocution.	-	4	-	1	-	6	3
Total Words ...	27	55	26	46	49	129	122

2. EXTRACT FROM A PARALLEL TEXT SHOWING SEVEN OF THE NGINDO DIALECTS.

(a) English translation.

(b) kiSWAHILI actually used with the informants.

(c) kiMAGINGO.

(d) kiHAMBA (neo-Hamba).

(e) kiNDONDE (coast-Ndonde)

(f) kiNDONDE (southern-Ndonde).

(g) kiNDENDEULI.

(h) kiMBUNGA.

(i) kiNDWEWE (archaic).

underlined[x] = found in kiMAGINGO.

[x] Words are underlined only when the similarity to kiMagingo is not obvious.

(a)	A man		called			MSHAM,	and	his	wife.
(b)	mTU	mMOJA,	mwENYE	JINA	laKE	MSHAM,	na	BIBI	yaKE,
(c)	muNDU	juMWE,	jwANA	liHINA[1]	lyaKWE	anaNCHAM,	na	aHANA	muNDU[2]
(d)	"	"	akiBA[3]	"	"	MSHAM,	"	aHANU	"
(e)	"	juMO,	NKOLA[4]	"	lyaBE	" ,	"	"	baBE.
(f)	"	"	"	"	"	" ,	"	"	"
(g)	"	"	"	"	lyaKE	NCHAM,	"	aHANA	muNDU,
(h)	"	yuMONGA[5],	mwANA	"	"	MSHAM,	"	muLIANA	"
(i)	"	juMU,	- [6]	"	lyaKU	" ,	"	mKONGWE[7]	"

FOOTNOTES:

1. liHINA. The word also means 'root' or 'stem' of a tree or plant.
2. muNDU. The same idiomatic use as is found in kiSwahili ... for instance the Swahili 'BABAmTU', 'genitor' (as opposed to pater or classificatory father). Undoubtedly a close variant of baBE exists as a parallel form in each of these dialects.
3. akiBA. Apparently a past tense of the verb 'to be'.
4. NKOLA. Though I myself missed it, the term is probably a kiMagingo one as well. The District Book refers to a ritual expert known as "Mkora Kirambo", presumably 'the owner of the land'.
5. yuMONGA Probably from kiBena. The word occurred in a parallel text obtained from the hill-Bena.
6. - I use this sign throughout the text to indicate that the informant or informants could not be induced to include an equivalent.
7. mKONGWE. A close kiMagingo variant is the common word mKONGO, tree.

(a)	Saidi's	daughter,		used to quarrel		every	day.
(b)	BINTI	SAIDI,	walikuWA	na	uGOMVI	kila	SIKU
(c)	aTI[1]	SAILI,	bakiBA	"	BULWA	kula	liCHUBA
(d)	a BINTI	CHAHIDI,	"	"	mPWATO[2]	maCHUBA	gOHA[3]
(e)	"	SAHIDI,	"	"	"	"	"
(f)	"	" ,	"	"	"	"	"
(g)	BINTI	SAIDI,	akiBA	"	BULWA	"	"
(h)	mwANA[4] wa	SAIDI,	aVI	"	miHALO[5]	~~mwa~~ maNJUBA	"
(i)	BINTI	SAIDI,	bakiBA	"	miLOMO[6]	maCHUBA	"

FOOTNOTES:

1. aTI. Simply a colloquial contraction of regular aBINTI.
2. mPWATO. though they are not found in kiMagingo. The home-Ngindo are perfectly familiar with these specialised Ndonde terms,
3. maCHUBA gOHA. As in kiMagingo, literally 'all days', for which the precise kiSwahili equivalent would be SIKUzOTE.
4. mwANA. Used by kiMagingo to mean 'child'.
5. miHALO. Literally 'words', as in kiMagingo.
6. miLOMO. Probably 'words' (cf. mLOMO, meaning 'mouth' or 'beak' in kiMagingo).

(a)	at their home		And they	were	living		somewhat	isolated.
(b)	NYUMBAni	mwAO.	nAO	walikuWA	wakiKAA	peke	yAO	kiDOGO
(c)	uNYUMBA	jaBE	biNDUbENE[1]	bakiBA	baTAMA	jiKA	jaBE	kaCHOKO
(d)	NYUMBA	"	kaBI[2]	"	baTAMAnga[3]	"	"	paCHOKO
(e)	"	"	"	"	bikiTAMA	"	"	paNDILA[4]
(f)	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
(g)	uNYUMBA	"	-	"	baTAMA	"	"	NDUU[5]
(h)	NYUMBA	~~xxBExx~~ yaWI.	weNI[6]	aWI	aTAMiti[7]	siKA	shaWI	pa maNYAHI[8]
(i)	mKATI[9]	jaBE.	aba[10]	bakiBA	baTAMiti	jiKA	jaBO	paCHUKUCHUKU

FOOTNOTES:

1. biNDUbENE. Apparently 'these very people'. The personal prefix used ~ concord 'ba-' frequently becomes 'bii.
2. kaBI. A contracted form of kaBILI, 'and a second time'.
3. baTAMAnga. The suffix or final-inflection is an optional plural-form in kiMagingo.
4. pa NDILA. Literally 'on the path', i.e. 'outlying'.
5. NDUU. In kiMagingo this figures as an exclamation of wonderment at a multitude, especially one of animals or humans.
6. weNI. Apparently the same as kiMagingo 'bENE', and kiSwahili 'mwENYE'.
7. aTAMiti. This alternative past-tense form also occurs in kiMagingo, with a slight variation of the final vowel: thus, 'aTAMite'.
8. maNYAHI. Literally 'grass' (plural of liNYAHI, blade of grass). i.e. 'far out in the forest'.
9. ~~maNYAHI~~ mKATI. meaning 'inside', as in kiMagingo, i.e. 'indoors' or 'at home'.
10. aba. Apparently the demonstrative pronoun 'these people'.

(a)	in	a country	with	great	forests	and	thickets
(b)	katika	NCHI	yeNYE	maPORI	maKUBWA	na	miSITU
(c)	pi	kiLAMBO	chANA	maPUNGUTI	jiKA[1]	ni	miHITU
(d)	pa	chiRAMBO	pa[2]	maKUNJA[3]	maKULUNGWA	na	"
(e)	"	kiRAMBO	chiNA	maPENJA[3]	maKULUmaKULU	"	"
(f)	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
(g)	ku	NIMA[4]	ka[2]	maNYAHI[5]	maKULUNGWA	"	maTOGORO[6]
(h)	paWI	muLUMA[4]	uWI na[7]	"	"	"	liDOWI[3]
(i)	pa	NIMA	-	"	maKULUPE	"	miHITU

FOOTNOTES:

1 jiKA. Literally 'only', ie. 'nothing but (forest)'.

2. pa,ka. Locative particles.

3. maKUNJA, maPENJA, liDOWI. Derivation not known.

4. NIMA, Etc. Obviously a westerly dialectal feature, being confined to kiNdendeuli, kiMbunga, and 'kiNdwewe'.

5. maNYAHI. Literally 'grass', and by extension 'forest'.

6. maTOGORO. See maTOGOLO on the next page, meaning 'a dense clump of thicket ' in kiMagingo.

7. uWI na. Verbal construction ('be with') used instead of a term meaning 'possessing'.

(a)	which closed	overhead	like	the clouds	themselves
(b)	iliyoFUNGA	juu	kama	maWINGU	yeNYEWE
(c)	jaNA maTOGOLO	ku nani	andi	maHUNDE	geNE
(d)	ijiTABiti[1]	" "	"	"	"
(e)	iHWIKI[2]	" "	anda	"	"
(f)	"	" "	"	"	"
(g)	gaTABite[1]	" "	andi ka	"	"
(h)	liTAWiti[1]	" "	anda	maHUNDI	geNI
(i)	HWIKALIRA[2]	" "	"	maFUNDE	geNE

FOOTNOTES:

1. ijiTABiti, etc. Further uses of the alternative past-tense form. It usually implies definite past time.

2. iHWIKI, etc. Used transitively in kiMagingo ... kuHWIKIRA, meaning 'to cover'.

(a)	in the middle	of	the rains.	And the	woman	spoke	thus:
(b)	katikati	ya	MVUA.	yuLE	BIBI	akaSEMA	hivi
(c)	andi ga pa na KATI	ja	HULA.	babala	aKIGI	ngabaLONGE	iyeNE
(d)	paKATIpaKATI	"	ULA.	baba	"	"	iyeNI
(e)	"	pa	HULA.	aKIGI	ba	biLONGE	hyahi
(f)	"	"	"	"	"	biLONGELS	"
(g)	pa na KATE	"	"	yula	mwiKIGI	aLONGE	naha
(h)	paKATI	"	HURA.	yura	mFASI[2]	a-RONGI	naha
(i)	"	ya	HULA	mhwiKIGI	yulya	kaLONGELA	hako

FOOTNOTES:

1. andi ga pa na KATI. A circumlocution meaning 'like those (clouds) at and the middle'.

2. mFASI. Probably of Ngoni derivation.

(a)	My husband,	why	do	you beat	me	without	any offence ?
(b)	BwANA wANGU,	mbona		unaniPIGA		bila	KOSA lo loTE ?
(c)	MangwANA bANGU,	nji [1]		uNDENDA [2]	kuMBUTA	na jwaNGA	LEMWA [3] kiLIBE [4] ?
(d)	" " ,	mbona		nTENDA	"	paNGALI	kuLEMWA ata kaCHOKOCHOKO ?
(e)	" " ,	mbone		nDENDA	"	–	ne kuLEMWA je [5] ko kOHA ?
(f)	" " ,	"		–	"	na muNDU [6]	jwaNGA LEMWA joHA ?
(g)	AngANA " ,	muna		–	miMENYA [7]	–	ne NEMWiti je ? –
(h)	BAMBU [8] wANGU ,	mona		–	wakuNDOWA [9]	naNGALI	kuHOKA [9] yOHA [10] ?
(i)	NgwANA gwANGU,	mbone		–	mBUTA	naNGA	LEMWA ? –

FOOTNOTES:

1. nji. In addition I have heard 'mona' used in kiMagingo as the equivalent of the kiSwahili interrogative 'mbona'.
2. uNDENDA. KiMagingo frequently uses the verb kuTENDA, 'to do' or 'to make', as an auxiliary.
3. jwANGA LEMWA. Note that all the dialects favour a verbal construction here.
4. kiLIBE. Literally 'thing', i.e. '(not) anything' in this context. KiMagingo may employ both the alternative methods used below; namely that of dialect (d), meaning 'not in the least', and of dialects (e),(f), and (h), meaning '(not) at all'.
5. ne kuLEMWA je. 'Ne' is the subject concordal form of the personal pronoun 'Nenga'. 'Je' is a negative suffix, here used in the absence of an equivalent for the "without (erring)" idea.
6. muNDU. Meaning 'the person (without erring at all)', namely the injured woman. The informants insisted on inserting this apparently redundant word.
7. miMENYA. kuMENYA means 'to cut in strips' in kiMagingo.
8. BAMBU. Apparently an Ngoni feature. The Ngoni and their erstwhile Ndendeuli subjects address chiefs, etc., as BAMBO.
9. wakuNDOWA, kuHOKA. Origin not known.
10. yOHA One would expect 'yoyOHA', but the informants stuck to plain 'yOHA'.

(a)	If I had been	lazy	in	my	work,	I would not have complained.
(b)	NingalikuWA	mVIVU	katika	KAZI	zANGU,	nisingaliLIA.
(c)	KuTENDA na	MKATA	mu	maHENGO	gANGU,	ne ngaGUTiti[1] je.
(d)	TENDA ne[2] na	NKATA	kwa	liHENGO	lyANGU,	" "
(e)	Ka bANA	aTOTOHU[3]	mu	maHENGO	gANGU,	ka baNGUTite je.
(f)	KuTENDA ne na	NKATA	ku	"	" ,	na ka GUTITI "
(g)	Na kaBA " "	nTOTOO[3]	-	"	" ,	". " baNELiti[4] "
(h)	NgaWI	mTOTOHO[3]	pa nga WI[5]	liHENGU	lyANGU,	ngaLILiti ng'oo.[6]
(i)	Ne ngaBE na	uTOTOO[3]	mBA na	maHENGO	gANGU,	ngeNGUTiti je.

FOOTNOTES:

1. ngaGUTiti. This past-definite tense ending is exceptional for kiMagingo. Usually it takes the form 'ite'.
2. ne. Abbreviated form of the personal-pronoun 'Nenga', meaning 'I' or 'myself'.
3. ka bANA aTOTOHU. I assumed this to mean 'then(ka) I (b-), being in a state of (-ANA) an idler (aTOTOHU)'. But on the other hand it may be ~~xxxxx~~ construed thus ... kaBA na aTOTOHU, meaning 'then (ka)I was (BA) with(na) idleness (aTOTOHU)'; The use of the personal-prefix 'a-' in aTOTOHU would however, seem inconsistent here. The same difficulty arises over the version given by dialect (g), which seems to employ a verbal construction. Yet the logical sequence would appear to be followed in dialects (h) and (i). (h) goes 'and(nga) I was (WI) an idler (mTOTOHO)'; and (i), 'I(Ne) and (nga) I was (BE) with(na) idleness (uTOTOO)'.
4. baNELiti. From kuLILA, 'to cry out'.
5. pa ngaWI. Locative construction reinforced by the verb 'to be', (a less likely possibility was paNGA WI). Use of the verb is also made in the version of dialect (i).
6. ng'oo. This appears to be a common kiMbunga device to express negation.

(a) No indeed.	But	I have not yet done		things	like	this
(b) La hapana.	Lakini	bado	sijaFANYA	viTENDO	namna	hii.
(c) Ije,apa je.	Nanjinu	tangu	~~nanaTENDA~~ nanaTENDA	iTENDO	-	iyENE je[1].
(d) ChiBI[2] je.	Nambule[3]	-	nanaTENDA	iKUBO[3]	anda	yenihi.
(e) KaBI[2] "	"	tangu	ne nanTENDA je	iTENDO	-	ihyENE.
(f) " ne[4].	"	"	" nanaTENDA "	"	anda	ihyENEHE.
(g) Ne mBAI[5] je	NEKE uti[6]	namira[7]	nakaTENDA je	iLIBI[8]	-	ihyENI.
(h) Ng'oo aaa.	" -	Nakali[7]	kuTENDEKEHA[9]	hiTENDO	maha[10]	iyi.
(i) Jii.	Kenya kiLI[11]	-	ne nDENDiti je kwa jaNGWA[12]	-	jenya je.	

FOOTNOTES:

1. Je. The negative particle is here separated from its verb (nanaTENDA), probably for emphasis.
2. chiBI, kaBI. Variants of the stem BILI, meaning 'twice' or 'again'.
3. Nambule, iKUBO. Origin not known.
4. ne. Same as 'nenga', meaning 'I' or 'myself', i.e. the expression is not specifically negative, but instead reinforces the preceding sentence 'I (the woman) would not have complained, etc.'.
5. mBAI. From kuPALA, meaning 'to want', i.e. 'I did not want it'.
6. NEKE uti. From kuLEKA ; meaning 'to let go', ie. 'let me go (NEKE) first (uti)' or 'wait a minute'.
7. namira, nakali. Origin not known.
8. iLIBI. Literally 'things'.
9. kuTENDEKEHA. Found in kiMagingo (kuTENDEKEYA), but with a different meaning, 'to clean' or 'to arrange'.
10. maha. Elsewhere this same dialect uses the term to mean 'good' or 'well'.
11. kenya kiLI. Literally 'the thing (kiLI) itself (kenya)', i.e. 'in this connection'.
12. kwa jaNGWA.etc. Literally 'to someone else', i.e. '(I have not done) to anyone(these things)'. jenya appears to be a pronomial word enfolding the whole phrase 'things like this' (cf.kenya earlier in the same line). Note the duplicated negative particle, je, at the end of the sentence.

(a)	Nor	have I run away	even	for a single day		to go and	complain.
(b)	Wala	sijaTOROKA		hata SIKU MOJA		kwENDA	kuNUNG'UNIKA.
(c)	KaBILI	nganTOLOKA[1]		kaBI ni liCHUBA liMWE		kuJENDA	kuLUBULILA[2]
(d)	Ata	nangaNYEGARA je		// ata " "		"	kuKUKULIKA
(e)	Natu	kuHIMIRA[3] "		/ natu " "		"	"
(f)	Ne	naHIMIRA "		/ ata liNJUBA "		"	"
(g)	"	niNYEGERA "		/ " " "		niJENDA je[4]	kuLUBULA/
(h)	"	sikuNYENYERA[5]		hata liNJUA liMONGA		kuYAURA[6]	kuKUKULIKA
(i)	"	NYEGILI[7] je		" NJUBA ~~kiMU~~ jiMU		kuPITA[8]	kuSYOMA[9]

FOOTNOTES:

1. nganTOLOKA. In view of its absence in the other dialects, this stem appears to be a kiSwahili borrowing. Apparently 'nga(n)-' in itself expresses negation. The bracketed 'n' is the subject-prefix.
2. kuLUBULILA. Literally 'to talk to'.
3. kuHIMIRA. The word is found in kiMagingo, but with a different meaning 'to expedite'.
4. niJENDA je. The negative is here repeated.
5. sikuNYENYERA. 'siku-' is apparently a kiSwahili borrowing (cf. the usual kiSwahili past-negative form, 'sikuTOROKA', meaning 'I did not run away', etc.)
6. kuYAURA. Origin not known.
7. NYEGILI. The past-tense ending '-ili' ('-ile' in kiMagingo) here occurs with a verb ending in '-era' (kuNYEGERA).
8. ~~kuPITIKA~~ kuPITA. An idiomatic use found also in kiSwahili (kuPITA in both kiSwahili and the Ngindo dialects means 'to pass by').
9. kuSYOMA. Origin not known. Evidently it is transitive, since it is followed by no particle.

(a)	to	my senior	relatives.	Have	my father	or	maternal uncle
(b)	mbele ya	waKUBWA	wANGU.	Eti,	BABA yANGU	au	mJOMBA
(c)	ka ku	anaHOTA	bANGU.	Lili[1]	aWAWA[2] bANGU	anda je[3]	aNJOMBA
(d)	kwa	akanaHOTA	"	Bu	aTATI	au	"
(e)	ka	kanaHOTA	"	"	aWAWA "	au	"
(f)	"	"	"	"	aTATI "	"	aKWE-LUME[4]
(g)	"	"	"	~~Bu~~ Buli	maTATI "	na	maYAYA
(h)	Pa	waLAWE[5] waKULUNGWA	wANGU.	Uli	TATI wANGU	~~wANGU~~ au	~~AKA~~ YAYA
(i)	-	aKULU	gwANGU.	Buli	" jANGU	"	JAJA

FOOTNOTES:

1. Lili. Literally 'now'. 'Bu' or 'Buli' usually means 'how?' in kiMagingo.
2. aWAWA. Now used by kiMagingo in place of archaic aTATI, probably due to the influence of kiSwahili BABA.
3. anda je. Literally 'like not' (kiMagingo uses 'au' as well).
4. aKWE-LUME. Archaic in kiMagingo.
5. waLAWE. Origin not known.

(a)	managed	to hear	this	news ?	They	simply	do not	know.
(b)	wameWAHI	kuSIKIA	HABARI	hizo ?	HawaJUI		~~ha~~ tu	
(c)	baWAHite[1]	kuJUWA[2]	ABALI[3]	jinji ?	BaMANYI	je	bai[4]	
(d)	baLONGWI	"	~~ma~~ maLOBE[5]	genaga ?	"	"	-	
(e)	bikiRONGORA	kuJUHWA	maLONJI[6]	genyaga ?	"	"	-	
(f)	"	"	"	" ?	"	"	-	
(g)	-	naJUHWini	miHALO[7]	jeni ?	BaYUWini	"	-	
(h)	waLOPOHili	kuYUHANILA	miLANDU[8]	ayi ?	WaMANYiti		kaja[9]	
(i)	nJANGUHYA	kuJIHWA	miHALU[7]	ajwi ?	Bala MANYiti	je	-	

FOOTNOTES:

1. baWAHite. Obviously a kiSwahili borrowing. This word gave considerable trouble to translators. Some made it 'preceded' (baLONGWI, bikiRONGORA). Others made it 'succeeded' (waLOPOHili).
2. kuJUWA. Meaning 'to hear'; not 'to know' as is the case with 'kuJUA' in kiSwahili. But note the hesitation in dialect (g) where it is used in both senses (naJUHWini, hear; baYUWini, know). Why the informants should have pronounced the endings of these two verbs differently is obscure.
3. ABALI. This is a very common kiSwahili borrowing. It serves as a standard form of greeting in kiMagingo ... 'ABALI?' means 'How are you?'.
4. bai. From kiSwahili 'basi', meaning 'well' or 'enough'.
5. maLOBE. This in kiMagingo would mean 'voices'.
6. maLONJI. Origin not known.
7. miHALO, etc. Meaning 'words' in kiMagingo.
8. miLANDU, kaja. Origin not known.

(a)	For	I have kept	quiet.	Furthermore	I have hoed		a big field
(b)	maana	nimeKAA	KIMYA.	Zaidi ya hayo	nimeLIMA SHAMBA		la kuTOSHA [11].
(c)	sababu[1]	nDE[2] kuTAMA[3]	nu.	KuBUKA penyapo[4]	nDE[2]	kuLIMA NG'UNDA	nKULUNGWA
(d)	ngamwena[5]	nDAMita[10]	" .	Andi genago	ngaNIMite	"	"
(e)	muHALO[6]	nDAMite	nununo.	iBUKI penya	NIMiti	"	"
(f)	"	"	nu.	Anda kuBOKA genyaga	"	"	"
(g)	mona[7]	ne nTAMite	nu.	- " penyapa	"	"	"
(h)	-	nDAMiti	" .	Handa îyi	"	NGUNG'UNDA	wa maha
(i)	njenu[8]	nDENDA	jiii.[9]	Jinji MIKA je	NIMA	NGUNDA[12]	nKULUPE

FOOTNOTES:

1. sababu. A kiSwahili borrowing.
2. nDE. Auxiliary use of kuTENDA, meaning 'to do'.
3. kuTAMA. The word by itself means 'to live, stay, or sit'.
4. kuBUKA penyapo, etc. Literally 'going away (kuBUKA) from here where we are (penyapo)'. The phrase gave considerable trouble to informants, who adopted various methods of expressing it. Dialects (e) and (g) follow this same construction; whereas (d) and (h) say 'like this (or 'these things')'. Dialect (f) combines both methods with 'like going away from these things'. Dialect (i), on the other hand, says 'This (jinji) do not put (MIKA je)', i.e. 'do not stop at this point'.
5. ngamwena. Origin not known(unless it be a verbal construction incorporating the verb kuWE or ~~k~~ kuBE, 'to be', in which case the phrase should be written 'ngamWE na').
6. muHALO. Literally 'word'. The same idiomatic usage occurs in kiSwahili(i.e. 'neno ...', meaning 'because ...').
7. mona. Probably from kiSwahili 'mbona', meaning 'why ?'.
8. njenu. Origin not known.
9. nDENDE jii. Literally 'I went (or did) Jiiii.' KiMagingo uses the same exclamation to describe dead silence, especially after an uproar.
10. nDAMita ..... The usual ending of this past-tense is '-ite' (or '-iti'), as can be seen further on in this same line: — ngaNIMite. But both this dialect and kiMagingo occasionally use '-ita'.
11. la kuTOSHA ..... Literally '(fit) to satisfy'. Only dialect (h) adheres to this construction, though using an adjective instead of the infinitive.
12. NGUNDA ..... If pronounced in this way, the word in kiMagingo means 'dove' or 'doves'.

(a)	This	season.	In fact	this	hoe	of	mine	is worn out	...	look!
(b)	mwAKA	waLEO.	Hata	JEMBE	lANGU		hili	limeKWISHA	...	TAZAMA.!
(c)	chAKA	chino.[1]	Natu	liJEMBE[2]	lyANGU		lino	liLALite	...	nLOLA!
(d)	"	chinjino.	Ata	liGERA	"		lindino	"	...	NOLE!
(e)	"	" .	Natu	"	"		lino	liJOMWIKE[3]	...	NOLA!
(f)	"	" .	"	"	"		"	"	...	"
(g)	"	chinji .	Nanji[4]	"	"		"	liLALite	...	"
(h)	mwAKA	wa liLINU.	Ata	liELA	"		ali	liYOMWIKI	...	uLOLIKEHE!
(i)	kyAKA	kya lelo.	Hata	liGERA	"		"	liLALA	...	NOLI!

FOOTNOTE:

1. chAKA chino. Literally 'this year'. Only dialects (h) and (i) follow the exact kiSwahili construction, 'the year of to-day'.

2. liJEMBE. Apparently a kiSwahili borrowing.

3. liJOMWIKE. Literally 'it has finished (intransitive)', from kuJOMOKA. Note the past-tense ending in '-IKE', parallel with those in '-ILE', '-ite', etc.,

4. Nanji. Origin not known.

(a)	All	four	of	our	granaries	will be full of	food.	We have a reserve.
(b)	NGOKWE	zETU	zOTE	NNE		zitaJAA	chaKULA.	AKIBA tuNAyo.
(c)	iKOKWE	yITU	yOWA	NCHECHE		maiTWILALAge	chaKULYA.	" tu-KWETI.
(d)	"	ITU	yOHA	"		baiTWILIRAje[7]	" .	iMATIRO[1] "
(e)	"	hITU	hyOHA	"		naiTENDE kuTWILIRA	xxaKULYA .	AKIBA "
(f)	"	"	"	"		baiTWILIRA	ya " .	XXXX " "
(g)	"	"	"	"		naiTWILIRA	iLIBI[2] " .	" "
(h)	HANJA[3]	wETU	"	"		inaKWILA[4]	hiRIWI[2] .	kiHIHI[5] ili tuWi nacho.
(i)	"	hyETU	hyOHI	"		kyaMEMA[6]	hyaKULYA.	iTOTOTO[7] tuBI nahyo.

FOOTNOTES:

1. iMATIRO. Origin not known.
2. iLIBI, hiRIWI. Meaning 'things' in kiMagingo.
3. HANJA. Origin not known.
4. inaKWILA. The subject-concord, together with tense-particle, 'ina-' may be of kiSwahili origin, a thing already noted in this dialect (see page ix). 'i-' would in that case be the subject-concord for the invariable 'n-' class of nouns; and '-na' would be the particle for the present tense. The -KWILA stem appears to correspond with TWIL-IRA, etc., in the other dialects. Again, 'nacho' at the end of this line has a kiSwahili flavour.
5. kiHIHI Origin not known. Apparently it means 'object' or 'thing'.
6. kyaMEMA, iTOTOTO. Origin not known. kuMEMENA means 'to chew' in kiMagingo.
7. baiTWILIRAje. If unaccented, the suffix '-je' has no negative force, but simply corresponds with the future-tense ending '-ge'.

(a)	Again,	at the time	when the river		dried up	I used to	draw water
(b)	Kisha,	WAKATI	mTO	ulipoKAUKA	MAJI,	naliKUWA	nikiCHOTA
(c)	KuBUKA penyapo,	kiKOBWE	luKEMBA	pa luJUMIta	MACHI,	nakiBA	ngaTEKA
(d)	KaBi,	chiKOBO	chuJUMIta	MACHI ku	LUCHI,[1]	nYEile[2]	kuTEKA
(e)	" ,	kiKOBO	luKEMBA	pa gaJUMIta	MACHI,	nakiBA	nDEKita[3]
(f)	" ,	"	"	" "	"	"	"
(g)	" ,	luKIBA[4]	luKEMBA	luJUMIti	MACHI,	"	nikiTEKA
(h)	nYOMWILI[5],	pa ndahi[6]	luKEMBA	pa luYUMIti	MASI,	naWIri[7]	"
(i)	kuBUKA apa ,	-	"	ka Jumiti	MACHI ,	nakiBA	kuTEKA

FOOTNOTES.

1. LUCHI. Generally used by kiMagingo in the sense of 'water-hole'.
2. nYEile. A past tense of the verb kuWE, meaning 'to be'.
3. nDEKita. A past tense of kuTEKA, meaning 'to draw water'. The final '-a' is uncommon. '-e' is more usual.
4. luKIBA. Origin not known.
5. nYOMWILI. A past tense of kuJOMOLA, meaning 'to finish' (transitive).
6. pa ndahi. A parallel kiMagingo expression is 'ka ndai', meaning 'long ago'.
7. naWIri. Apparently a past tense of the verb kuWI, meaning 'to be'. It corresponds with kiMagingo naBIle, from kuBE.

(a)	at	a well	which was	very far	off.	Likewise
(b)	kwENYE	kiSIMA	kilicho**g**KUWA	MBALI	kabisa.	Vilevile
(c)	pa	liLIBA	lili kiBA	kana kaLIPA[1]	sana.	KaBILI[2] uyaila
(d)	ku	"	kwa[3]	kuTALIKA	changani.[4]	" "
(e)	pa	kiLIBA	chikiBI	kuTALI	muno.[5]	Hilabila
(f)	"	"	"	"	"	"
(g)	ku	"	chakiBA	"	"	"
(h)	kwi	kiLIWA	kiWI	"	nakaka.[6]	Wuwunaha[6]
(i)	~~kuiBA~~ ku ~~iBA~~	iLIBA	-	kuTALIKA	haha.[6]	~~Hwa~~ Ubwabuwabu[6]

FOOTNOTES:

1. kana kaLIPA. Literally 'as(kana) and (ka, with continuous past connotation) it was lying far off (LIPA)'.
2. kaBILI. The word is superfluous here. It means 'again'.
3. kwa, etc. Literally 'of (kwa) being distant (kuTALIKA)'. ie. this phrase circumvents the relative construction.
4. changani. ~~Origin not known.~~ It occurs in one of the home-Ngindo initiation-songs, also conveying emphasis. Perhaps it is now archaic.
5. muno. Apparently from kiSwahili 'mno', meaning 'too much'.
6. nakaka, haha, Wuwunaha, Ubwabuwabu. Origin not known.

	I	have	worked	very	hard	so	that	we	should	get	firewood	and	relish.
(a)													
(b)	nimejiHIMIZA			sana		kusudi		tuPATE			KUNI	na	kiSAMBO.
(c)	nDELA[1]	kuLABA		sana[2]		sababu[2],		tuPATI			INGU	ni[3]	liKOLO.[4]
(d)	nDE	kuCHALILA[5]		changani		pa kuTENDA		tuPATE			HANJU	na chiHAMBULA[6].	
(e)	"	kuLABA		muno[2]		maGAMBO[7]		"			"	"	liNJWAMBO.
(f)	NABite			"		-		"			"	"	liKOLO.
(g)	niYUMBATIKA[8]			sana[2]		mbaha[9]		tuPATI			"	"	"
(h)	nYONJIKIHI[10]			neho		namihi[11]		tuPATE			"	"	kiNJAMBO.
(i)	nYE maKAKARA[12]			ga HEKU je[13]		bahya[9] ~~kxxk~~ kaiya		"			HANJO	na	liNJWAMBO.

FOOTNOTES:

1. nDELA kuLABA. Auxiliary use of kuTENDA~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ meaning 'to make' or 'to do'. nDELA appears to be a contracted form of kuTENDELA --- the stem TEND is very commonly reduced to TE, as can be seen in dialect (d) below.
2. ~~xxxx~~ sana, etc. Apparent lapses into kiSwahili. However they seemed to be the forms in vogue.
3. ni. Usually 'na', meaning 'and'. As here, however, the vowel is very often attracted by the following one.
4. liKOLO. Meaning 'meat-relish' only in ~~xx~~ kiMagingo.
5. kuCHALILA. Origin not known.
6. chiHAMBULA. Possibly derived from the same stem as kiSAMBO, etc.
7. maGAMBO. Origin not known.
8. niYUMBATIKA. kuJUMBATIKA means 'to hurry' in kiMagingo.
9. mbaha, etc. Probably from kuPAHA, meaning 'to please' (the corresponding kiMagingo word is kuPAYA).
10. nYONJIKIHI. kuJONJEKEYA means 'to increase' (transitive) in kiMagingo.
11. neho namihi. Origin not known.
12. maKAKARA. This word means 'strength' in kiMagingo. Presumably the accompanying verb means 'use or put forth (strength)'.
13. ga HEKU je. Apparently this means 'of (ga) little (HEKU) not (je)', i.e. 'no mean (work)'.

(a)	In fact	my	clothes	have	been	spoilt	by	thorns	out there
(b)	Hata	NGUO	zANGU	zimeHARIBIWA			na	miIBA	huko
(c)	Natu	NGUBO	yANGU	ikaCHUNIKE			na	miIBA	ukwokwo
(d)	Hata	"	"	iPAPUKine[1]			"	"	ukwe
(e)	Natu	"	hyANGU	iJWEPUKine			"	"	ukwu
(f)	"	"	"	iPAPUNIKE			"	"	ukwo
(g)	Na	NGUBU	"	iJWEPUKine			"	"	ikwuku
(h)	Hata	NGUU	"	waHAKAKIHI[2]			"	miHOMI[3]	uku
(i)	"	NGUHO	yaNGU	iHAKALALA[2]			-	"	ukwu

FOOTNOTES:

1. iJWEPUKine. Here is another variant of the past tense-endings in '-ite', '-ile', etc.

2. waHAKAKIHI. In kiMagingo the commonest form of this verb is kuHAKALA.

3. miHOMI. " " kuHOMA means 'to prick or stab'.

(a)	where I trudged.	By comparison with	my	fellow women	my	cooking
(b)	nilikoTEMBEA.	Kuliko[1]	wANAwAKE	wENZANGU	uPIKAJI	wANGU
(c)	ukunDYANGite.	KaBI	akiKIGI	ajANGU	kuTELEKA	kwANGU
(d)	ku naTYANGILE.	MaLINGA ji na	akiKIGI	ajANGU	"	"
(e)	ku nDYANGitaje.[2]	KuBABILE	"	"	"	"
(f)	" "	"	"	"	"	"
(g)	kaJABU[3] kuTYANGA.	Kulikwa	akaKIGI	bajANGWA	"	"
(h)	kuMILI[3] "	Kwaweri	waDARA[4]	wayANGU	uTELEKAJI[5]	-
(i)	nDYANGite.	Kwalikwo	ahiKIGI	ajANGU	kuTELEKA	kwa nenga[6]

FOOTNOTES:

1. Kuliko, etc. The translation of this phrase gave much difficulty. In dialect (c), the word for 'again' (KaBI) is pressed into service. In dialects (d) and (e), words meaning 'to measure' (kuLINGA) or 'to check for resemblance' (kuBABULA) are used. Dialects (g) and (i) adopt variants of the kiSwahili word itself (kuliko). The origin of 'kwaweri', used by dialect (h), is obscure: unless it represents a past tense of the verb 'to be' ... 'kwa WERI'.
2. nDYANGITAJE. The suffix or particle 'je' does not necessarily imply negation, especially when not accented in speech. KiMagingo uses it as a future tense-ending as well.
3. kaJABU, kuMILI. Origin not known.
4. waDARA. Possibly of Bena-Hehe derivation.
5. uTELEKAji. This dialect shows a tendency to adopt kiSwahili modes of forming words.
6. kwa nenga. Literally 'of me'.

(a)	is	very tasty.	I	light	the	fire	early	in the morning.
(b)	ni wa	kuPENDEZA zaidi.	MOTO	naKOKA			ASUBUHI	na maPEMA[1]
(c)	ni[2]	kuHALALA kaCHOKU je.	mWOTO	uKOYA			kiNDABI	tangu nu kuCHEJI
(d)	kwa	kuHALALILA changani.	MOTO	nGUNGANA			kuNDABI	na maLILI
(e)	"	kuHALALA ~~n~~ muno .	MOTO	nenga nDENDA	kuKUNGANA		KILUKILU[3]	-
(f)	"	" "	"	ni	"		"	-
(g)	-	" "	Ne	niKUNGANA	MOTO~~K~~		luKERA	pamira putuputuputu
(h)	-	kuPALANA[4] nakaka.	MOTO	nGOHiti			pa "	peeee
(i)	kuBI	kuPALA ka heku je.	nGOHYO	MOTO			maLABILA[5]	putiputi

FOOTNOTES:

1. na maPEMA. This gave rise to a number of alternative renderings. In dialect (c), kuCHEJI means 'to break (of dawn)' ... '-i' endings like this frequently occur as alternatives to '-a'. In dialect (d), the underlying idea seems to be that the freshness of dawn is still present --- maLILI means 'cold' in kiMagingo. Dialects (g), (h), and (i) favour emphatic ideophones ... similar ones are to be found in kiMagingo.

2. ni. Copular use. This seems to be a kiSwahili borrowing. The same might be said of 'kwa' in dialects (d), (e), and (f). Dialect (i) favours a wholly verbal construction.

3. KILUKILU. KILO means 'darkness' or 'night' in kiMagingo. Thus KILUKILU would mean the half-light of dawn.

4. kuPALANA. Meaning 'to please (one another)' in kiMagingo. kuHALALA, on the other hand, means 'to be pleasing'.

5. maLABILA. MaLABU in kiMagingo means ~~kiMx~~ 'tomorrow (morning)'.

(a)	Before	cock-crow.[1]	And	as	for	sweeping	in the enclosure,	if a person passes
(b)	kabla ya	maJOGOO.	Na		kuFAGIA		uWANJAni,	mTU akiPITA
(c)	kaBI NIMI	KUKULUKU je.	Nu		kuPYAGILA		~~XXX~~ luBANJA,	amuNDU anda bakaPITA
(d)	ga kanaBE kuJIMBA	maKAMBALIKO.	Na		"		pa[2] "	muNDU ana kaPITAga
(e)	tangu ngaBIKI je	NGUKU.	Nu		"		ku " ,	ana muNDU bikiPITA
(f)	" yaNGUKU ngaJIMBA	je.	"		"		" ,	amuNDU pachaPITAje
(g)	na maJOGORO kuBIKA	je.	"		"		" ,	anda kaPITA muNDU
(h)	tangu kuWIKA	maNJOHORO.	Na		kuFYAILA		luBAGA,	muNDU aPITiti
(i)	nJOGOLO akayi aBIKA	je.	"		kuPYAGILA		ku luBANJA,	muNDU aPITAju[3]

FOOTNOTES:

1. before cock-crow. This phrase gave rise to a variety of translations. The kiSwahili version I used means literally 'before the cockerels'. The dialect versions may be translated back into English as follows .....
   Dialect (c) 'again (kaBI) he crowed (NIMI) the dawn-cockerel (KUKULUKU) not (je)'.
   " (d) ~~'of (ga) and it was (kanaBE) to crow (kuJIMBA) the cockerels (maKAMBALIKO)'~~ 'of (ga) and it was (kanaBE) to crow (kuJIMBA) the cockerels (maKAMBALIKO)', referring to malice, cold.
   " (e) 'Not yet (tangu) and he crowed (ngaBIKI) not (je) the fowl/s (NGUKU)'.
   " (f) 'Not yet (tangu) of (ya) the fowl/s (NGUKU) and he/they crowed (ngaJIMBA) not (je)'.
   " (g) 'and (na) the cockerels (maJOGORO) to crow (kuBIKA) not (je)'.
   " (h) 'not yet (tangu) to crow (kuWIKA) the cockerels (maNJOHORO)'.
   " (i) 'the cockerel (nJOGOLO) not yet (presumed meaning of akayi) he crowed (aBIKA) not (je)'.
2. pa. Locative particle. Only dialects (d), (e), and (i) adequately render the kiSwahili locative suffix '-ni'.
3. aPITAju. Probably the equivalent of kiMagingo aPITAga. All these dialects commonly turn final '-a' into '-u', especially in songs and speeches.

(a)	at about the very time[1]	the sun	rises,	he will find it	already	clean
(b)	mmamo sawa na	JUA	kuCHA,	atauKUTA	SAFI	tayari.
(c)	andi tera	liCHUBA	likaPITAga,	buluKOLILA	-	CHWAPI.
(d)	chiKOBWE chi	liPITA	liUBA,	aBA kuluKOLERA	luHALILE	nYOMWILE
(e)	kiKOBO teratera na	liUBA	likiPITA,	naBA luKOLERA	teratera	luHALILI.
(f)	kwa NGOBO ku kuLINGANIRA	liUBA	kuCHELA,	bulu KOLERA	luHALILE	lwOHA
(g)	"	"	na kuPITA je,	aluKORILE	lwOHA NJWEE	aJOMWI
(h)	tera na	liRANGA[4]	kuCHILE,	ataKOLILI	maha	iPERÛri.
(i)	tiligatiliga	liSUBA	kuliPITA,	aluBONA[3]	teratera	luHALILI.

FOOTNOTES:

1. at about the very time. Variants given for this were....
   - Dialect (c) 'like ready/equal'.
   - " (d) 'the time of '.
   - " (e) 'the time ready and',
   - " (f) 'at the time when it is equal with'.
   - " (g) (circumvented).
   - " (h) 'ready/equal with'.
   - " (i) tiligatiliga ... origin not known.

2. already clean. This gave rise to a number of variants. In dialect (c), CHWAPI is a clumsy pronunciation of kiSwahili 'safi'. In dialect (d), kuHALALA means 'to be pleasing', and kuJOMOLA 'to finish (transitive)'. In dialect (e), teratera is the normal term for 'ready' in kiMagingo, (Magingo informants were, however, reluctant to add it to the adjective 'clean', which they regarded as sufficient in itself). Dialect (f) says: 'it was pleasing, the whole'; dialect (g), 'the whole ready! She has finished'; and dialect (h), 'good, it has finished' (kuPELA or kuPIRA means 'to come to fruition' in kiMagingo); finally, dialect (i) follows (e) with 'ready it has been pleasing'.

3. aluBONA. Literally 'he will see it'.

4. liRANGA Origin not known. Possibly Ngoni.

(a)	Well,	I cannot	understand	how	you inflict	this trouble	on	me.
(b)	Basi,	siWEZI	kuFAHAMU	namna gani	unaniFANZIA	TAABU		hiyo.
(c)	Bai,	-	nenga napaMANYI je	peni buli	unDENDELA	kuLAGA		ihenela[1].
(d)	Bahi,	NOMBI[2] ne kugaMANYA	je	kwa buli	punTENDA	maTATA[3]		genago.
(e)	" ,	ne niKOMBO ~~kw~~ je	~~#~~kuMANYA	mENE mwe[4]	bu unDENDE	kuLAGA		kwenyu.
(f)	" ,	" chinGOMBO je	"	mw " "	" "	"		"
(g)	Ngohe hili[5],	-	ne MANYI je	ndeka[5] meLONGE	bu umiMIKI[7]	ne umHWALO[8]		~~x~~ -
(h)	Topi,[5]	-	nikiMANYIti ng'oo	buli naha[5]	uNG'AHA[5]	nenga luNG'A		hiyulu[1].
(i)	Bahi,	-	ne MANYI je	"	nDENDA	kuLAGA.		-

FOOTNOTE:

1. ihenela This means 'thus', as does 'hiyulu' in dialect (h). Only dialects (d), (e), and (f) render the kiSwahili accurately.
2. NOMBI, etc. From kuKOMBOLA, meaning 'to succeed' or 'to ~~xxxxx~~ obtain'. It is found in kiMagingo too.
3. maTATA. Apparently a kiSwahili borrowing.
4. mENE mwe. Meaning 'you yourself'. 'Mwe' is an abbreviated form of the personal pronoun 'mwenga'.
5. Ngohe hili, ndeka, Topi, naha, uNG'AHA, luNG'A. Origin not known.
6. neMANYI je ndeka meLONGE bu. Meaning 'I do not know at all how you speak' (kuLONGELA means 'to speak'), i.e. 'you speak to me harshly'.
7. umiMIKI ne. Meaning 'you put me (in trouble)'. KuBIKA means 'to put'.
8. umHWALO. Literally 'word', ie. 'scolding'.

APPENDIX C

NGINDO DESCENT-NAMES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION BY SUB-TRIBES.

1. Ndonde.

Ngindoland.	Coast-Ndonde.	Neo-Hamba.	W-Ndonde.	S-Ndonde.
animBALA	anaMBALA		animBALA	
animBALAMA				
		luBINDU		
aniBONANJI	aniBONANJI			
aniBUGA				
aninCHABARE	aninCHABARE		aninCHABARE	aninCHABARI
		nCHENJELA		
		naCHUMA		
		nDAUKA		
aninDOGORO	aninDOGORO		aninDOGORO	
nDOGOTA				
liBANJI				
				aniGEKA
aniGEYO	aniGEYO		aniGEYO	aniGEYO
aninGOMBA	aninGOMBA			aninGOMBA
			nanGOYA	
niGUNDA	niGUNDA		niGUNDA	
		naNG'OMBE		
aniHALE	aniHALE		aniHALE	aniHALE
niHAMBA	niHAMBA	nachiHAMBA	niHAMBA	
aniHANGA		naHANGA	aniHANGA	
	anaHOBERA			anaHOBERA
anuHUBA	anuHUBA	anuHUBA	anuHUBA	anuHUBA
aniHUKA	aniHUKA	aniHUKA	aniHUKA	aniHUKA
aniHULE	aniHULE		aniHULE	
nakiHUMBI	aHUMBE			aHUMBE
(aniHUNJWE	(aniHUNJWE		aniHUNJWA	HUNGO
(aniHUNGWA	(HUNGO			
anuJANI	nunGANE			
aniJOMBO			aniJOMBO	aniJOMBO
		nJUGULE		
anaKIGUMI	anaKIGUMI		anaKIGUMI	anaKIGUMI
nanKINGA	nanKINGA		nanKINGA	
aniKULI				aniKULE
aniKUNGU	aninKUNGU		aniKUNGU	
nakiKWERO				
aniLAYI	aniLAHI	aniLAYI	aniLAYI	aniLAHI
anuLEMBERE	anuLEMBERE		anuLEMBERE	
aniLONGO	aniLONGO		aniLONGO	aniLONGO
anaLUBAGA				
aniLUNGI	aniLUNJI		aniLUNJI	
aniLWANDA	aniLWANDA	aniLWANDA	aniLWANDA	aniLWANDA
			aniLWEGU	
anaMAGINGO	anaMAGINGO		anaMAGINGO	aGINGO
aniMANGWE	niMANGO		niMANGO	niMANGO
MWEGERO	MWEGERO	MWEGERO	MWEGERO	MWEGERO
(aniMWERA	aniMWERA	naMWERA	(aniMWERA	aniGERA
(anaNG'ERA			(NYERA	
			niMYENDA	
naNANEKA				
		NIMA		
NUNGURU	niKUNGURU			kiKUNGURU
aniNYAMBO	aniNYAMBO		aniNYAMBO	
aniNYIKA	aniNYIKA			
		OKORORO		
niPIRIKANO	niPIRIKANO		niPIRIKANO	
naPONERA	naPONERA		naPONERA	naPONERA
mTAMBO				
aniTINDWA	aniTINDWA		aniTINDWA	aniTINDWA
anaUWANGWA	anaUHANGWA		anaUHANGWA	
anaUWEGA	anaUWEGA		anaUWEGA	chiBEGA
	anaUWONGO			
anuTAMBA	luTAMBA			

2. Remaining home-Ngindo.

Ikemba.	proto-Hamba.	Chobo.	Magingo.
aniHUKA x	aninDUNGULWE	animBENDA	aniCHOBO
aniJUNGU	niHENJERA	animBUNGWE	aniHUMERA
aniKONDOWE	ananKUNJE	aniHANDA	anaKIGUMI x
aniKYANGANI	aniLWANDA x xx	nJOWU	aniLIBA
anuLWANGA	aniMWAMBA	aniKIBERU	
aniMONE	akanaNG'OMBE xxxx	aniLONDO	aniLWANDA xxx
MWEGERO x	aniNINDI	aniLUMBA	anaMAGINGO x x
niPOKERA	aniWENGE	aniPALA	
ananTUMBA		niPARABWE	

Ngindoland: Miscellaneous

animBALALA
kimBEMBWE
anuBINU
ananDETE
nanGEBEKERE
aniHUMBALA
liKOMBA
nanKONDA
anaLUPALA
mTINI
anuTUMBI
aniWANGU

3 Peripheral-Ngindo.

Mbunga.

(kimBALAKOLO
(kimBALAKOSO
(kimBALAKOTO
mBUHI (alleg. Ngoni)
CHEPU
maGALULA

wanGUMA
nGWILILI ⓧ
mHAKACHUMA
HALI (ⓧnaHALI)
kiHANGA x
kiHEYU
mHUMAHA
kiIYA
nJEYA
maJILA

(namKENDA
(emKWENDA
x ruKINGA (ⓧmKINGA
naKUNDA
waKWA
mKWETA xxx
KWINDA
kaLENDE
MINGI
chaNANGA
PONELA ⓧ (alleg. Matengo
kaSIMBILI
mTAMBILI
mTENGU
TINDWA ⓧ
waLUME
niTUMBI
maYOKA
nYUNI ⓧ (alleg. Pangwa)

x ... Ndonde.
ⓧ ... Ndendeuli.
xx ... Magingo.
xxx ... proto-Hamba.
xxxx ... neo-Hamba.